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Nescia, in Effigie nescit et ipsa Mori.
Sic vno Intuitu Vultûs, Morumq; Volumen
Perlegis, et Pictor transit in Historicum.

IOANNES SPOTISWOODE ARCHIEPISCOPVS S. ANDREANVS, TOTIVS SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET METROPOLITANVS, EIVSDEMQVE REGNI CANCELLA.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Church of Scotland,

Beginning the Year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of

King JAMES the VI.

of ever bleſſed Memory.

Wherein are deſcribed,

The Progreſs of Chriſtianity, The Perſecutions and Interruptions of it, The Foundation of Churches, The Erecting of Biſhopricks, The Building and Endowing Monaſteries and other Religious Places, The Succeſſion of Biſhops in their Sees, The Reformation of Religion, and The frequent Diſturbances of that Nation by *Wars, Conſpiracies, Tumults, Schiſms.*

Together with great variety of other Matters, both *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Politicall.*

WRITTEN

By that Grave and Reverend Prelate, and wiſe COUNSELLOR,

JOHN SPOTSWOOD,

Lord Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, and Privy Counſellor to

King CHARLES the FIRST,

that moſt Religious and Bleſſed Prince and Martyr.

Res in exitu æſtimantur, & cum abeunt ex oculis, hinc videntur.

The Second Edition Corrected and Amended.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. Norton*, for *R. Royſton*, MDCLXVI.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THis Hiſtory being wrote in calm and quiet Times, and by a perſon whoſe temper and diſpoſition was not unſutable to them, had the ill hap to have an hideous Storm tread upon the heels of it; which, among other greater Wrecks and Ruines, might very likely have buried this, never to have been raiſed up again: But Providence had ſo diſpoſed of it, that a Copy of it lighting into more Ingenuous and Noble hands, it was thought a ſin by them to ſtifle and conceal it from the World, which now being in dotage, and infinitely in love with Change, may reade here (if they do not feel it already) the ſad Effects which an unruly and a miſgovern'd Reformation, uſher'd in by Tender Conſciences, brings upon them.

Nor doth it come forth now to caſt any Obloquy upon that Church or Nation, famous in former Times for ſo much Piety, that the devotion of the Natives under ſo cold a Clime (whether you conſider the rich Endowments or magnificent Structures of Places dedicated to God's Service) can hardly be match'd; but to ſhew rather the Variation of all Humane Things, and how eaſie it is to ſlide from ſomething that might look like Superſtition into the contrary Vices of Sacrilege and Profaneneſs; for which they have felt ſo remarkable a Scourge, that unleſs it be in the ſame Iſland, (and, all Circumſtances conſidered, ſcarce in that) cannot the whole World and the Stories of it ſute them with a Parallel.

But there is leſs to be ſaid of this, becauſe if the Times become patient of hearing Truth, you may poſſibly by the Induſtry of ſome good hand have the latter and more Fatal part of the Story: For though this Cloud in the North was at firſt no bigger then a Hand, and might have been graſp'd, and eaſily diſpers'd by the Authority then in being, (had it not miſcarried in being too tender towards it) it hath ſince, for the ſins of both Nations, rowl'd it ſelf into a more Univerſal Darkneſs, and pour'd down ſuch a ſweeping Rain upon us, as hath

carried away all that is Sacred with it. And for us that live to ſee the Deſolation on all hands, our only portion left us is to mourn in ſecret, for

——Nihil, præter plorare, relictum eſt.

And that you may know to how innocent and unbiaſſed a Perſon you owe this Story, do but impartially reade it, and you ſhall find it woven with ſo even a thread, and ſo much of the ſpirit of Meekneſs in all the paſſages of it, that neither the Rage of the firſt Reformers, nor the Fury of them who in after-Times did ſecond them, could tempt him to diſpenſe ſo much with his own nature as to paſs any bitter Reproof upon them, but leaves them upon the Stage with the bare Narrative of their Actions, and truſts the judgement of the Reader either to condemn or to acquit them.

What the Life of this Author was hath been diligently and faithfully collected by a Reverend Perſon of that Nation, who out of the midſt of the Ruines of his Church hath gather'd out of the Rubbiſh of it the ſubſtance of theſe following Particulars; that this World of ours, being now grown barren of ſuch Examples, might at leaſt have an excellent Copy ſet before them, which if they have not the Will to imitate, yet let them uſe it as they do their Pictures, and commend the Hand, though they neglect his Vertues.

There is no more to ſay to thee but this, That if there be ſo much Devotion in thee as to melt thee into Prayers and Tears for the Sufferings of thine own Church, let there be ſo much Charity too as to beſtow ſome of them on our Neighbour-Nation, from whom our Ruine came, and which hath ſince ſo deeply ſmarted for it, that a diſcreet and a very conſiderable perſon among them hath ſo far in my hearing expreſſed his Penitence for it as to ſay, That it was true, that he with the reſt of his Nation had buried Epiſcopacy and their Ancient Monarchy in one and the ſame Grave; but upon the ſad conſequences of it, they could be content to tear up the very earth of that Grave with their Teeth, ſo that they might raiſe up Both again.

And when this ſingle Vote ſhall come to be the Vote of the whole Nation, God is where he was, and, without the attending the Revolution of Plato's *Great Year, can, when he pleaſeth, and by what means he pleaſeth, reſtore them to their former Happineſs.*

Non, ſi male Nunc, & Olim ſic erit.

The

The Author's Life.

THough Buildings are looked upon with more pleaſure when they are rear'd then in their Foundations, yet that this Reverend Prelate, raiſed in his own Countrey to the higheſt Honour that his condition was capable of, may not ſeem obſcurely to have ſtole into the World, as a Muſhrome of a night's growth, or as that *Roman* did of whom it is ſaid in *Tacitus*, *Videtur* Curtius Rufus *è ſe natus*; it can no way be impertinent to mention that he was deſcended from the Lairds of *Spotiſwood* in the *Merſe*, an ancient race of Gentlemen, and the chief of that ſurname. His Grandfather died in the bed of Honour with his King, *James* the Fourth, in the battel of *Flodden* field; a Battel that might have been looked upon as moſt unfortunate to that Nation, had not their latter conteſts by the Sword proved infinitely more unhappy.

His Father was no Sword-man, but betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the Arts, paſſing his courſe of Philoſophy in the College of *Glaſgow*, with a purpoſe the better to enable himſelf for Theology, to which, by the guidance Gods Spirit over him, he ſtood moſt affected. But matters of Religion being at that time in his Countrey like the eddies of waters, rowling and confuſed, (the old way queſtioned, and the new perſecuted) none knowing in this turning tide which ways the Times would run, he withdrew himſelf into *Englaud*, where bringing with him an unſetled mind, and doubtful what party he ſhould incline to, Providence caſt him upon a familiarity with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who ſoon confirm'd him in thoſe Truths which afterward he never varied from. About the time of the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned into *Scotland*, where by occaſion given by the Earl of *Glencarn*, (to whom he had applied himſelf) he became known to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*; who finding him a perſon judicious, and diſcreet, and fitted by theſe qualities for managing of buſineſs, emploied

ploied him to *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, when *France* upon ſome jealouſies was ſo unkind to him as to caſt him off. Affairs upon this ſucceeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, the Earl came into *England*, with whom ſome moneths he there remained. But longing to ſee the ſmoke of his own Countrey, he returned once more to enjoy himſelf among his friends; where being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, (a perſon of great authority in thoſe times) he was moved by him to accept of the Parſonage of *Calder*; which upon the beginning of the Reformation was then void. Not long after this he was made Superintendent of *Lothian*, *Merſe* and *Teviot-dale*, where he exerciſed fully the power and diſcharged faithfully the Office of a Biſhop, though under another ſtyle: for it was not the Office, but the Name, which the firſt Reformers out of humor ſtartled at; though they who have ſucceded them (for in Errors of this kind the laſt comers think they have done nothing unleſs they out-bid the former) have ſince to their own ruine caſt out both. He continued in this holy Function with the approbation of all good men till his death; when being full of days, and leaving the perfume of a good name behind him, he peaceably departed out of this life on the fifth of *December*, in the year 1585. His Wife was *Beatrix Crichton*, a grave and a diſcreet Matron, Daughter to the Laird of *Lugton*, an ancient Baron of *Scotland*. And from theſe Parents *John Spotiſwood*, the Author of this Hiſtory, deſcended.

Born he was in the year of our Lord 1565, when he was no ſooner brought into the World but a remarkable paſſage accompanied it: For among the reſt that were preſent (not ordinary Goſſipers, but Women of good note) there was one among them who in a ſober, though in a prophetick, fit taking the child in her arms, called aloud to the reſt in theſe or the like terms, *You may all very well rejoyce at the birth of this Child, for he will become the Prop and Pillar of this Church, and the main and chief inſtrument in the defending of it.* From what principle this prediction came, or how ſhe was thus inſpired, I will not ſearch into; but that her words came really to paſs may evidently appear to him that reads this ſhort Story of his life.

His Education was anſwerable to his Birth. For, being a Child of a pregnant wit, great ſpirit and good memory, he was by the care of his Parents brought up in the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, where he came ſo early to perfection, that he received his Degrees in the ſixteenth year of his age: for though the Fruits of the earth under that Northern Clime do not mature ſo ſoon, the men generally are of a better mold, and mellow as early into a Ripeneſs as any of thoſe Nations who, becauſe they have more of the Sun, plead for a priority, forgetting that ſome kind of Grain is ripened beſt by Froſts. And this ſo many Excellent men of all ſorts as have been of that Nation are ſo many examples of.

But

But to revert to this one among the reſt, who having laid his foundation in humane Arts and Sciences, did not make his period there, but uſed them as the rundles of a ladder by which he might climbe higher to the knowledge of Diviner things, to the practice of which by way of charge he was ſooner called then he expected; for his Father being by age and weakneſs of body unable to appear any more in publick, none was thought fitter to ſucceed in the Parſonage of *Calder* then his Son, though otherwiſe in a well-govern'd Church his age (being then but eighteen) might in an ordinary courſe have been a bar againſt him: but his early parts, and his conſciencious diligence in attending this Cure, ſupplied his defect of years; and the Greenneſs of his youth was corrected and tempered by ſo ſober a Gravity, as *no man* could either *deſpiſe* his *youth*, or think him unfit for the employment.

Nor were theſe Vertues of his buried and confined within the boundaries of his Pariſh; for having formerly had a relation to the Noble family of *Lennox*, he was looked upon as the fitteſt perſon of his quality to attend *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* as his Chaplain in that honourable Ambaſſy to *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, for confirming the ancient Amity between both the Nations: wherein he ſo diſcreetly carried himſelf, as added much to his reputation, and made it appear that men bred up in the ſhade of Learning might poſſibly endure the Sun-ſhine, and when it came to their turns might carry themſelves as handſomely abroad, as they whoſe education being in a more pragmatick way uſually undervalue them. In the retinue of this Noble Perſon he returned from *France* through *England*, where Queen *Elizabeth* being in her declining age was in his Maſter's name ſaluted by this Ambaſſadour, who ſeeing her night draw on ſo faſt, could the eaſier gueſs that his Maſter's riſing in this Horizon was not then far off. *An.* 1601.

Some two years after this Queen *Elizabeth* (after the glorious Reign of forty four years) by her Death made way for King *James* her Succeſſor; and when all the World ſtood at gaze what would become of the Crown of *England*, (which the Jeſuite under the name of *Dolman* had bandied over into *Spain*, and ſome of the contrary extreme were then in conſultation (though upon different purpoſes) to make a game of it at home) there was a Diviner hand of Providence which ſo unexpectedly ordered it, that without any conteſt at all it ſetled on the right Heir, to the admiration of the neighbouring Nations, and (had we known our own good) to the infinite Happineſs of this. The King, being to take poſſeſſion of his Hereditary Crown here, choſe out for his Attendants the moſt eminent perſons of all kinds: and among his Clergy this Author (being then no farther advanced then to his Cure of *Calder*) was ſummoned to this ſervice. *An.* 1603.

ſervice. That year *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* dying, the King (who being of excellent Parts himſelf could the better diſcover and value them in others) not only preferred him to that See, but farther admitted him for his prudence and dexterity in Civil things to be one of his Privy Council in *Scotland*. And being graced with theſe Honors, he was ſent back from *England* the ſame year to attend Queen *Anne* in her Journey to *London*, who knowing his integrity made him her Almoner for the better diſpenſing of her Charity, which could not confidently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupt heart, ſuch as his really was.

An. 1610. Not long after this he preſided in the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, where the power of Biſhops *ex Jure poſtliminii* was reſtored. The ſame year, upon the King's command, he with the Biſhops of *Brechin* and *Galloway* repaired to *London*, where he received the ſolemnities of Conſecration from the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely* and *Bath*, in the Chappel at *London-houſe*.

At his entry to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow* he found the Revenues of it ſo dilapidate, that there was not one hundred pounds ſterling of yearly Rent left, to tempt to a new Sacrilege: But ſuch was his care and husbandry for his Succeſſors, that he greatly improved it, and yet with ſo much content to his Dioceſe, that generally both the Nobility and Gentry and the whole City of *Glaſgow* were as unwilling to part with him, as if he had been in the

An. 1615. place of a Tutelar Angel to them. But part with him they muſt; for after eleven years preſiding there, the See of S. *Andrews* being vacant, King *James* (who like another *Conſtantine* thought himſelf as highly concerned in providing Succeſſors for Churches as Heirs for his Crown) removed him from *Glaſgow* (being then about the age of forty nine years) to be the Primate and Metropolitan of all *Scotland*.

An. 1616. The next year after this he preſided in the Aſſembly at *Aberdene*, where the Earl of *Montroſs* being the King's Commiſſioner, the Excommunicated Marqueſs of *Huntley* was upon his Penitence received into the Boſome of the Church. And at the ſame Aſſembly there paſt an Act for the drawing up a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland*, and ſome of the moſt learned and grave among the reſt (*William Cowper* Biſhop of *Galloway* being deſigned the chief) were deputed to that Work, wherein the Service of God and the Peace of that Church was ſo deeply concern'd: Which I the more willingly mention, that the deceived party might know that the deſign of a Liturgy, which was afterward look'd upon as the dangerous *Trojan* Horſe ſent in by their ſuſpected Neighbours, might have proved more properly ſuch a *Palladium* to them as might have preſerved them to this day, had they not only ſcornfully, but ſeditiouſly rejected it, and have therefore

therefore found the ſame fate as they of *Troy* did; of whom it was obſerved,

Peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos.

Being inveſted by the King's favour in this Primacy, he made ſo much farther uſe of it, as he procured three hundred pounds ſterling of yearly Rent (being by the Sacrilege of former times ſwallow'd up in the Crown-Revenues) to be reſtored to his See: Nor did he find any difficult buſineſs of it; for certainly theſe latter Ages have not produced in any Nation a Chriſtian Prince that underſtood better then he the horror of Sacrilege and the Concernments of Religion, which never ſuffers more then when the Profeſſors of it are expoſed to Scorn and Poverty. For however this was the portion of the beſt and Primitive Times, when the Chriſtian Faith had no publick Civil Authority to own it; yet after it had pleaſed God to make Kings the Nurſing-Fathers, and Churches were endowed by pious men, their Revenues were ever held Sacred, till the Covetouſneſs of ſome and the Profaneneſs of others had conſulted with that ſubtile Oracle, that delivers it *tanquam è Trĭpode* that there can be no ſuch ſin as Sacrilege; for as Nothing can be given to God, ſo Nothing can be taken from him.

All King *James* his time he lived in great favour with him, and was the prime Inſtrument uſed by him in ſeveral Aſſemblies, for the reſtoring the ancient Diſcipline, and bringing that Church to ſome degrees of Uniformity with her Siſter-Church of *England*; which had we on both ſides been worthy of, might have proved a Wall of Braſs to both Nations. Nor was his Induſtry leſs for the recovery of ſome remnants and parcels of the Churche's Patrimony, which (though they were but as a few Crums in compariſon of that which at a full Meal Sacrilege had ſwallow'd) he found to be an hard Province; yet by his zeal and diligence he overcame many difficulties, and ſo little regarded his own eaſe, that for the effecting of this, and what elſe conduced to the recovery of that Church in Patrimony and Diſcipline, they who knew the paſſages of his life have computed that he made no leſs then fifty journeys from *Scotland* to *London*. The Aſſembly of *Perth* 1618.

Nor was he leſs gracious with King *Charles* his Bleſſed Son, who was Crown'd by him in the Abbey Church of *Halyrude-houſe* with ſuch high applauſe and acclamations of that Nation, that it could not have been poſſibly imagined that ſuch an *Hoſanna* ſhould ever be turned into a *Crucifige*; or that a Prince, ſo paſſionate a lover of his own native Countrey, ſhould find ſuch enemies in the bowels of it, as either to contrive or to aſſiſt his Ruine. But thus God had ordered it (as in the caſe of *Joſiah*) rather as a Puniſhment for our ſins, then his, that leaving his earthly Crown (which to him really *An.* 1633.

proved

proved but a Crown of Thorns, whatever it may prove to others) to the bold Hand that would next venture to take it up, he might be put in poſſeſſion of a more glorious Diadem, and ſit Crowned there where (if the joys of Heaven admit of ſuch a diverſion) he looks down upon things below and all that happens here with ſo much unconcernment, as what was ſaid of the brave *Roman* may in a Chriſtian ſenſe be more ſutable to him,

——Illic, poſtquam ſe lumine vero
Implevit, ſtellaſque vagas miratur, & Aſtra
Fixa Polis, vidit quanta ſub nocte jaceret
Noſtra dies, ridetque ſui ludibria trunci.

But to return to this pious man, (who was ſo happy as to have his eyes cloſed before the Crown which he ſo ſolemnly ſet upon his Maſter's Head was to the aſtoniſhment of the World ſnatch'd from him) there muſt be added to this Story, That as he enrich'd his See of *Glaſgow*, ſo he did the like for S. *Andrews*, procuring the Revenues of the Priory (being then in Lay hands) to be added to his Church. But having compaſſed this, to ſhew that it was done rather for the Churche's Intereſt then his own, he dealt by way of humble Petition with the King, that of his large Dioceſe of S. *Andrews* ſo much as was of the South-ſide of the River of *Forth* might be diſmembred, for the erecting of a new Biſhoprick: which accordingly was done, and being amply endowed was ſeated in their Prime City of *Edinburgh*.

An. 1635. Two years after this the Earl of *Kinnoul* being Chancellor dying, (a Perſon of ſingular Prudence and Integrity) his Majeſty knew not where to fill the place with a Succeſſor with whom he might more ſecurely truſt his Conſcience then with this aged Prelate, near to God by his Function, and by his age (being then arrived to *David*'s great Climacterick) ſo near to his end, as might well put him in remembrance that the account which he was to give of his Stewardſhip could not be far off. And this Honour he enjoyed to his death with the approbation of all, only ſuch excepted whoſe evil eye at the Clergy and their own particular Ambition wrapt into ſuch a fancy, as made them think every Honour to be miſplac'd that was not ſetled on their own ſhoulders.

He had not fully meaſured out four years in the diſcharge of the duties of this place, (which did not ſo entangle him but that the danger of the Church, which then was drawing on, filled him full of thoughts which way he might divert it) when that unhappy deſign which had been ſo long hatching under the wings and warmth of a mal-content and ſeditious party began to be ready to fly abroad. And what could be called for as a fitter Midwife to this birth, then ſome-

thing

thing that at leaſt might look like Religion? For the Rule was given long ago, before ever *Machiavel* lived to vent it, and is likely to hold to the end of the World,

——*Quoties vis fallere Plebem,*
Finge Deum.

And from hence roſe that Storm which with ſo much violence fell on this Reverend good man, that he was forced by it for ſafety of his life to retire into *England*, where age and grief, with a ſad Soul in a crazy body, had ſo diſtempered him, that he was driven to take harbour in *New-Caſtle*, till by ſome reſt and the care of his Phyſicians he had recovered ſo much ſtrength as brought him to *London*. But this proved but a ſhort reprieve, for being come thither he fell into a relapſe, and the ſentence of death being to be executed on him, he took his bed ſome nine daies before, waiting for that bleſſed hour, when being freed from any farther heart-breakings for thoſe Evils he could not prevent, he might be admitted into his Maſter's joys, where future Calamities could not reach him. *An.* 1639.

In this time of his Sickneſs and preparation for his end he was viſited by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops, with whom, with great devotion, he received that bleſſed *Viaticum*, the Bread that came from Heaven, in the ſtrength of which he was to paſs unto Eternity.

After which, though his deſire was rather to compoſe himſelf for privacy and ſilence then to admit of any company, he could not prevent the Viſits of many honourable Perſons. Among whom the Viſit of the Marqueſs Hamilton (being looked upon by the eye of the World as diſaffected to the whole Order) deſerves more particularly to be remembred; and the circumſtances of it you ſhall have in thoſe terms as they are related.

The Marqueſs coming near to his bed-ſide was pleaſed to ſay, My Lord, I am come to kiſs your Lordſhip's hands, and humbly to ask your bleſſing. To which the Archbiſhop with a ſoft voice anſwered, My Lord, you ſhall have my bleſſing, but give me leave to ſpeak theſe few words to you: My Lord, I viſibly foreſee that the Church and King are both in danger to be loſt, and I am verily perſuaded that there is none under God ſo able to prevent it as your Lordſhip; and therefore I ſpeak to you as a dying Prelat in the words of *Mordecai* to *Eſther*, *If you do it not, Salvation in the end ſhall come where elſe, but you and your houſe ſhall periſh.* To whom the Marqueſs made this worthy reply, That what he foreſaw was his grief, and he wiſhed from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the ſacrificing of his Life and Fortunes. After which upon his knees he received the Archbiſhop's Bleſſing and departed. I ſhall make no Commentary upon it, for the beſt interpreters of words are actions.

As he lived, ſo he died in peace, with a ſtilneſs ſo much more then ordinary, that they who were about him could not by any outward agony perceive when that peaceable Soul of his departed. But before the laſt minute (ſad to his friends, but to him infinitely joyful) had cloſed up thoſe eyes which had ſo long been watchful for the Church he govern'd, his Intellectuals and beſt Faculties being clear and undiſturbed, and deſiring to leave the world a copy of the Faith he died in, he premiſed it to his laſt Will and Teſtament in this form following.

Firſt, for that I eſteem it the duty of every Chriſtian (eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſervice it hath pleaſed God to make uſe of in his Church) to make ſome open declaration of his Faith wherein he lives and dies, I profeſs that I believe all the Articles of the ancient Chriſtian Creed, commonly called The Apoſtles Creed; *the ſumme whereof is, That God is One in Three Perſons; the Father, Creator of all things; the Son, made man in fulneſs of time, who by his Paſſion and Death having redeemed Mankind, roſe from death, and aſcended to Heaven, from whence, he will come to judge all fleſh; and the Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, the Sanctifier of all that believe; That this God hath choſen to himſelf a Church, the Members whereof living in Communion, though never ſo diſperſed, ſhall by his infinite mercy receive remiſſion of all their ſins, and being raiſed again in their Bodies at the laſt day ſhall enjoy everlaſting life.*

This is the ſum of my Faith: Other Additaments, which Ignorance and Corruption have ſuperinduced into Chriſtianity, I ſimply refuſe, beſeeching God to purge his Church from the Errors & Superſtition that hath crept into the ſame, and at laſt to make us all that are called Chriſtians the Sheep of one Fold.

For matters of Rites and Government, my judgment is, and hath been, That the moſt ſimple, decent and humble Rites ſhould be choſen, ſuch as the Bowing of the knee in the receiving of the holy Sacrament, with others of the like kind; Profaneneſs being as dangerous to Religion as Superſtition. As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily perſuaded that the Government Epiſcopal is the only Right and Apoſtolick Form; Parity among Miniſters being the breeder of all Confuſion, as experience might have taught us. And for thoſe Ruling Elders, as they are a mere humane Device, ſo they will prove (when the way is more open to them) the Ruine of both Church and State.

In the ſimplicity of this Faith he lived, and in this he died, like one of the Biſhops of thoſe Primitive Times, when the modern names of Faction were not known; and whoſoever agreed to theſe Fundamentals, the Church was not ſo nice a Mother as to caſt them out. And though in the paſſages of this Life enough hath been ſaid already to give you the Character of this Excellent Perſon: Yet becauſe Pictures drawn at length, where nothing of the figure or proportion is left out, are the moſt graceful Pieces, I ſhall ſo far enlarge it for the Reader's ſake, as may with more advantage induce him to copy it out into his own life and manners.

And for this, though the voice of publick fame be loud enough to give

give directions, yet I ſhall rather owe them to thoſe perſons of integrity, who in his Life-time being admitted to be nearer witneſſes of his Converſation then others, may with more ſecurity be hearkned to. For Flattery follows no man farther then his grave, and it were well if Malice went no farther.

And this he had the leſs reaſon to fear, becauſe in his Life he had ſet ſo ſevere a watch upon himſelf, that his Converſation was without reproof, even in thoſe times when the good name of every Clergy-man was ſet at a rate, as formerly were the heads of Wolves. Only one hath been found (that ever I heard of) who thought he could not ſufficiently vindicate his *Diana*, the new model'd Church of *Scotland*, (which under the notion of the *Kingdom of Chriſt* were then buſie to ſet up a Kingdom of their own) unleſs he raked into the grave of this innocent perſon, and violated his duſt, whom in his Life-time he could not look upon without reverence. Nor ſhall I do him the honour to name him, much leſs to anſwer him, but rather leave him to the Tribunal of his own Conſcience, where, if the Court be not infinitely corrupted, he ſtands condemned already. And this I forbear the rather, that writing his Life I might in this particular imitate the Life I write of, which had ſo much of Moderation and calmneſs in it, that though he had many encounters with thoſe φύσεις θερμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, (ſuch as Biſhop *Nazianzen* complains of) yet he never dealt with them at their own weapons, but borrowed his from the Armory of his Saviour, from whence he was furniſhed with Humility enough to oppoſe their Pride, and Meekneſs enough to anſwer their Choler.

As for his Patience in ſuffering, which is a neighbour Vertue to the former, he is a rare example; for living in thoſe Tumultuous and undiſtinguiſhing times, when Rapine and Malice was called Zeal, and Sedition wore the colours of Religion, and being thereupon driven both from his native Countrey and from the Honors and Preferments which he enjoyed, he was never ſo much as heard to complain of his enemies, but upon his death-bed made it his ſolemn Prayer to God, that he in his own particular might be forgiven upon no other terms then as he for Chriſt's ſake forgave them.

For Piety he was more for ſubſtance then for ſhew, more for the Power of Godlineſs then the bare Form of it. Frequent he was in his private Prayers, and in the publick Worſhip of God of ſuch an exemplary carriage, as might warm the coldeſt Congregation to gather heat, and to joyn with him in the ſame fervency and height of his Devotion.

For Preaching he was rightly gifted, though not in the modern ſenſe, where Ignorance and Impudence, without any farther Commiſſion, make up the Preacher. For his conſtant way was to deliver much matter in few words; not affecting or looking for applauſe from them, who doat upon the beſt Lungs and the longeſt Preacher, but conſidering ſeriouſly whoſe Meſſage he brought, he diſcharged it with ſo much judge-

ment, and yet with ſuch ſimplicity of ſpirit, as might ſooner get Souls for God then praiſe from men.

For outward works of Charity, he looked upon them as the proper Badge of his Heavenly Maſter, and could no more eſteem him a Chriſtian who boaſted of his Faith without them, then he could believe a Thorn or Bramble to be a Fig-tree. And in his own particular he acted in this way to the utmoſt of his means; for beſides the diſpenſing of his private Charity, where the right hand was not to know what the left hand did, he publickly upon his own charges built and adorn'd the Church of *Darſy* after the decent *Engliſh* form; which if the boiſterous hand of a mad Reformation hath not diſordered, is at this time one of the beautifulleſt little pieces of Church-work that is left to that now-unhappy Countrey. Nor is it to be buried in ſilence what he did in a time of Famine for the relief of the Iſles of *Orkney*, when he did not only incite others to a liberal Contribution, but led the way to them by his own example, in ſuch a proportion as ſuted rather with the largeneſs of his mind then of his fortunes.

There remain but two things more to be accounted for, The Children of his Body, and the Iſſue of his Brain. The former were numerous, but of theſe three only came to perfect age, whom he had by *Rachel Lindeſay* daughter to *David Lindeſay* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, of the Houſe of *Edzell*, an Honorable Family in *Scotland*. His eldeſt Son Sir *John Spotiſwood* lives yet, though not in a plentiful, yet in a contented condition, not any way caſt down, or aſham'd of his Sufferings, but comforting himſelf rather, that in this general Ruine brought upon his Countrey he hath kept his Conſcience free, though his Eſtate hath ſuffered.

His ſecond Son was Sir *Robert Spotiſwood*, a great ornament to his Nation for his many and rare Abilities, who, after he had ſtudied nine years abroad, was for his great wiſdom and knowledge in the Laws preferred firſt by King *James* to be Lord of the Seſſion extraordinary, and afterward by King *Charles* not only to be the conſtant Preſident thereof, but to be his chief Secretary for that Nation. And although he ſuffered a violent death upon the Scaffold at S. *Andrews*, yet ſeeing he was found guilty of no Crime but that of Loyalty and Fidelity to his Maſter, which in no Records of Law nor in any Age but this (*ubi ipſa rerum nomina perdidimus*) was ever reckoned among Treaſons, let his Memory be had in honour, as of a Martyr that ſuffered for Righteouſneſs ſake: for which he had ſo great a zeal, that upon that very Scaffold where he was to ſuffer he ſhew'd ſuch a Religious and honeſt Boldneſs towards his Countreymen, as to call to as many of them as curioſity had brought thither to ſee his end, That they ſhould keep faſt their Duties to their God and to their King, and beware of thoſe Seditious Miniſters into whoſe mouthes, as into the Prophets of *Ahab*, the Lying ſpirit had entred, both to ſeduce them, and to ruine that noble Nation.

The third left of his Progeny was a Daughter, who being vertuouſly

and

and religiously bred, was happily married to Sir *William Saint-clare* of *Rosline*, one of the ancient Barons in *Scotland*.

As for any Works that he left behinde him (besides the memory of his Life, which might have made the greatest Volume) I hear of none extant but this excellent History: For though he were a person both of great Place and Parts, he was not easily tempted to trouble the Press and to shew himself abroad. Nor was this History undertaken by him by any free motion of his own, but by the instance and command of King *James*, whose discerning spirit had singled out him as a person best qualified for an Historian, with Prudence and Candor, and clearness of Style, and so much innocent courage, as neither to fear to speak the Truth, nor to dare to speak a Lie. And though his obedience to the Commands of his Sovereign had a very powerful influence upon him; yet being to deal with a King who made not his Will his Law, but, being a great Master of Reason, was as ready to hear as to give it, he took the liberty in an humble way to propound several Objections, one of which more especially deserves to be remembred, not only for the Historians sake, but for his that set him on work: and it was thus; *It is not unknown to your Majesty* (saith the Bishop, being willing enough to find an handsome excuse) *that your Majestie's Mother being defamed by the bold Writings of a malicious party and the credulity of easie people, (who, to avoid the trouble of searching into them, use to swallow such Reports as these without chewing) hath not left a clear Name behind her: And as in mine own particular judgement I cannot joyn with them in those Scandals which they have with so malicious a falshood cast upon her, so your Majesty must give me leave to say, that in all things she did I cannot approve her: And being of necessity to speak of her in the Series of this History, what to do therein I know not.* To whom the King replied, *Speak the Truth, man, and spare not.*

And upon this encouragement from so Excellent a King (which few of the Rulers of this present world dare give to their Historians) he chearfully set about this Work, and laying aside all Partialities, that he might more faithfully go through with it, he had not only the use of all the Registers both of Church and State in *Scotland*, but of all Letters of State that could any way concern the work he was about, which either were sent to him to be survey'd by his own eyes, or transcribed by sworn Officers, and attested by the Clerks hands. With this caution and with these advantages he undertook, continued and finish'd this History, as the Intervalls of publick business and his own private Studies and Devotions would give him leave. And the Work being of that nature as not to be *Res Ingenii* and to be woven out of his own Brain, but such as required search and deliberation, and such helps as were not always ready at command, but were to be waited for, let not the Reader wonder that this History, begun by King *James* command, should not come into the world till both King *James* was in his grave, and the Writer too; but let him rather wonder that it comes out now: for it

was left like an Infant of the *Iſraelites* in an Ark of Reeds, and, if Providence had not found out very tender hands and heart to ſave it, it had been loſt. And now it is time to bring this Reverend Prelat to his Grave, though his good Name and Story may be longer-lived. The manner of his Burial by the command and care of his Religious King was ſolemnly ordered; for the Corps being attended by many Mourners, and at leaſt 800 Torches, and being brought near the Abbey-Church of *Weſtminſter*, the whole Nobility of *England* and *Scotland* (then preſent at Court) with all the King's ſervants and many Gentlemen came out of their Coaches, and conveyed the body to the Weſt-door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendaries of that Church in their Clerical habits, and buried according to the ſolemn Rites of the *Engliſh* Church, before the extermination of decent Chriſtian Burial was come in faſhion.

Above his Corps theſe words following are engraven in Braſs.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM.
DOMINUS JOANNES SPOTISWOOD, ECCLESIÆ SANCTI ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUS, SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET REGNI CANCELLARIUS,

VIGINTI ANNOS PRESBYTER,
UNDECEM ANNOS ARCHIEPISCOPUS GLASGOENSIS,
VIGINTI QUINQUE ANNOS S. ANDREÆ,
ET PER
QUATUOR ANNOS REGNI SCOTIÆ CANCELLARIUS,
EX HAC VITA IN PACE MIGRAVIT
ANNO DOMINI 1639,
SEXTO CALENDAS DECEMBRIS,
REGNI CAROLI 15,
ÆTATIS SUÆ 74.

PRAESUL, SENATOR, *pene* MARTYR *hîc jacet,*
Quo nemo Sanctior, Gravior, Conſtantior
Pro Eccleſia, *pro* Rege, *pro* Recta Fide,
Contra Sacrilegos, Perduelles, Perfidos,
Stetit ad extremum uſque Vitæ Spiritum,
Solitumque talium Meritorum Præmium
Diras Rapinas Exiliumque pertulit.
Sed hac in Urna, in Ore Poſterum, in Deo
Victor potitur Pace, Famâ, Gloriâ.

M. D.

The Author's Dedication

To

The High & Mighty Monarch.



Charles, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defendor of the faith, etc:

Alÿ diutius Imperium tenuerunt
nemo tam fortiter reliquit

To the KING His moſt Sacred Majeſty,

CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,



Here is not amongſt men a greater help for the attaining unto wiſdom, then is the reading of Hiſtory. We call Experience a good Miſtris, and ſo ſhe is; but, as it is in our Scottiſh Proverb, It ſeldom quits the coſt: *Hiſtory not ſo; it teacheth us at other mens coſts, and carrieth this advantage more, that in a few hours reading, a man may gather moe Inſtructions out of the ſame, then twenty men living ſucceſsively one after another, can poſsibly learn by their own Experience. Therefore hath Hiſtory by all wiſe men been ever held in good eſtimation; and none thought to deſerve better of the Church and State wherein they lived, then they that have taken the pains to record unto Poſterity the things fallen forth in their days:* For there is no new thing under the Sun; what hath been, or is, the ſame alſo ſhall be, *ſaith the Preacher.*

To know the ſucceſs and event of every courſe, there needs only the knowledge of things paſt, and a fit comparing of them with the preſent. Now this knowledge is chiefly got by Hiſtory; the want whereof hath bred in our Church many ſtrange miſtakings. For did men underſtand how things went at our Reformation and ſince that time, they would never have been moved to think that Epiſcopacy was againſt the Conſtitutions

of

of this Church; one of the first things done in it being the placing of Superintendents with Episcopal Power in the same, and no act so often iterated in the General Assemblies of the Church, as that Ministers should be obedient to their Superintendents under pain of Deprivation. Then for the Consistorial Discipline brought from Geneva *some sixteen years after the Reformation; did men know the Troubles raised thereby both in the Church and State, with the necessity that Your Majestie's Father of blessed Memory was put to for Reforming that confused Government, they would never magnifie nor cry it up as they doe. To remedy this want, and let all that desire to be truly informed of things fallen out in our times, I took the pains to collect this History, which I do now humbly present unto Your Sacred Majesty. If the same shall be graciously accepted, as I cannot but presume upon Your accustomed humanity to all, I have that I desire: for with me it is a small thing to be judged of others; God knoweth I have followed the Truth, and studied to observe the Laws of History.*

The Collection permitted in the two First Books, concerning the Planting and Progress of Christian Religion in this Kingdom, with the worthy Instruments that God raised to propagate the true Faith both here and in the neighbouring Countreys contained no great matters: as of those first Ages whereof we have few or no Records remaining, how should any great things be truly affirmed? Yet the little I have found and brought together may let us see the exceeding goodness of God toward this Nation, having so soon after the Ascension of our Saviour unto the Heavens made the Gospel here to be Preached, and a Church thereby gathered, which to this day hath found a safe harbour under Your Majstie's Royal Progenitors. Fourteen hundred years and above we reckon since King Donald *the First of that name his imbracing the Christian Faith: All which time there hath not been wanting in the Royal Stock a most kind Nursing Father to this Church: or if a careless and dissolute King (which in so long a Succession of Princes is not to be wondred)*

dred) happened to reign, the ſame was ever abundantly repaired by one or other of the Kings that followed; neither did this bring them leſs happineſs then honour: For give me leave, Sir, to ſpeak it, which I hold not unworthy of Your Majeſtie's conſideration, the Scottiſh *Kingdom, once the leaſt of nine Kingdoms that ruled in the Iſle, by the wonderful providence of God is now encreaſed, firſt in the Perſon of Your Majeſtie's bleſſed Father, and now in Your own, as the Scepter of the whole is put into Your Majeſtie's hands; which that You may long happily ſway and your Poſterity after you to the world's end, is the hearty wiſh of all loyal Subjects. For my part, (next to God his undeſerved love) I do aſcribe this happineſs to the Piety and Devotion of your Princely Anceſtors, and to their zeal in maintaining the Rights and Liberties of this Church. Your Majeſty keeping the ſame courſe (which, bleſſed be God, you hold,) You may be confident of God his protection againſt all dangers whatſoever; for He will honour them that honour Him, and never turn away his face from his Anointed.*

God Almighty I beſeech to multiply his Bleſsings upon Your Majeſty and Your Royal Progeny, to give You the deſire of Your heart, and clothe all your Enemies with ſhame.

So he prayeth that is

Your Sacred Majeſtie's

From the place of my Peregrination Moſt humble Subject and Servant,

15 Novemb. 1639.

S. Andrews.

The Contents of the ſeverall Books.

THe firſt Book containeth the Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the Picts, *which fell out about the year of our Lord,* 840. Fol. 1.

The Second Book containeth the Succeſsion of Biſhops in the ſeveral Sees of this Kingdom, eſpecially in the See of S. Andrews, *with other principal things that happened in their times.* fol. 25.

The Third ſheweth the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church, and how it was wrought. fol. 117.

The Fourth Book ſheweth the things that fell out after Queen Mary *her coming from* France *into this Kingdom, unto her Reſignation of the Crown to King* James *her Son.* fol. 176.

The Fifth declareth how matters paſſed in the State and Church during the Government of the Four Regents, His Majeſty being yet Minor. fol. 213.

The Sixth contaîneth the things that happened after his Majeſtie's aſſuming of the Government in his own perſon, unto his happy Succeſsion to the Crown of England. fol. 282.

The Laſt and Seventh Book rehearſeth the Proceedings after his Majeſties going into England, *unto his Dying.* fol. 473.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The First Book.

The Contents.

The Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the Picts, *which fell out about the year of our Lord* 480.

HAving purpoſed to write the Hiſtory of this Church, I have thought meet to begin at the time in which this Kingdom did firſt receive the Chriſtian Faith; for albeit we have few or no Records left us of thoſe firſt Times; yet as much is to be found in Stories as will ſhew what was the condition of this Church in every Age: and herewith we muſt content our ſelves, till we come to the Times that yield greater plenty of matter. When I ſhall come to our own Time, I purpoſe to ſet down at length the things that have happened both in the Church and State, together with the Counſels and Cauſes of thoſe Events, without the which the Hiſtory ſhould be of little uſe; for, take away from Story the Cauſes whereupon, the Manner how, and the Purpoſe wherefore things were done, that which remaineth is more like a Fable then an Hiſtory, delighting the Reader, it may be, for the preſent, but giving little or no Inſtruction at all. I am not ignorant how unſafe it is to write of matters ſo recent, and what offence it may give to divers perſons; but the deſire I have to give poſterity a true information of things, and to have them made wiſe by our Errors, weigheth down with me all ſuch fears; wherefore, without further prefacing, to begin. THE PREFACE.

An. 203.

Scotland converted to the Faith of Christ, *Anno* 203. *Boeth. li.* 6. *Buch. li.* 4. *Leſl. l.* 3.

IN the year of our Lord 203 (which was the fourth of *Donald* the First his Reign) the Faith of Christ was in the Kingdom first publickly embraced; King *Donald* with his Queen and divers of his Nobles being then solemnly baptized. Yet was not that the first time wherein Christ was here made known: for *Tertullian*, who lived some years before, speaking of the propagation of the Gospel throughout the World, doth reckon among the Countries, the parts of *Britanny* unto which the *Romans* could not find access; and what these parts were we cannot doubt, all the In-land of *Britanny* being then made subject to the *Romans*, and no part free but that little corner of the Isle which the *Scots* did inhabit. Moreover, it cannot in reason be thought that the Conversion of this Kingdom was all wrought at one instant, great Alterations, such as that must needs have been, not being made but by little and little; so as we may well think that numbers of people have been wone to the Christian profession before the same was publickly embraced by the King and the Nobles.

The Planters of Christianity in this Kingdom.

But who they were that God used as Instruments in that work is not certainly known. *Nicephorus* writeth that *Simon Zelotes* (after he had travelled through *Ægypt*, *Cyrene*, *Africk*, *Mauritania* and *Lybya*) came at last *ad occidentalem Oceanum insulasque Britannicas*, and there preached the Gospel: *Dorotheus* addeth that he was crucified in these parts. There be Authors likewise of no small credit who write that S. *Paul* the Apostle, after his Imprisonment at *Rome*, did visit this Isle, and preach the Gospel in the utmost parts thereof.

Reasons why Pope *Victor* could not be the worker of our Conversion.

The opinion most commonly received is, That Pope *Victor*, upon the intreaty of King *Donald*, did send hither some Preachers, and that these were the men that wrought our Conversion: but this cannot hold, for divers reasons. As first, If the King did move the Pope in any such business, it must needs have been upon some knowledge and liking he had of the Christian profession; and if so, the Preachers that he sent hither could not be the first that taught us the Faith of Christ. Again, The estate of the time maketh this opinion improbable; for the year in which the King is said to have sent that Legation to *Rome*, was the very last of Pope *Victor*, (for he suffered Martyrdom in the year 203) and hardly we can think that in the heat of Persecution, which then did rage in all the *Roman* Provinces, the King would have imployed any in such a message. Thirdly, If our Conversion had been wrought by Pope *Victor*, how came it that our Church was not fashioned to the *Roman* in outward Rites, especially in the observance of *Easter*, whereof *Victor* was so zealous, as he excommunicated all the Churches of the East for their Disconformity with the *Roman* in that point? And it is clear that for the space of many Ages our Church did keep a Form different from the *Roman*, and with much ado was brought to accept their Customs and Rites. Last of all, The learned Cardinal *Baronius*, although he will have our Conversion to be made by some one of the *Roman* Bishops, esteemeth this which is said of *Victor* no better then a Fable; for *how is it*, says he, *that neither* Beda, *nor* Marianus, *nor S.* Hierom *have made any mention of it? In all likelihood, if any such thing had been, some one or other of them would have remembred the same.* Leaving therefore this conceit, and not deeming these other opinions very warrantable, if place may be given to conjecture, I verily think that under *Domitian*'s Persecution, when the Apostle S. *John* was relegated to *Pathmos*, some of his Disciples have taken their refuge hither, and been the first Preachers of the Gospel in this Kingdom. And this I am induced the rather to believe, because in that hot contention moved about *Easter*, some two hundred years after, I find our Church did still retain the custom of the Oriental, and maintain their practice by the authority of S. *John*, from whom they pleaded to have received the Faith. But whatsoever be in this, sure not long after the Ascension of our Lord, at least whilest the Apostle Saint *John* yet lived, the Faith of Christ was known and embraced in divers places of this Kingdom; so as we may truly glory in this, that we were *inter Primitias*, as *Origen* speaketh, amongst the First-fruits of the Gentiles

tiles gathered unto Christ. This made that venerable Abbot *Petrus Cluniacensis* call the Scots *antiquiores Christianos*, of greater Antiquity then many others. *An.* 277.

But to return to King *Donald*: It was in his purpose to have rooted out Paganism, and planted the Christian Faith every where in his Kingdome; but whilest he was about to do it, the Emperour *Severus* put him to other business; he thinking to take in the whole Isle, and joyn the same to the *Roman* Empire, entered into *Britan* with a mightier Army then had ever here been seen, and leaving his Son *Geta* in the South, went himself in expedition to the North parts, making no stay (though he was gowty and compelled to travel in a Litter) till he was come to the utmost ends of the Isle. The *Scots* in the mean time keeping the Marishes and Mountains, though they durst not encounter the *Roman* forces because of their numbers, yet did annoy them much, taking them at advantages: which *Severus* perceiving, and that there were no means utterly to subdue them, as he had first intended, he made offer of Peace, if so they would quit what they possessed betwixt the Wall of *Adrian* and the River of *Forth*. The condition, though hard and unreasonable, was yielded unto by the *Scots*, who desired to be freed of so mighty an Enemy: and he, to exclude them from the rest of *Britan*, did raise a wall of stone betwixt the Rivers of *Forth* and *Cluyd*, two and thirty miles long, fortifying the same with Bulwarks and Watch-towers in many places. Nor was it long after this Peace obtained that King *Donald* departed this life; whereupon the Christian Religion for many years was little or nothing promoted. *Buchan. l. 4. Severus* his expedition into *Britan.*

For *Ethodius* that succeeded was a Prince of no government, and the Kings that came after him, all, unto *Cratilinth*, either wickedly inclined, or intangled with wars and troubles; but *Cratilinth* coming unto the Crown in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the Kingdome of heathenish Superstition, and expulse the *Druides*, a sort of Priests held in those daies in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate Sacrifices and perform their other Rites in Groves, with leaves and branches of Oak: and thence, saith *Pliny*, they were called *Druides*; for δρῦς in the Greek language doth signifie *an Oak*. *Cæsar* in his Commentaries doth farther write, that besides the managing of Sacrifices which were committed to them, they were trusted with the decision of controversies private and publick, and that such as would not stand to their judgement were interdicted from being present at their Sacrifices and holy Rites; which was taken for a grievous punishment. It is likewise testified of them, that they were well learned in all natural Phylosophy, men of moral conversation, and for Religion not so grosly ignorant and superstitious as other heathenish Priests: for they taught, "That there was one "only God, and that it was not lawful to present him in an Image; That the Souls "of men did not perish with the Bodies, and that after death men were rewarded "according to the life they led on earth. Some also have written that they did propheſie of the conception of a Virgin, and of the birth of him who should be the Saviour of the world. But that such Mysteries were revealed unto them, and so plainly as the Prophets of God in the Old Testament had scarce the like, is not credible. They lived likewise in great respect with all sorts of people, and ruled their affairs very politickly; for being governed by a President, who kept his residence in the Isle of *Man*, (which then was under the dominion of the *Scots*) they did once every year meet in that place to take counsel together for the ordering of affairs, and carried matters with such discretion, that *Cratilinth* found it difficil enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the people. *An.* 277. King *Cratilinth* expulses the *Druides*. A short description of the *Druides*.

But that which farthered not a little the propagation of the Gospel in these parts was the persecution raised by *Diocletian*, which at that time was hot in the South parts of *Britan*. This brought many Christians, both Preachers and Professors, into this Kingdom, who were all kindly received by *Cratilinth*, and had the Isle of *Man* given them for their remaining, and revenues sufficient assigned for their maintenance. In this Isle King *Cratilinth* erected a stately Church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary Ornaments, and called *Sodorense Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is, that the Bishops of the Isles are styled *Sodorenses Episcopi*. For so long as that Isle remained in the pos- *Diocletian* his Persecution. *Sodorense Fanum.* *Boeth. l. 6.*

An. 360. ſeſſion of the *Scots*, the Biſhops of the Iſles made that Church their Cathedral. After their diſpoſſeſſion, the Iſle *Jona*, commonly called *Icolumkil*, hath been the Seat of the Biſhops, and continueth ſo until this day.

Amphibalus the firſt Biſhop of *Man*.

In this Iſle *Amphibalus* ſate firſt Biſhop, a *Britan* born, and a man of excellent Piety: he lived long, preaching carefully the Doctrine of Chriſt both amongſt the *Scots* and the *Picts*, and after many labours taken for promoting Chriſtian Religion died peaceably in the ſame Iſle. Our Stories report that at the ſame time there lived in this Kingdom divers zealous and notable Preachers, of which number they name theſe ſix, *Modocus*, *Priſeus*, *Calanus*, *Ferranus*, *Ambianus*, and *Carnocus*, that ſeem to have been men of principal note; and of them all generally it is witneſſed, that, living ſolitary, they were in ſuch a reputation for their Holineſs of life, as the Cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into Temples or Churches. And of this it came that all the Churches afterwards erected were called *Cells*, which word I hear is yet retained amongſt the Iriſh *Scots*. The Prieſts they termed *Culdees*, which *Hector Boeth.* thinks to have ſignified as much as *Cultores Dei*, the Worſhippers of God: but it is more like this title was given them for their living in theſe Cells, where people aſſembled to hear ſervice. Somewhat it maketh for this, that in certain old Bulls and Reſcripts of Popes I find them termed *Keledei*, and not *Culdei*.

Culdees, why ſo called. *Boeth. l.* 6.

Biſhops in *Scotland* at the firſt planting of the Faith. *Boeth. ibidem.*

The ſame *Boeth.* out of ancient Annals reports that theſe Prieſts were wont for their better government to elect ſome one of their number, by common ſuffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whoſe knowledge and conſent nothing was done in any matter of importance; and that the perſon ſo elected was called *Scotorum Epiſcopus*, a *Scots* Biſhop, or a Biſhop of *Scotland*. Neither had our Biſhops any other title whereby they were diſtinguiſhed before the daies of *Malcolm* the third, who firſt divided the Countrey into Dioceſes, appointing to every Biſhop the limits within which they ſhould keep and exerciſe their Juriſdiction. After that time they were ſtyled either by the Countreys whereof they had the overſight, or by the City where they kept their reſidence.

But to return to *Gratilinth*: During his Reign Chriſtian Religion did proſper exceedingly; and *Fincormachus*, his Couſin-german, that ſucceeded, keeping the ſame courſe, gave in his time a perfect ſetling unto it. So great a happineſs it is to have two Kings of qualities alike good ſucceed one to another; for what the one beginneth, the other doth perfect and accompliſh.

Yet this felicity endureth not long, the ſtate both of the Kingdome and Church being within a few years after his death quite overturned by this occaſion. *Maximus*, a man born in *Spain*, but of *Roman* education, being ſent Lieutenant into *Britain*, and preſuming to bring the whole Iſle under his power, did practiſe ſecretly with the *Picts* for rooting out the *Scots*, promiſing that all the lands which the *Scots* poſſeſſed ſhould be given to them. The *Picts*, a perfidious people, greedily embracing this offer, did joyn their forces with the *Romans*, and both made invaſion upon the *Scots*; who, doing the beſt they could for their own defence, after divers ſharp encounters, in a Battel fought at the water of *Dun* in *Carrick* were wholly defeated, and King *Eugenius* with the moſt part of his Nobility ſlain.

An. 360. *Maximus* the Roman Prefect practiſeth with the *Picts* againſt the *Scots*. *Boeth. l.* 6. *Buchan. l.* 5.

The *Scots* exiled. *Buchan. l.* 4.

This defeat was followed with a rigorous Edict, commanding all the *Scots*, of what age, ſex or condition ſoever, to depart out of this Iſle before a certain day: which was ſo preciſely executed, as neither man nor woman, young nor old, were permitted to ſtay; nay not a Church-man (though all of that profeſſion were in good eſteem among the *Picts* themſelves at the time.) Thus all the *Scots* went in exile, betaking themſelves ſome into *Ireland*, others into the countrys of *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, or where it was in their fate to be caſt: onely ſome few Church-men, after they had long wandred from place to place, got privately into *Jona*, one of the Weſt Iſles, where living in a poor condition, they laid the foundation of a Monaſtery, which in ſucceeding Ages became famous by the beneficence of our Kings, and the ſanctity of the Monks that there profeſſed. Never was any Church or Kingdom brought to a greater deſolation; but how long it continued, our writers do not agree: for *Boeth.* will have the *Scots* to live in exile the ſpace

of

of 44 years, and saith that they returned in the year 422. *Buchannan* casts their return into the year 404 and so maketh their exile to have lasted 27 years only. *An.* 370.

Now whilest they lived thus exiled, it happened that one *Regulus* a Grecian Monk arrived in these parts. This man (as they write) living in *Achaia*, had warning given him in a Vision by night to forsake his Countrey and go into *Albion*, an Isle sited in the utmost parts of the world, and to carry with him the Arm-bone, three Fingers, and as many Toes of St. *Andrew* the Apostle. The man troubled at first with the strangeness of the Vision, did after a little time resolve to follow the warning, and taking a little Box in which he put those Reliques, went to Sea, taking some persons in company with him. The Story nameth *Damianus* a Priest, *Gelasius*, *Thebaculus*, and *Mermacus*, brother to *Damianus*, Deacons; *Nerinus* and *Elisenius* a *Gretian*, *Merinus* and *Silvineus* his brother, Monks by profession. Some eight more are said to be in his company, but their names are not expressed. The Ship wherein they sailed being tossed with grievous tempests, was driven at last into the Port or Haven called then *Otholinia*, now St. *Andrews*. *Regulus* arrives in *Albion*. *An.* 370.

Hergustus King of *Picts*, under whose dominion that part of the Countrey as then was, advertised of the Strangers arrive, and the *Reliques* they had brought with them, came thither, and pitying their losses, (for besides the Reliques they had nothing saved) when he beheld the men, and the form of their service, did so like it, as he took order for their entertainment. Shortly after he gave unto *Regulus* his own Palace, with certain lands adjoyning, and nigh thereunto erected a Church, (the same whereof we see a part yet remaining on the South of the ruined Cathedral, called to this day *The Church of* St. *Rewle*.) Here did *Regulus* and his company abide, serving God devoutly, and for the austere life they led were in great reputation with all men. *Hergustus* King of the *Picts* gave his Palace to *Regulus*.

Whether *Regulus* had such a Vision or not, I leave it to those that list to believe. But that he did bring with him such Reliques is not improbable; for in these times Christians did hold the Bones and Reliques of Martyrs in a respectful reverence: which doth in no sort justifie the abuses which afterwards crept into the Church, when from the keeping of Reliques, they grew to worship and adore them; yea and, in many places, Priests out of their covetousness did use impostures, foisting in the Bones of Asles and other Beasts in stead of the Reliques of Martyrs and Saints departed. These and the like abuses did justly bring the keeping and carrying about of Reliques to be detested. In the time of persecution, when the Bodies of Martyrs were thrown into the fields and cast into dunghils, it might be held a charitable and pious work to gather and preserve them: but now that those things are superstitiously used, and vile deceipts therewith practised, no wise man will allow such follies. *Better it were*, as *Cassander* advised, *to incite people to the imitation of the Saints Vertues, then to reserve their Bones, which can serve to no use, and savoureth only of vain ostentation.*

But leaving this, let us follow the story. In the Battel wherein *Eugenius* fell, *Echadius*, or, as others call him, *Ethodius*, his Brother, being sore wounded and found among the dead, was saved by the clemency of the *Roman* Prefect, and, flying into *Denmark* with his young son *Erthus*, was received by the King of that Countrey, and kindly entertained. This *Erthus* matching with one *Rocha* the daughter of a Nobleman in these quarters, had by her a Son called *Fergus*, a Prince of much valour, who growing in years, and his Father and Grandfather both deceased, out of an innate hatred against the *Romans*, joyned with the *Franks* in a War they made upon the *Gauls* that were subject to the *Romans*. That Expedition not succeeding, he followed *Alarick* King of *Goths*, and was with him at the sack of *Rome*. *Alarick* dying, he served under *Athaulfus* his successor, and, by the fortunate exploits he made, purchased the reputation of a great Captain: The fame whereof (with the news that were dayly brought of the defection of the *Roman* Provinces, and of the Irruptions made upon the Empire by the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and other Barbars) gave the *Scots* encouragement, and put them in some hopes of returning to their Countrey. Once or twice, by the help of the *Irish*, having sought to repossess themselves, still they were put to the worst. But *Maximus* in the end proclaiming

An. 404. claiming himself *Cæsar*, and transporting beyond Sea the whole power of *Britan*, they resumed new courage, and upon advertisement of *Fergus* his return to *Denmark*, did intreat him to take the opportunity, and do somewhat for himself and for his Countrey. The *Picts* in the mean time being held in miserable subjection by one *Victorinus* a new Governor sent into *Britan*, and so repenting the course they had taken, did secretly reconcile with *Fergus*, offering restitution of all they possessed belonging to the *Scots*, and their assistance for recovering the rest.

An. 404. King *Fergus* came to the Firth of *Murray*. *Boeth. li.* 7.

Fergus upon these advertisements prepared to return, and with him divers voluntaries of the *Danes*, *Norwegians* and others did joyn besides the *Scots* that lived exiles in those parts. With this company taking Sea, on the eighth day after his embarking he landed in the Firth of *Murray*; and from thence marching directly to *Argile*, where the Chair of Marble was kept, was placed therein, and crowned with the Rites accustomed. The news hereof dispersed, there gathered to him from all parts numbers of people, with whom in a short time he recovered all the Countreys out of which the *Scots* had been expulsed. The *Britans* upon this sent to implore aid of the *Romans*, of whom they obtained the supply of a Legion under the conduct of *Heraclianus*; but he making no long stay, one *Placidius* was left in place, whom *Fergus* overthrew in battel, and forced to seek Peace. This concluded, *Fergus* dividing the lands among the *Scots* and Strangers that had ventured with him, did re-order all things according to the ancient form. The Churches that were ruined or defaced he caused repair, restored the Church-men to their places, and in the Isle *Jona* erected a Religious House, with a Library furnished with the Books that he had brought with him from *Rome*. Never was any Prince more nobly given, nor in so short space performed greater actions, having regained the Kingdom that was lost, and reduced it to a better estate then before: neither had he ceased there, if the *Romans* had not fallen upon him with a fresh power, and sent one *Maximianus* hither, by whom he was in battel vanquished, and slain in the sixteenth year of his Reign.

He repaireth the Churches.

King *Fergus* vanquished and slain. *Boeth. li.* 7.

This overthrow did so terrifie the *Scots*, that they looked for nothing but to have been chased again forth of the Isle; but the Irruptions made upon all the parts of the Empire did not suffer the *Romans* to make long stay, wherefore having repaired the Wall of *Severus*, and made it much stronger then it was at first, they departed, advising the *Britans* to use their own forces without any more expectation of succour from them. Upon intelligence of their departure, *Greem* a Nobleman of *Britan*, who had lived long among the *Scots*, and whose daughter King *Fergus* had married, raised an Army, and battering down the Wall which the *Romans* had fortified, chased the *Britans* beyond the Wall of *Adrian* an hundred miles more inward, and forced them to accept that for the march, and content themselves with the lands lying in the South of that Wall. Peace on these terms made with the *Britans*, *Eugenius* the eldest of King *Fergus* his sons was declared King; and, because he was yet within years, the Regency of the Realm committed to *Greem* his Grandfather; which he discharged so well, as whilest he lived there was no trouble either within or without the Kingdom.

Greem batereth the wall of *Severus*. *Buch. l.* 5.

Eugenius assisted by the *Picts*, overcometh the *Britans*.

But he dying, *Eugenius* (who was then grown to some years) laying claim to his Grandfather's lands, did repeat the same by his Ambassadors; and the *Britans* defending themselves by the conditions of the late Peace, when after divers Messages no satisfaction could be had, War was of new raised. The *Picts* assisting the *Scots*, a sore overthrow was given to the *Britans*, and they compelled to resign all the lands lying betwixt *Tine* and *Humber*; which the *Scots* and *Picts* did peaceably enjoy unto the coming of the *Saxons*, about the year 450.

An. 450.

St. *Ninian*.

The *Church* notwithstanding these Wars did flourish all this time by King *Eugenius* his favour. *Ninian* (he who with the posterity had the reputation of a *Saint*) was of great fame at that time. This man was born in *Britan*, and had his education in *France* under *Martine* Bishop of *Tours* his grand-Uncle: having remained there some years, and made good profit in Letters, he returned into *Britan*, and became a zealous Preacher of the Gospel. His chief residence was amongst the *Picts* in the countrey of *Galloway*; there he built a Church all of white stone, (a sort of structure

not

not usual in those parts)& called the same by the name of St. *Martine*; not meaning to have him taken for the tutelary Saint of that place, (which in after-Ages, when Superstition prevailed, was the conceit of the people) but to preserve the memory of his Vertues, and incite others to the imitation thereof. This was the chief respect in those first Times that Christians had in denominating their Churches by the names of Saints departed; that other they utterly disclaimed. *Nos Martyribus nostris*, (saith St. *Augustin*) *non templa sicut diis fabricamus, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus*, We do not build Temples to our Martyrs as unto Gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living. *An.* 450.

St. *Augustin de civitate Dei. li.* 22. *cap.* 10.

Bede, in his Ecclesiastick story speaking of this *Ninian*, saith that he learned at *Rome*, and was there taught the mysteries of Truth. But we cannot think that he went a novice thither, being trained up under so kind and learned an Uncle. As ever that was, he proved a notable instrument in the Church; for he converted the Southern *Picts* to the faith of Christ; and for his continual labours in preaching (not among them alone, for he travelled also among the *Scots* and *Britans*) but especially for his innocency and holiness of life, he was in so great regard, as to which of the three soever he came, they did reverence and accept him as the messenger of Christ. Among the Bishops of *Galloway* he is reckoned the first, and thought to have been the Founder of that College; for from that Church which he built all of white stone (as we said) the Bishops of that See have still been, and to this day are, styled *Episcopi Candidæ casæ*.

Beda his Eccleiast. Hist. *li.* 3. *cap.* 4.

It was in the time of this *Eugenius* that *Palladius* came into *Scotland*, imployed, as they write, by *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome* for resisting the *Pelagian* Heresie, which began to spread in this Church. This man, a *Grecian* by birth, learned, moderate and singularly wise, as appeared in all his actions, did purge the Church from those Errors, and wone such love and credit, as by the space of 24 years he governed all Ecclesiastick affairs in these parts without any grudge or opposition.

Palladius sent into *Scotland* by Pope *Celestine*. *Beda li.* 1. *c.* 13.

Buchannan is of opinion, that before his coming there was no Bishop in this Church: *Nam* (saith he) *ad id usque tempus, Ecclesiæ absque Episcopis per monachos regebantur, minore quidem cum fastu & externa pompa, sed majore simplicitate & sanctimonia*; that is, The Church unto that time was governed by Monks without Bishops, with less pride and outward pomp, but greater simplicity and holiness. What warrant he had to write so, I know not, except he did build upon that which *Joannes Major* saith, speaking of the same *Palladius*, *Per sacerdotes & monachos, sine Episcopis, Scoti in fide erudiebantur*; The *Scots* (he says) were instructed in the Christian faith by Priests and Monks, without any Bishops. But from the instruction of *Scots* in the faith to conclude, that the Church after it was gathered had no other form of Goverment, will not stand with any reason. For be it as they speak, that by the Travels of some pious Monks the *Scots* were first converted unto Christ; it cannot be said that the Church was ruled by Monks, seeing long after these times it was not permitted to Monks to meddle with matters of the Church, nor were they reckoned among the Clergy. As to the *pride* and *pomp* which he taxeth in Bishops, of later times it might be truly spoken; but after *Palladius* coming, for the space of six hundred years and more, there was no such excess to be noted in them.

Buch. li. 5.

Buch. his opinion refelled.

Monks not reckoned among the Clergy.

But to return to *Palladius*; he was a man most careful in promoting Christian Religion, and the first that made Christ to be preached in the Isle of *Orkney*, sending *Servanus* one of his Disciples thither. Another called *Tervanus* he employed among the Northern *Picts*, and ordained both of them Bishops. His own remaining for the most part was at *Fordon* in the Countrey of *Mernis*, where he built a little Church, which from him is to this day by a corrupted word called *Padie Church*: There was his Corps after his death interred. In the year 1494 *William Shevez* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, visiting that Church, did in reverence of his memory gather his Bones, and bestow them in a silver Shrine; which, as the report goeth, was taken up at the demolishing of the Churches by a Gentleman of good rank who dwelt near unto that place. The people of the Countrey observing the decay which followed in that Family not many years after, ascribed the same to the violation of *Palladius's* Grave.

Servanus and *Tervanus* ordained Bishops by *Palladius*. *Boeth. li.* 7. *Hist. li.* 4.

Much

An. 491. Much about this time was *Ireland* converted to the Faith of *Chriſt* by the labors of *Patrick* a Scotchman, born upon the River of *Cluid*, not far from *Glaſgow*. They write of him, that being thirteen years of age only he was taken priſoner by ſome *Iriſhes* at an Invaſion they made upon the Weſt parts of *Scotland*, and ſold to *Moluc*, one of their Kings: being kept there as a Slave the ſpace of four years, he was ranſomed by his parents, and ſent to ſchool; where having made a reaſonable progreſs in Letters, he went to *France*, and there remained 18 years in the company of *German* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, under whom he attained to a great perfection of knowledge, eſpecially in the holy Scriptures. Thereafter travelling to *Rome*, Pope *Celeſtine* (the ſame that ſent *Palladius* to *Scotland*) hearing of his qualities, and how he had lived ſome years in *Ireland*, made choice of him as the fitteſt perſon to work the Converſion of that people. *Patrick* accepting the imployment, addreſſed himſelf ſhortly after to the journey, and in his way by *Scotland* took with him *Columba*, (who came afterwards to be in great eſteem.) Divers upon the report of his good ſucceſs followed him thither; and ere many months paſſed all the Countrey almoſt was brought to embrace the Profeſſion of Chriſt.

St. *Patrick* the Converter of *Ireland*. *Bal. cent.* 1. *Baron. to.* 5. *in Anno* 431. *Sect.* 191. *Camden* in the deſcription of *Ireland*.

He was doubtleſs a notable perſon, and moſt worthy to be remembred. Some idle and ignorant Monks have pitifully wronged his memory by their Legends. But what a ſingular man he was, and what pains he took to do good in his life-time, the Churches he founded, reckoned to 365, and the Prieſts he ordained, numbred to be three thouſand, may ſufficiently witneſs. He lived 122 years, and ended his days in the city of *Down* within the Province of *Ulſter*, in the year of our Lord 491. That fabulous Purgatory (the invention whereof is falſly aſcribed to him) was the device of a Monk of *Glaſtenbury* Abbey in *England*, who bare the ſame name, but was of a much later time, and lived about the year 850. For the opinion of a fiery *Purgatory*, in which Souls are tormented after their going forth of the body, was not then known among Chriſtians; nor did the ancient *Iriſh* believe any ſuch matter.

Joh. Bitſons in Deſcriptione Britanniæ.

An. 491.

In our Church at the ſame time one *Hildebert* a Biſhop was in great accompt for his Learning and Piety. *Cælius Sedulius* had his education under him, a man of excellent qualities, as his works yet extant both in Proſe and Poeſie do witneſs. How long *Hildebert* lived he aboad in his company, but after his death he betook himſelf to travel, and, journeying through *France* and *Italy*, ſailed unto *Greece*; there he wrote certain Explanations upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and returning from thence to *Rome*, made his abode in that City. In a Synod gathered by *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the year 494, in one of the Canons then made touching Books allowed, we read theſe words; *Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paſchale Opus, quod heroicis deſcripſit verſibus, inſigni laude proferimus*, We eſteem the *Paſchal* Work, that venerable *Sedulius* compoſed in heroick verſes, worthy of ſingular recommendations. And even at this day in the Church of *Rome* certain Hymns compiled by him are ſung in the Feſtivals of the Nativity and Epiphany; which ſheweth in what eſteem he was held.

Sedulius educated under *Hildebert* a Biſhop.

Bal. cent. 14. *Leſſ. li.* 4.

An. 494. *Gratian. Decret. par. diſtinct.* 15.

Some *Iriſh* Writers contend that this *Sedulius* was their Countrey-man born, as the like they affirm of all that were of any note in our Church in thoſe firſt Ages. And albeit in divers of his Works he doth intitle himſelf *Sedulius Scotigena*, and that *Sixtus Senenſis*, *Trithemius*, *Baronius* and divers others do all witneſs him to be of the *Scottiſh* Nation; yet they will have him to be an *Iriſh*, becauſe, forſooth, in thoſe elder times the name of *Scoti* was common to the inhabitants of the greater and leſſer *Scotland*. But this reaſon is naught: for, granting that the Countries were ſo diſtinguiſhed of old, and that *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, and the part of *Britan* which the Colony deduced from thence did inhabit *Scotia minor*, whereof there is ſome appearance; yet that will not infer him to be an *Iriſh* more then a *Scot*. This I truſt they will not deny, that *Scotland* was Chriſtian long before *Ireland*, and that *Sedulius*, of whom we ſpeak, was come to a good age before *Patrick* went about their Converſion. Now if he had been an *Iriſh* by Nation, would not he much rather have imployed his travels to inſtruct his Country-men in the Truth, then have ſpent his time abroad among Strangers? Farther, I ſhould deſire theſe who plead ſo earneſtly to have our men eſteemed to be of their Countrey, to name

Sedulius proved to be a *Scottiſh*-man againſt the *Iriſh* Writers.

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any one or other worthy of credit, that ſince the *Scots* were reduced from their exile by *Fergus* the Second did ever call *Ireland Scotland the greater*. They will not find any of truſt: the name of *Scots* being long before appropriated to the Colony reduced from thence, and quite extinct among the *Iriſh*. It is true that we oft find the *Scots* called *Iriſhes*, like as yet we term commonly our *Highland-men*; in regard they ſpeak the *Iriſh* language, and retain divers of their cuſtomes. But that the *Iriſh* were called *Scots*, or the countrey of *Ireland* called *Scotland*, ſince they grew to be different Nations, and were known to be ſo, I am confident will not be ſhewed. To cloſe this; howſoever *Ireland* be the Mother and *Scotland* the Daughter, as a reverend Prelate hath written, & we deny not, (for our firſt Progenitors we hold came from that Countrey) there is no reaſon why the Sons which the Daughter hath brought forth ſhould be reckoned the Sons of another Mother, & ſhe thereby robbed of her honor. *An.* 500.

Scotland a Colonie deduced from *Ireland*.

But to our ſtory; the condition of this Church in thoſe times was moſt happy, all the care of Preachers being to win Souls unto Chriſt; Avarice and Ambition, the two main Peſts of the Church, had not as yet ſeiſed upon them, ſo as they were held with all people in great veneration. *Beda* ſaith, that *whoſoever did meet them by occaſion, either in the ſtreets, or otherwiſe in journeying by the way, they would not depart without their bleſſing*. And which increaſed greatly the felicity of the Time, the Kings who then reigned were all wiſe and religious. *An.* 500.

Congallus the Second deſerves by the reſt to be mentioned; *Vir ob egregias virtutes* (ſaith *Buchannan*) *omnium ſeculorum memoriâ dignus; Nam præter æquitatem in jure dicundo, & animum adverſus avaritiam invictum, certabat moderatione vitæ cum Monachis, qui eâ ætate ſeveriſſimâ diſciplinâ utebantur*. That is, He was a man for his notable vertues worthy to be had in everlaſting remembrance; For beſides his equity in the miniſtration of Juſtice, and the uncorrupt mind he carried, being free of all Covetouſneſs, in moderation of life he was nothing inferiour to the Monks, who in that Age obſerved a moſt ſtrict Diſcipline. This good King conſidering how eaſily people are brought to contemn Miniſters that ſtand in need of their ſupply, and that the contempt of Miniſters breedeth ever contempt of Religion, did carefully provide for their neceſſities, appointing to them Manſion-places at the Churches where they ſerved, with a competent portion of land thereto adjoyning, and declaring the Tenth of all Corns, Fruits, Herbs and Flocks, which did either produce or nouriſh, to appertain properly to the Church. He did further enact for the ſafety of their perſons, *That if any ſhould happen to ſmite a Church-man, his hand ſhould be cut off; and if the Church-man was killed, that the murtherer ſhould loſe all his goods, and be burnt alive*. For the greater reverence of Church-cenſures, it was likewiſe his Ordinance, *That whoſoever were by the Church excommunicated, ſhould not be admitted to ſtand in judgement, nor credit given to their teſtimony*.

Congallus an excellent Prince *Buch. in vita Congalli*.

Tithes declared to appertain to the Church.

A Law for the ſafety of Church-men.

The fame of this King's pious diſpoſition drew *Columba* back from *Ireland*, where he had lived a long time. There came with him ſome twelve in company, of whom the principals were *Sibthacus* and *Ethernanus*, his Nephews by his brother, both of them Presbyters, *Domitius Rutheus* and *Comineus*, men of excellent learning and good behaviour; who were all well accepted of the King. But of *Columba* he made ſuch accompt, as he did nothing in any matter of importance till he had firſt conſulted with him. By his advice the Monks, that in former times lived diſperſed, were gathered into Cloiſters or Colleges, and had Rules preſcribed unto them: which falling afterward to be neglected, in place of religious Monks there crept in a ſort of idle-bellies, that diſordered all things, and made the Profeſſion, which in the beginning was well deviſed, to be miſliked and hated of all.

Columba returneth into *Scotland*. *Scotichron. l.* 3. *Boeth. l.* 9.

Monks placed in Monaſteries.

King *Congallus* after a little time ſickning, ſent *Columba* into *Ireland* to bring home *Aidanus* the right Heir of the Kingdom, (who had fled thither after the murther of his Father *Goranus*) that he might poſſeſs him with the Crown before his death: But ere he returned the King was dead, and his Brother *Kinnatellus* crowned King. This accident troubled *Columba*, and made him doubtful what to do: For if he ſhould ſend *Aidanus* back, he knew not how *Kinnatellus* would take it; and to go on, not (knowing how the King ſtood affected towards *Aidanus*) he held it dangerous. After a little debating with himſelf, he reſolved to hold forward, and taking

Columba ſent to bring *Aidanus* the heir of the Crown from *Ireland*.

Congallus dieth to whom his brother ſucceedeth.

An. 603. taking *Aidanus* in company, did preſent him to the King; who, againſt the expectation of moſt men, accepted him moſt lovingly, bidding him be of good heart, for he ſhould in a ſhort time inherit his Fathers Crown: mean while, becauſe of his own age and infirmity, he committed to him the adminiſtration of affairs, and deſigned him his Succeſſor. After a few daies *Kinnatellus* dying, *Aidanus* was crowned King, *Columba* performing the Ceremonies; at which time he is ſaid to have made a moſt pithy and eloquent ſpeech, exhorting *the King to the love of Juſtice, the Nobles to the obſervance of Peace, the people to Obedience, and them all to conſtancy in the Chriſtian profeſſion:* wherewith the whole Aſſembly was ſo much affected, as by holding up their hands they did ſolemnly ſwear to continue loyal Subjects to the King, and to be obedient to him as their *ſpiritual Paſtor.*

Boeth. l. 9. Buchan. l. 5. Leſ. l. 4.

Aidanus crowned King.

Columba retireth to the Iſle *Jona.*

The Coronation ended, *Columba* retired to the Iſle *Jona,* (for he loved to remain in that place) and *Aidanus* applying himſelf to order the Eſtate, went through the countries of *Galloway, Cathnes* and *Loqhaber,* holding Juſtice-Courts in all theſe parts, and reforming what he found amiſs. But, as no proſperity is laſting, it happened in a ſport of hunting, that ſome Noble-men falling at diſcord, there was a great ſlaughter committed, the Authors whereof, fearing the ſeverity of Law, fled to *Breudeus* King of the *Picts,* and being demanded according to the conditions of the League, were after ſome delays directly refuſed. *Aidanus* taking this to heart, whileſt he thought to recover them by force, had his Son *Arthur,* (*Buchannan* calleth him *Griffin*) a Prince of great hopes, and *Brenden* his Nephew, with divers of his Nobles, killed. *Columba* grieved with this accident, came to the King, and rebuked him bitterly for making war with his neighbour upon ſo light an occaſion; wherewith he is ſaid to be no leſs moved then with the loſs he had received: for *Columba* ſtriving to be gone, he caught him by the hand, and confeſſing he had been too haſty, entreated his beſt advice and counſel how to repair things. But he replying that no advice could redreſs the harm that was done, the King burſt forth into tears: *Colmmba* fell alſo a weeping, and, after a little ſpace, ſaid that he would counſel him to make peace: which he was content to doe at his ſight. The matter moved to *Breudeus,* he likewiſe agreed to remit all to *Columba,* who ſhortly after brought them to be friends. But the heart-burning between the two people ceaſed not, which *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* (a wicked and avaritious man) craftily entertained, ſtirring the *Picts* to make freſh incurſions upon the *Scots,* ſo as *Aidanus* was compelled to take Arms. *Columba* being advertiſed of the neceſſity the King was put to, gave order that private ſupplications ſhould be made for his ſafety, and the overthrow of his enemies: which falling out according to their wiſhes, was generally aſcribed to *Columba* his Devotion. For, as the report went, in the ſame hour wherein the enemies were defeated, he did call his Collegues together, and willed them to turn their Prayers into Thankſgivings, for that the King had obtained the Victory: yet was the place of the conflict diſtant from *Jona,* where *Columba* lived, 200 miles at leaſt.

Aidanus rebuked by *Columba.*

Aidanus forced to take up Arms againſt the *Picts.*

The *Picts* overcome, and *Aidanus* getteth the victory.

Columba dieth in the year of our Lord, 603.

Boeth l. 9.

The year following, which was the year of our Lord 603, *Columba* died, being of a good age; neither did the King *Aidanus* long ſurvive him. The *Iriſh* contend that *Columba* died in the City of *Down,* and was buried in St. *Patrick*'s *Tomb*; and for verifying the ſame, allege an old Diſtich which was (they ſay) engraven upon the Tomb, and defaced only in the daies of King *Henry* the eighth.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, *atque* Columba *pius.*

But it carrieth no likelihood that *Columba,* being ſo far in years, would make a journey into *Ireland,* or that *Aidanus,* who loved him ſo dearly, would ſuffer him to depart whileſt he lived. It may be that upon ſome occaſion his Bones were tranſlated thither; yet the Pilgrimages made in ſuperſtitious times to the Iſle *Jona* for viſiting his grave, do ſhew what the received opinion was of his death and burial.

Kentigern, or St. *Mungo.*

Kentigern, commonly called St. *Mungo,* was famous alſo at this time, and one moſt familiar with *Columba.* He was the ſon of *Thametes* daughter to *Loth* King of *Picts,*

Picts, begotten (as was ſuppoſed) by *Eugenius* the third King of *Scots*, his father not being certainly known: poſterity not being willing that his birth, whom they ſo greatly eſteemed, ſhould be in any ſort ſtained, gave out that he was *born of a Virgin*; which was believed of ſimple and credulous people. But the reproach which lay upon him that way he overcame by his ſingular Vertues. In his younger years being truſted to the education of *Servanus* Biſhop of *Orkney*, he gave tokens of his rare Piety; for he was in Prayer more frequent then young ones are uſually ſeen to be, of a ſpare diet, and ſo compaſſionate of the poor, as all that came in his hands he diſtributed among them. *Servanus* his Maſter loving him beyond others, was ordinarily wont to call him *Mongah*, which in the *Noriſh* tongue ſignifieth a *dear friend*; and this way came he to be called *Mungo*. *An.* 500. *Boeth. li.* 9. *Mongah* in the *Noriſh* tongue ſignifieth *dear friend*.

After *Servanus* death he went to the countrey of *Wales* in *England*, where living a ſolitary life, he founded a Monaſtery betwixt the Rivers of *Elwid* and *Edwy*. They write *that in his Monaſtery there were dayly entertained ſix hundred threeſcore and three perſons, of which number three hundred were kept at ſome mannual work within the Monaſtery; other three hundred did labour in the fields, and practiſe husbandry; and the reſt, being appointed for Divine ſervice, had the day and night divided among them, ſo as one company ſucceeded to another, there were ſome always in the Church praying and praiſing Almighty God.* Having ſtayed there a few years, he reſigned his place to *Aſaph*, a godly and vertuous man; and returning to *Scotland*, he made his abode at *Glaſgow*, where he layed the foundation of a ſtately Church, and was therein at his death interred. It is affirmed that after he came to years of underſtanding he did never eat fleſh, nor taſte wine or any ſtrong drink; and when he went to reſt, ſlept on the cold ground, having a ſtone for his pillow; and that notwithſtanding he lived thus hardly, he did attain to the age of nineſcore and five years. Many lying Miracles have been aſcribed unto him; but certainly he was a man of rare parts, and worthy to have been made a ſubject of truth to poſterity, not of Fables and Fictions, as the Legends of Monks have made him. *Kentigern* his journey to *Wales*. *Kentigern* his auſtere life and death.

Baldred and *Convallus* were his Diſciples, and zealous preachers of the Truth. The firſt ſerved for the moſt part in *Lothian*, which as then was under the dominion of the *Picts*, and was ſo beloved and honored in his life, as after his death the Pariſhes of *Aldham*, *Tuningham* and *Preſton* did contend who ſhould have his Corps to bury. As they grew to ſome heat, the Biſhop of the bounds (the ſtory doth not expreſs his name) intervened, and willed the people to defer the funeral to the next morrow, and in the mean time be earneſt in prayer with God, that he would declare his will in that buſineſs. The next day they found three Coffins with as many Corpſes, betwixt which no difference could be perceived; and interpreting this for a Miracle, went away each of them with a Coffin well ſatisfied and pleaſed. What policy the Biſhop uſed in this is not known, but hereby we may ſee how eaſily people were in thoſe times led with their Teachers. The other, *Convallus*, lived at *Inchynnan*, ſome ſeven miles from *Glaſgow*, and made the Oration at the Funeral of King *Aidanus*; in which he foretold many things, that came afterward to paſs, touching the ſtate of the Kingdom. *Baldred* and *Convallus* were *Kentigerns* Diſciples. *Boeth. li.* 9. *Leſl. li.* 4.

There lived at this time in the Iſle of *Jona* one *Convallanus*, who was Governor of that Monaſtery, a man of excellent holineſs and learning; from under his hand, as they write, *prodierunt examina ſanctiſſimorum virorum*, hives or multitudes of moſt holy men came forth. Among theſe are named *Mornanus* a Biſhop, *Cormachus* a Presbyter, *Hebred*, *Dunſtan*, *Jonas*, *Gabrianus*, *Gallus* and *Columbanus*, all famous men for their holineſs of life. *Gallus* travelling into *Switzerland* was in great eſteem, and having converted many to the Faith of Chriſt, laid there the foundation of a Monaſtery, which was afterward greatly inriched, and to this day is called by his name *St. Gall*. *Columbanus* in *Burgundy* did found the Abbey of *Luxeule*, reſolving to make his abode in thoſe parts; but the licenciouſneſs of King *Theodorick*, whom by no means he could reclaim from his unchaſt life, did enforce him to change, ſo that going to *Italy*, in the borders thereof he ſetled himſelf, and there erected the Monaſtery of *Bobie*. *Convallanus* Governor of the Monaſtery in *Jona*. *Boeth. ibidem.*

Neither lacked there in the female ſex examples of rare piety. *Brigida*, commonly *Brigida.*

An. 518. monly S. *Bride*, was above the rest renowned both among the *Scots* and *Picts*: this
Boeth. li. 9. Woman was born in *Cathnes* of honorable parents, and the heir of a fair patrimony, which she voluntarily forsook, that she might be consecrated to God. Divers Virgins moved by her example did in like sort apply themselves to the solitary life; not as the Votarists that in after-times rose up, for they did not bind themselves by vows to that which was not in their power, nor did they think to merit thereby at Gods hands, and the chastity they professed, they kept inviolate. Did the times wherein we live afford such Virgins, so far are we from disliking that state of life, as we think it should bring a great benefit to the Kingdom. But the bondage of Vows, with the opinion of Merit and Perfection, is it we discommend, things unknown to the holy Women of those Primitive times. Another *Brigida*, or rather *Brigitta*, there was born in *Sweden*; who, as *Trithemius* writeth, came to *Avignon* in the year 1362, to sue for the Popes confirmation to an Order of Nuns by her invented: But our *Brigida* was of a much older time, and died at *Abernethie* in the year 518, where she was also interred.

Brigida dieth at *Abernethy*, *An.* 518.

An. 600. *Augustine* the Monk sent into *Britan.* *Beda l.* 3. *c.* 2.

Now are we come to the time in which *Augustine* the Monk was sent into *Britan.* *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* did chuse this man for planting Religion among the *English Saxons*, who had at that time subdued the *Britans*, and driven them beyond *Severn* into narrow bounds. At his first arrival he converted King *Ethelbert* to the Christian Faith, and wrought much good. But whilest he strove to conform the *Britan* Churches to the *Roman* in Rites Ecclesiastick, and to have himself acknowledged for the only Archbishop of *Britan*, he did cast the Church into a sea of troubles. After divers conferences, and much pains taken by him to perswade the *Britans* unto conformity, when he could not prevail, he made offer, that if they would yield to minister Baptism and observe Easter according to the *Roman* manner, and be assisting to him in reforming the *Saxons*, for all other things they should be left to their ancient Customs. But they refusing to make any alteration, he fell a threatning, and said, *That they who would not have peace with their brethren, should find war with their enemies.* This falling out as he foretold, (for *Edelfrid* King of *Northumberland* invading them with a strong Army slew at one time 1200 Monks that were assembled to pray for the safety of their countrey-men) made *Augustine* to be suspected of the murther, and did purchase him a great deal of hatred. Whether he foreknew the practice or not, is uncertain, but shortly after the murther of these Monks he himself died.

The *Britans* refuse to conform themselves to the Rites of *Rome*.

A letter from the Bishops of *England* to the *Scottish* Church. *Beda. l.* 2. *c.* 4.

There succeeded to him *Laurentius*, a *Roman* also, who followed the business of Conformity no less earnestly, and with his fellow Bishops, *Mellitus* and *Justus*, wrote to the Church of *Scotland* in this manner: *Dominis charissimis, Fratribus Episcopis & Abbatibus per universam* Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus & Justus *Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. Dum nos Sedes Apostolica, more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad prædicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quæ* Britannia *nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus credentes, quod juxta morem universalis Ecclesiæ ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam* Britones *quam* Scotos *venerati sumus: sed cognoscentes* Britones, Scotos *meliores putavimus:* Scotos *vero per* Dagamum *Episcopum in hanc quam supra memoravimus Insulam, &* Columbanum *Abbatem in* Galliis *venientem, nihil discrepare à* Britonibus *in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam* Dagamus *Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit.* In English thus, Laurence, Mellitus *and* Justus *Bishops, Servants of all the servants of God, to our Lords and deareſt Brethren the Bishops and Abbots through all* Scotland. *While-as the Apostolick See, according to the custom it hath observed in the rest of the world, did send us to preach the Gospel unto the Heathen in these Western parts, and that it happened us to come into this Isle which is called* Britan, *we held in religious reverence both the* Scots *and* Britans, *believing that they did walk after the custom of the universal Church: but after we had known the* Britans, *we judged the* Scots *to be better-minded: yet now we perceive by* Dagamus *the Bishop who is come hither, and by* Columbanus *the Abbot in* France, *that the* Scots *differ nothing in their observations from the* Britans; *for Bishop* Dagamus *being here refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same Inne or Lodging.*

I find no anſwer returned to this Letter. Some thirteen years after, *Honorius* Biſhop of *Rome* did move the matter of new, and in his Letters directed to the Church of *Scotland* exhorted them, *Ne paucitatem ſuam, in extremis terræ finibus conſtitutam, ſapientiorem antiquis ſive modernis quæ per orbem terræ erant Chriſti Eccleſiis æſtimarent; néve contra Paſchales computos, & Decreta Synodalia totius orbis Pontificum, aliud Paſcha celebrarent;* That they being a few, and ſeated in the utmoſt borders of the earth, would not think themſelves more wiſe then the Ancient or Modern Churches of Chriſt through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another Eaſter contrary to the Paſchal compts, and Synodal Decrees of the Biſhops of the whole world. *An.* 6—. *Honorius* writeth to the Church of *Scotland.* *Beda l.* 2. *c.* 19.

Pope *Honorius* dying, *Severinus* that ſucceeded inſiſted for an Anſwer, which was ſent; but he alſo departing this life before the ſame came to *Rome*, the Clergy there replied as follows. *Dilectiſſimis & ſanctiſſimis*, Thomiano, Columbano, Chromano, Dimao, Bathano, *Epiſcopis*, Chromano, Hermanno, Lauſtrano, Stellano, & Sergiano, *Presbyteris*, Sarano, *cæteriſque Doctoribus ſeu Abbatibus* Scotis; Hilarius *Archipresbyter, & ſervans locum Sedis Apoſtolicæ, &* Johannes *Diaconus in nomine Dei electus, item* Joannes *Primicerius, & ſervans locum ſanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ, &* Joannes *ſervus Dei, Conſiliarius ejuſdem Sedis Apoſtolicæ. Scripta quæ latores ad ſanctæ memoriæ* Severinum *adduxerunt, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca reſponſa ad ea quæ poſtulata fuerant ſiluerunt. Quibus reſeratis, ne diu tantæ queſtionis caligo indiſcuſſa remaneret, reperimus quoſdam Provinciæ veſtræ contra orthodoxam Fidem novam de veteri Hæreſin renovare conantes, Paſcha noſtrum in quo immolatus eſt* Chriſtus *nebulosâ caligine refutantes, & quartadecimâ Lunâ cum* Hebræis *celebrare nitentes,* &c. *Deinde expoſitâ ratione Paſchalis obſervantiæ, de* Pelagianis *ſubdunt, Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quòd virus* Pelagianæ *Hæreſeos apud vos denuo reviviſcat: quod omnino hortamur, ut à veſtris mentibus hujuſmodi venenatum Superſtitionis facinus auferatur. Nam qualiter ipſa quoque execranda Hæreſis damnata eſt, latere vos non debet; quia non ſolùm per iſtos ducentos annos abolita eſt, ſed & quotidiano nobis anathemate ſepulta damnatur: & hortamur, nè quorum arma combuſta ſunt, apud vos eorum cineres ſuſcitentur.* That is, *Hilarius* the Archbiſhop, conſervator of the privileges of the Apoſtolick See, and *John* the Deacon in the name of God elect of the ſame See, likewiſe *John* the Pronotary and Conſervator of the ſaid privileges, and *John* the ſervant of God, Counſellor of the Apoſtolick See; to our beſt beloved and moſt holy Biſhops, *Thomianus, Columbus, Chromanus, Dimaus* and *Bathanus*, and to the Presbyters, *Chromanus, Hermannus, Lauſtranus, Stellanus* and *Sergianus*, alſo to *Saranus*, and the reſt of the Doctors or Abbots of *Scotland*. The Letters which were brought unto Pope *Severinus* of bleſſed memory have to this time received no anſwer, by reaſon of his deceaſe. We having now unſealed them, leſt queſtions of ſuch conſequence ſhould be too long unſatisfied, do perceive ſome of your Province to be renewing an old Hereſie againſt the Orthodox Faith, and ignorantly refuſe to celebrate our Eaſter, in which Chriſt was offered, obſerving the fourteenth Moon, after the manner of the *Hebrews*. Then ſhewing how and when Eaſter ſhould be obſerved, they ſubjoyn touching the *Pelagians* theſe words; We farther underſtand that the poiſon of *Pelagian* Hereſie is again breaking out among you; wherefore we exhort you to beware, and to keep your minds free of that venomous Superſtition; for ye ſhould not be ignorant how that execrable Hereſie is condemned, and by us every day anathematized, notwithſtanding that two hundred years ſince the ſame hath been aboliſhed: therefore we beſeech you not to ſtir the aſhes of thoſe who have had their Arms once burnt and conſumed. A Letter from the Clergy of *Rome* to the Church of *Scotland.* *Beda ibidem.*

Beda ſetting down this Letter, ſaith, that *it was full of learning, and contained evident proofs that Eaſter ſhould be kept upon the Sunday which falleth betwixt the* 15 *and* 21 *of the Moon; whereas it was the cuſtome of the* Scots *Church to keep it upon the Sunday falling betwixt the* 14 *and* 20, which he calleth an Hereſie, and taketh our Church to have been newly infected therewith; neither yet the whole Church, but ſome certain in it only. But in this laſt he doth not agree with himſelf; for ſpeaking afterwards of Biſhop *Aidan*, he thus excuſes his diſconformity with *Rome* in the keeping of *Eaſter, quòd ſuæ gentis authoritate devictus*, that he was overcome with the authority of his *Beda* his judgement of the Letter.

An. 6—. own Nation, & *contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit*, and could not keep Easter contrary to the custome of them who had sent him. So he acknowledgeth it to have been the custom of the *Scots* Church, and not of certain in it only. And whereas he saies that it was an Error, or Heresie newly sprung up, he greatly mistaketh; for in the contention about the keeping of Easter, which grew afterwards very hot, we shall hear them plead the Antiquity of their custome, and derive it from the very first times of the Church. But that we may know how this Contention grew, and who they were that withstood the alteration desired, we must make a little digression.

Buchan. l. 5. Boeth. l. 9. Lesl. l. 4. The *Saxons* having overcome the *Britans*, and brought the countrey of *England* to an *Heptarchy* by the partition they made of it, were never quiet, encroaching still one upon anothers state, till at last one got all. *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, the mightiest of the whole, after he had reigned 22 years with great avarice and cruelty, was killed by *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles*, and *Edwin* (whom he had expelled) placed in his room. This *Ethelfrid* left behind him seven sons, *Eufred* or *Eanfred*, *Oswald*, *Ossaus*, *Oswin*, *Offas*, *Osmond*, *Osik* or *Osrick*, and one daughter named *Ebba*, who upon their fathers death fled into *Scotland*, and were liberally entertained by King *Eugenius* the fourth, notwithstanding the enmity betwixt him and their father whilest he lived. Eighteen years they remained in *Scotland* exiled from their Countrey, and were by the care of the same *Eugenius* instructed in the knowledge of Christ, and baptized.

Buchan. l. 9. *Edwin* being killed in the 17 of his Reign by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, they returned all home, *Ebba* only excepted, who remained still in *Scotland*. The Successour of *Edwin* name *Osrick*, parting the Kingdom with *Eufred* the eldest son of *Ethelfrid*, was made King of the *Deirians*, and *Eufred* King of this *Bernicians*; these two turning Apostates, and forsaking the Christian Profession which they had once embraced, were the Summer following deprived both of their lives and Kingdomes.

Beda l. 3. c. 5. *Oswald* the second son of *Ethelfrid* did upon their deaths succeed in both the Kingdoms, a noble and vertuous Prince, whose chief study was to promote Christian Religion. To this effect he sent his Ambassadors unto *Donald* the fourth then reigning in *Scotland*, and entreated him, by the old familiarity that had been among them, to help him with some worthy and learned man, that could instruct his people in the Faith of Christ. The King recommending the matter to the Clergy, one *Cormanus* was elected to go thither. But his labours proving unprofitable, he returned about the end of the year, and in a Synod of the Bishops and Clergy informed that they were a people indocile and froward, that the pains taken upon them were lost, they neither being desirous nor capable of instruction.

Cormanus sent into *Northumberland.*

It grieved the Synod exceedingly to hear this, and while they were consulting what to do, *Aidanus*, a learned man and reverend Preacher, is said to have advised them *not to give over the work at any hands, for that the bad success of* Cormanus *labours might possibly proceed from himself, that had not used the people tenderly, nor according to the Apostles rule*, fed them at first with milk; *and therefore desired some other approved man might be employed of new, who would possibly do good among them.*

Aidanus sent for the conversion of *Northumberland.*

This opinion allowed by all, none was thought fitter for this service then he who had given the advice; and so with common consent was *Aidan* ordained Bishop, and appointed to that Charge. Being come thither, he set himself to amend the fault which he supposed *Corman* had committed, and so tempered his Doctrine, as multitudes of people daily did resort unto him to be instructed. It was a great hinderance unto him at first that he was not skilled in the *Saxon* tongue, neither did the people understand his language; but this defect the King himself supplied, interpreting to the Auditory all that *Aidanus* delivered in his Sermons. So by the Kings zeal and *Aidanus* his diligence such numbers were brought to the Christian profession, as in the space of seven daies fifteen thousand persons were by him baptized.

Aidanus ordained Bishop, and sent into *Northumberland.*

The Vertues of King *Oswald.*

Whether this people was more happy in their King or in this Bishop, it is difficil to say. For the King, he did so excel in Piety and Prudence, that, as *Beda* writes, *all the Nations and Provinces within* Britan *were at his devotion; and not the less, his heart*

heart was never lifted up within him, but ſtill he ſhewed himſelf courteous and affable, and of the poor moſt compaſſionate. Among examples of his liberality towards theſe, the ſame *Beda* relateth, "That ſitting at Table on Eaſter-day, and *Aidanus* by him, "when it was told that a number of poor men were at the gate expecting his Alms, "he commanded to carry the meat that was ſet before him unto them, and the plat-"ter of ſilver wherein it was to be broke in pieces, and diſtributed among them. "*Aidanus* beholding it, took the King by the right hand, and kiſſing it, ſaid, "*Nunquam marceſcat hæc manus*, never let this hand conſume or wither. Which, as he writeth, came alſo to paſs. "For being killed in battel, and his arm and his hand "cut off, the ſame was incloſed in a ſilver ſhrine, and remained for many years un-"corrupted in the Church of St. *Peter* at *Bamborough*. This and the other Miracles he reporteth, I leave upon the credit of the Writer, who is too laviſh oftentimes in ſuch Fables and Fictions. *An.* 651.

The commendation of the Biſhop *Aidanus*.

As to *Aidanus*, he was an enſample of Abſtinence, Sobriety, Chaſtity, Charity, and all other Epiſcopal Vertues; for as he taught, ſo he lived, was idle at no time, nor did he admit any of his retinue to be ſo, but kept them in a continual exerciſe, either reading Scripture, or learning the Pſalms of *David* by heart. If he was invited to any Feaſt, (as rarely he went) he made no ſtay, but after a little refreſhment taken got himſelf away. In preaching he was moſt diligent, travelling through the countrey, for the greater part on foot, and inſtructing the people whereſoever he came. In a word, he was deficient in no duty required of a good Paſtor; and having governed the Church in thoſe parts moſt happily the ſpace of 17 years, died in the Iſle of *Lindisfarne*, (now called *Holy-Iſland*) the place he chuſed for his Reſidence, where he was alſo buried.

Finnanus ſucceeded *Aidanum*. *An.* 651.

After his death, which happened in the year 651, *Finnanus* was ordained Biſhop, and ſent to the *Northumbers* from *Scotland*. He followed his Predeceſſor in all, and was greatly troubled by *Romanus*, or *Conanus*, (as other name him) about the obſerving of Eaſter. This *Conanus*, born in *Scotland*, had lived ſome years beyond Sea, and was much taken by the *Roman* Rites; for advancing whereof (ſo zealous he was that way) he left his ſtation in *Kent*, and coming to *Northumberland*, did challenge the Biſhop to a Diſpute. The Biſhop anſwering, that he would not refuſe to diſpute, but to admit an alteration in Church Rites, whileſt he lived, he would not, the Diſpute ceaſed; and ſo for the time that he ſate Biſhop, Eaſter was celebrated after the ancient manner of the *Scots*. *Finnanus* in the mean time applying himſelf to better exerciſe, did work the Converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Mercians*. For having baptized *Penda* the Prince of *Mercia*, he ſent with him four Preachers, who reformed all that part of the Countrey. *Divina*, or *Duina*, a *Scottiſh*-man was one of thoſe Preachers, and conſecrated Biſhop of *Finnan* in the year 656. In the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Lichfield* I find him firſt placed. There ſucceeded to him *Kellach*, a *Scottiſh*-man alſo; but he renouncing his Charge becauſe of the Contentions that aroſe, returned to his Countrey.

Finnan dieth, to whom *Colman* ſucceedeth.

Now *Finnan*, having governed the Churches of *Northumberland* the ſpace of ten years, died in *Lindisfarne*, and was buried in a Church which he himſelf had there erected. So great was the affection of theſe *Northumbers* to theſe preceding Biſhops, as they would accept of none other but a *Scottiſh*-man. Whereupon *Colman* was brought, and placed in that See. In his time the controverſie of Eaſter was again wakened, and more hotly followed then before: great dealing there was to work him to a Conformity, but he would not forſake the courſe that his Predeceſſors had kept. After divers Conferences, a publick Diſpute was in the end condeſcended to for deciding the queſtion. The place was choſen at *Whitby*, (*Beda* calleth it *Sternſhalt*) a Religious houſe in *Yorkſhire*, whereof *Hilda* a learned and devout woman was Abbeſs: ſhe was a profeſſed adverſary to all the Rites of *Rome*, eſpecially Clerical Tonſure; which made *Colman* more willingly to agree unto the meeting. *Oſwy* King of *Northumbers* with *Elfred* his ſon were preſent in perſon, and many Eccleſiaſtick men of all degrees. The Reaſoners were *Colman* on the one part, who was aſſiſted by the *Scottiſh* Clergy, and *Hilda* the Abbeſs; on the other part, *Agilbert*, a *French*-man born, Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* and *Agatho* Presbyters, with

The controverſie about Eaſter wakened.

A Diſpute for the time of Eaſter.

An. 651. with *Jacob* and *Romanus*, two learned men. *Cedda* lately consecrated a Bishop by the *Scots* was chused to be *partis utriusque Interpres*, that is, (as I take it) the Recorder of all that should be spoken by either party, or enacted in that Conference and Meeting. The King himself did incline to *Colman*, but his Son favoured the other party, for that *Wilfrid* had been his Tutor.

Oswy King of *Northumbers* his Speech to the Disputers.

When all were placed in their seats, the King using a short Speech said, *That it was meet they who served one God, and looked to be heirs of one Kingdom in the Heavens, should keep one Rule and Form, and not vary in their Rites and Ceremonies:* therefore desired, *seeing they were come together for composing of differences, especially touching the Celebration of* Easter, *that they should calmly enquire what was the most ancient and best Form, to the effect all might observe and follow the same.* Then turning towards *Colman*, he willed him to deliver his opinion and reasons; who answered as followeth. "The Easter which I observe I received from my elders, "who did send me hither, and ordained me Bishop: all our Forefathers, men "beloved of God, are known to have celebrated Easter in the same manner that I do; and if any think light of this, the blessed Evangelist St. *John*, the Dis- "ciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the Churches whereof he "had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is a warrant sufficient.

Colman his Reasons for the observing of Easter after the *Scottish* manner.

Agilbert being desired next to declare his mind, excused himself by the want of the *English* tongue, entreating the King that *Wilfrid* might be allowed to answer for them all; which granted, *Wilfrid* began in this sort: "The Easter which "we keep, we have seen observed at *Rome*, where the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* "did preach, and suffered Martyrdom. As we travelled through *France* and "*Italy*, we saw the same order every where kept; and by relation we hear that "the Churches of *Africk*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and, to be short, the whole Christian "world doth observe the same time: only these men and their followers, the *Bri*- "*tans* and *Picts*, with some remote Islands, and not all these neither, do foolishly "contend in this point against the whole world.

Wilfrid his Reply to *Colman*.

Here *Colman* interrupting his speech said, "It is a marvel you should "call our doing *foolish*, seeing we follow the ensample of that great Apostle who "was held worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom, and is known to have lived most wise- "ly.

Colman interrupteth *Wilfrid* for calling their observation *foolish*.

Wilfrid replying said, "Far be it from me to charge St. *John* with Folly; he "observed the Rites of *Moses Law* according to the letter, the Church as yet *Ju*- "*daizing* in many thinge, and the Apostles not being able to abdicate upon the "sudden the whole Observations of the Law which God had ordained: for this "cause did St. *Paul* circumcise *Timothy*, offer sacrifices in the Temple, and shave "his head at *Corinth* with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; which things he did only to "eschew the offence of the Jews. In this consideration, S. *James* said to the "Apostle St. *Paul*, *Thou seest, brother, that many thousands of the Jews do be-* "*lieve, yet are they all zealous followers of the Law.* But the light of the Gospel "now shining throughout the world, it is not lawful for a Christian to be circum- "cised, or to offer carnal sacrifices to God. Thus *S. John*, keeping the custom "of the Law, began the Celebration of Easter upon the 14 day of the first month "at evening, not caring whether it fell upon the Sabbath-day or any other day of "the week. But St. *Peter* preaching at *Rome*, when he considered that the Lord "did rise from the death on the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to insti- "tute Easter on that day. And that this is the true Easter to be observed by all "Christians, it is clear by the *Nicene* Council, which did ratifie and confirm the "same by their Decree. But you neither follow the example of St. *John* nor St. "*Peter*, nor doth your Celebration of Easter agree either with the Law or Gospel. "For St. *John*, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day "after the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first of the Sabbath: "Saint *Peter* did celebrate Easter from the 15 of the Moon to the 21, which you "do not; for you keep Easter from the 14 to the 20 day, and often you begin "Easter on the 13 day at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention; neither

Wilfrid excusing himself, persisteth in his Reply.

"did

"did our Lord the author of the Goſpel eat the Paſſeover on the 13 day, but "upon the 14 at night, and at the ſame time he did celebrate the Sacrament of "the New Teſtament in remembrance of his death and paſſion. So as I have ſaid, "you neither agree with Law nor Goſpel, with St. *John* nor with St. *Peter*, in the "Celebration of the greateſt Feſtivity. *An.* 651.

To this *Colman* anſwered; "And did *Anatholius* then, who in the Eccleſiaſtick "Hiſtory is ſo highly commended, go againſt both the Law and the Goſpel, when "as he ſaid that Eaſter ought to be kept from the 13 day to the 20? or ſhall we think "our moſt reverend Father *Columba* and his Succeſſours, who were all dear unto "God, did tranſgreſs in obſerving Eaſter after that manner? They were men of "great Piety and Vertue, as their Miracles have declared; and I making no doubt "of their Holineſs, will endevour to follow their Order and Diſcipline. *Colman* his Anſwer.

Then ſaid *Wilfrid*, "It is known that *Anatholius* was a godly and learned man; "but what have you to do with him, that obſerve not his cuſtomes? for he follow- "ed the true Rule of keeping Eaſter, and obſerved the Circle of 19 years, which "either you know not, or if you do, ye ſet at nought, although the ſame be obſer- "ved in the univerſal Church of Chriſt. He did ſo account the 14 day, as he ac- "knowledged the ſame to be the 15 at night, after the manner of the *Egyptians*, "and ſo the 20 day he believed to be the 21 in the evening; which diſtinction "you know not, as appears by this, that ſometimes you keep Eaſter on the 13 day "before the full Moon. As to your Father *Columba* and his followers, whoſe Rule "and precepts confirmed by Miracles you confeſs to follow, I may anſwer, That "in the day of Judgement the Lord will ſay to many that *propheſied in his name*, "did *caſt out Devils*, and wrought other miracles, *I know you not*. But God for- "bid I ſhould ſpeak this of your Fathers; ſeeing it is better to believe good of "thoſe we know not then ill. Therefore I will not deny them to have been the "Servants of God and beloved of him, ſeeing they ſerved God with good intent, "though in ſimplicity. Neither do I think the Order they keep in Eaſter did "hurt them much, ſo long as they had none among them that could ſhew the right "obſervation thereof. If the truth had been ſhewed them, I doubt not they would "have followed the ſame as well in this matter as in others which they knew. "But if you and your aſſociates ſhould refuſe the Decrees of the Apoſtolick See, "or rather of the whole Church allowed by holy Scripture, now after you have "heard the ſame, without all queſtion you ſin heavily. Howbeit your Fathers were "holy men, you muſt not think that a few dwelling in a corner of a remote Iſle "are to be preferred to the univerſal Church of Chriſt. And if *Columba* your "Father, yea and ours alſo, if he was of Chriſt, was mighty in Miracles; yet is "he not to be equalled to the Prince of the holy Apoſtles, unto whom the Lord "ſaid, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, againſt which the "gates of Hell ſhall not prevail; and will give unto thee the keyes of the Kingdom of Hea- "ven.* *Wilfrid* his Reply.

The King, who had hearkened diligently unto all which they ſpake, taking hold of theſe laſt words, asked *Colman if it was ſo, that the Lord had ſpoken theſe words unto* Peter. He anſwered, *that it was truth. And can you ſhew*, ſaies he, *that the like authority was given to your Father* Columba? *Colman* anſwered, *Not*. Then ſaid the King, *Do both agree in this, that theſe words were ſpoken to St.* Peter, *and that the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him?* They anſwered that they did. Then ſaid he, *Seeing St.* Peter *is the door-keeper of Heaven, I will follow his Rule in every thing, leſt when I come to Heaven's gates the doors ſhall be ſhut againſt me*. Theſe ſpeeches of the King, full of ſimplicity, were ſeconded with the acclamations of many of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the adverſaries of *Colman*. The King determineth the Queſtion.

But he nothing moved therewith retained ſtill his opinion, and would not change; yet fearing that ſome trouble might ariſe if he ſhould make longer ſtay in thoſe parts, he reſigned his Biſhoprick, in which one *Tuda* a *Scotiſh-man* ſucceeded, who was content to ſubmit himſelf to the *Roman* obſervation of Eaſter, and to receive the *Clerical Tonſure*: but he lived not one whole year, and died of the Plague. *Colman* reſigneth his place.

An. 651. *Colman* returning into *Scotland* was welcomed by his Countreymen; for he was in great eſteem, and bare no ſmall authority, both in the Church and State, before he went into *England*; as appeared in the Inſurrection made againſt King *Ferqhard*. The Nobility having conſulted to depoſe him from his Kingdom for the deteſtable cruelties he had committed, by *Colman* his authority they were only kept back, who told them, *That the puniſhment of Kings belonged to God, and that he ere it were long would take vengeance of his wickedneſs.* Which as he foretold came to paſs; for the King after a few days being at hunting, happened to be bitten by a Wolf, and falling into a Fever, ſuch a putrefaction enſued in his body, that out of every part there iſſued abundance of Lice and Vermine, which made him abhorred of all men. Languiſhing in this Conſumption a long ſpace, and touched with a bitter remorſe for his wicked life, he ſent for *Colman*, to whom he expreſſed a great ſorrow for the ill life he had led, intreating the help of his prayers; and, toteſtifie his humiliation, would needs be carried forth to the next fields wrapped in ſackcloth; where after an open confeſſion made of his wickedneſs, he was abſolved by *Colman*, and ſhortly after yielded up the ghoſt.

Colman returneth into *Scotland*. *Buchan. l.* 5.

The memory of this, which was yet freſh in the minds of people, together with the report of his conſtancy, (for ſo it was interpreted) did purchaſe unto him great love and reputation; but he, making ſhort ſtay at home, went ſoon after into *Ireland*, where he built a Monaſtery for the *Engliſh* and *Scots* that followed him thither. They not well agreeing, he bought a piece of ground and founded a religious houſe for the *Engliſh* apart. Biſhop *Leſly* in his Chronicle writeth, that after this he paſſed into *Germany*, and having travelled through *Boheme*, *Hungary*, and a great part of *Greece*, as he returned by *Auſtria*, he was killed by ſome Pagans in thoſe parts: for this he citeth *Johannes Stabius*, the Hiſtoriographer of *Maximilian* the firſt. But whatſoever became of him, he was certainly a man of great integrity, and therefore much reſpected of all men.

A declining in the Church by the Diſſentions that grew in the ſame. *Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ.*

After this time we find a continual declining in the Church: for the Deciſion taken in that conference of *Whitby*, touching the controverſie of Eaſter, increaſed the Diſſenſion, and put all out of frame; they that were in place urging the Rites more ſtrictly then was convenient, and others chuſing rather to quit their places then to give way unto them. *Theodorus*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is blamed for exerciſing the authority of his place too peremptorily about theſe things, and forcing the *Britiſh* Biſhops to conform themſelves: *Wilfrid*, Archbiſhop of *York*, dealing in like ſort with the *Scottiſh* Preachers, that had planted the Goſpel among the *Engliſh*, thruſt them from all their places. *Nam optione datâ, maluerunt loco cedere, quàm Paſcha Catholicum cæteróſque Ritus canonicos Romanæ Eccleſiæ recipere;* It being given to their option, whether they would ſtay and admit the obſervation of Eaſter and other Rites of the Church of *Rome*, they made choice to leave their places and depart. The Clergy at home became alſo divided: for *Adamannus* or *Adamnanus* a Biſhop, who had been Tutor to *Eugenius* the ſixth, being ſent in Ambaſſage to *Alfrid* King of *Northumberland*, fell in ſuch a liking of the Rites he ſaw there uſed, as at his return he became an earneſt perſwader of his Countreymen to receive them, and prevailed with many. Yet the Monks of *Jona*, whoſe Governour he had ſometimes been, did ſtrongly oppoſe; others that loved not to be contentious retired themſelves, among whom *Diſybodius* and *Levinus* are ſaid to have been two. *Diſybodius* going into *Germany* lived a Monk in the Abbey of *Fulden* many years.

Buchan. l. 5.

Adamannus a Biſhop.

Adamannus, whom even now I named, is much commended for the care he took to keep the *Picts* and *Scots* in peace; which albeit he did not effect according to his deſire, (for they were ever making Incurſions one againſt another) yet ſo far he prevailed, as during his life no publick War aroſe amongſt them. To bind the two people in friendſhip, he was a means to make *Eugenius* the ſeventh take to wife *Spondana* daughter to *Granard* King of *Picts*; but ſhe not long after being killed as ſhe lay in bed by two *Athol* men, that had conſpired to kill the King, and were miſtaken in the execution, the friendſhip contracted had almoſt turned into deadly enmity, becauſe of a rumour that went that ſhe was made away by the King's knowledge. The *Picts* complaining of the injury done to their bloud, and many of the ſubjects appre-

apprehending it to be the King's own fact, he was forced, with ſome indignity to his perſon, to plead his innocency in a Parliament called to that purpoſe. It happened that in the mean time the murtherers were diſcovered and taken, and by the puniſhment they ſuffered the King's innocency was ſufficiently cleared; wherewith he not contented, would needs be avenged of his ſubjects that had called his name in queſtion. This raiſed a great ſtir, and had doubtleſs burſt forth in a civil War, if *Adamannus* by his wiſdom had not mitigated the King, and wrought the ſubjects reconcilement. *Beda* ſpeaking of this *Adamannus* ſaith, that he was *Vir unitatis & pacis ſtudioſiſſimus*, a man moſt careful to preſerve unity and peace. And indeed he ſhewed as much; for having the favour of the King, although he ſtood divided in opinion from his brethren, he never moved him to uſe his Authority in theſe matters, as eaſily he might have done, judging as he did rightly, Uniformity to be a work of time, and that conſtraint and violence are not the means to bring it to paſs. *An.* 689.

Chilianus, or *Kilianus*, a man of great learning, taking a contrary courſe, fell into the diſlike of many for his too great forwardneſs in advancing the *Romiſh* Ceremonies; and out of indignation conceived againſt thoſe that maligned him left his place, betaking himſelf to travel with *Colonatus*, or *Columbanus*, a Presbyter, and *Theotrianus* a Deacon. After a view taken of *England* and *France*, he took journey into *Germany*, and coming to *Herbipolis*, now called *Wirtzburg*, where one *Goſbertus* governed as Deputy to *Theodorick* King of *France*, he was informed that the Governor had lately taken *Geilana* his brother's widow to wife; which he eſteeming a great wickedneſs, and not to be endured where Chriſtianity was profeſſed, he went to *Rome*, and meaned the matter to Pope *Conon*; who, liking well the zeal of the man, did conſecrate him Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*, and ſent him back thither. At his return ſhewing the Governour what an unlawful match he had made, he laboured earneſtly to have him dimit *Geilana*, and was in likelihood to prevail: whereupon the malicious woman having conduced ſome murtherers to make him away, both he and his two companions were ſtrangled in their Chambers; and, leſt the fact ſhould be diſcloſed, their bodies, books and veſtments, were all hidden under the ground. But God, who never ſuffereth murther to be long concealed, brought the ſame ſhortly after to light by the means of one of her maids. Whereupon *Burchardus* his ſucceſſor made the corpſes to be raiſed, and laid in the great Church of the City, with theſe verſes appended nigh unto their Sepulcher. *Chilianus.* *Baron. in anno* 689.

Hi ſunt, Herbipolis, *qui te docuere Magiſtri,*
Quâ verum coleres religione Deum.
Impia quos tandem juſſit Geilana *necari,*
Celavitque ſub hunc corpora cæſa locum.
Nè turpi, ſine laude, ſitu defoſſa jacerent
Corpora, Burchardus *ſub monumenta locat.*

But to proceed; as it falleth out commonly at ſuch times, there were not a few that, upon hope to raiſe their fortunes and gain preferment, were after this ſtill gadding to *Rome*. *Baronius* telleth us in his Annals of two of our Countreymen, *Wiro* and *Plechelmus*, that came to *Rome* to viſit, as he ſpeaketh, *Limina Apoſtolorum*. *Wiro*, he ſaith, had been earneſtly intreated to accept the charge of a Biſhop; but it being a cuſtome in the *Scottiſh* Church firſt to elect their Biſhops, then to ſend them to *Rome* for ſeeking confirmation, he took this occaſion to viſit the holy City. But, by the Cardinals leave, our Church had no ſuch cuſtome before that time; nor will it be ſhewed that before theſe two any did go to *Rome*, either to be conſecrated, or confirmed. They indeed obtained what they ſought, and were conſecrated by Pope *Honorius*, who uſed them with much reſpect; that upon the report they ſhould make, others ſhoule be allured to keep the ſame courſe. *Wiro* returning, made an ample diſcourſe of their entertainment, and incited many to try the ſame way, yet made no long ſtay at home; for we find him ſhortly after turn Confeſſor to King *Pipin*, with whom he found ſuch favour as he did build a Monaſtery in *Franconia*, *Baron. in anno* 632. *Wiro* and *Plechelmus* conſecrated Biſhops by Pope *Honorius*.

An. 697. A Synod at *Utrecht.*

Franconia to the memory of St. *Peter*, and, retiring thither in his age, did there end his daies. What became of *Plechelmus* I read not; only I find both him and *Wiro* preſent at a Synod in *Utrecht*, called by Pope *Sergius* in the year 697, and in the Records *Plechelmus* ſtyled *Epiſcopus Candidæ caſæ.*

An. 697. *Bonifacius* an *Italian* came into *Scotland.*

There came about the ſame time into *Scotland* an *Italian* named *Bonifacius*, a grave and venerable perſon, as he is deſcribed, and was judged by the vulgar ſort to be the Pope. Some have written that he was elected ſucceſſour to *Gregory* the Great, but declined the charge out of a deſire to promove Religion in theſe Northern parts. I rather think he came hither to confirm our acquaintance with the *Roman* Church. As ever that was, for the pains he took in preaching the Goſpel, and the Churches he erected in this Kingdom, he deſerveth of us an honourable remembrance. For landing in the River of *Tay*, at the mouth of a little Water that divided the Countreys of *Angus* and *Mernis*, he there built a Church to the memory of St. *Peter* the Apoſtle; another not far from thence he built at *Telin*, and a third at *Reſtennoth:* and having finiſhed theſe works, he did viſit the countreys of *Marre*, *Bughan*, *Murray* and *Bogieland*, preaching the Goſpel whitherſoever he came; neither did he reſt till he came to the countrey of *Roſs*, and chuſing *Roſmarkie* for the place of his reſidence, erected there a Church, where after his death he was buried. *Molochus*, a learned Biſhop of his countrey, taking delight in his company, followed him in all theſe waies; and that he ſhould not be ſeparate from him in death, gave order that he ſhould be interred in the ſame Church, and near unto *Boniface*; for he outlived him many years, and died in the 94 of his age. His bones were afterwards tranſlated to *Liſmore* in *Argile*, becauſe of his labours employed in reforming that Church.

Bonifacius made Archbiſhop of *Mentz.*

Whether or not I ſhould mention among theſe that *Boniface* who was by *Gregory* the ſecond preferred to be Biſhop of *Mentz*, I know not, ſo many Writers affirming him to have been born in *England:* but of what Countrey ſoever he was, none did ever adventure more for the Pope then he did; for he is ſaid to have brought the *Bavarians*, *Thuringians*, *Heſſians*, and a great part of *Germany* more, to ſubmit themſelves in all matters Eccleſiaſtick to the See of *Rome*; yet was he therein greatly oppoſed (beſides ſome *Germans*) by two of the *Scottiſh* Nation, *Clemens* and *Sampſon*, who at the time remained in thoſe parts. Theſe did openly in their Sermons inveigh againſt him as a Corrupter of Chriſtian doctrine, charging him, "1. For that he ſtudied to win men to the ſubjection of the Pope, and not to "the obedience of Chriſt; 2. That he laboured to eſtabliſh a ſovereign authority "in the Pope his perſon, as if he were only the Succeſſour of the Apoſtles, where-"as all Biſhops are their Succeſſours as well as he; 3. That he went about the abo-"liſhing of Prieſts Marriage, and extolling a Single life beyond meaſure; and, "4. That he cauſed Maſſes to be ſaid for the dead, erected Images in Churches, "and introduced divers Rites unknown to the ancient Church. For this *Clemens* in a Councel holden at *Rome* was excommunicated and condemned for an Heretick. The ſentence is to be ſeen in the third Tome of the Councils, wherein none of theſe particulars is mentioned, but other falſe aſperſions are caſt upon his fame, as hath been the cuſtom of handling thoſe that oppoſe the Corruption of the *Roman* Church. *Bonifacius* always going on in his courſe, and ſeeking to make the like Reformation amongſt the *Frizons*, was with 54 of his followers killed in the 64 year of his age, and hath therefore a chief place in the *Roman* Martyrologie.

But this did ſo little terrifie others, as about the ſame time certain *Scottiſh* Monks did adventure upon the *Saxons*, to bring them under the Pope's obedience. *Palto*, *Tanco*, *Korvila* and *Haruchus*, (ſo they name them) being conſecrated Biſhops of *Verden* in *Saxony* one after another, did all of them lay down their lives in that quarrel; *Quaſi exoptantes coronam Martyrii*, ſays *Balæus*, longing for the Crown of Martyrdom, and counting it their glory to ſuffer in the Biſhop of *Rome* his cauſe. Nor were they Monks only that were ſo given, but even of the Biſhops *Sedulus* and *Perguſtus* were vehemently ſet that way, and having aſſiſted in a Synod called at *Rome* by *Gregory* the ſecond in the year 721, (as their Subſcriptions extant in the Books of Councils do teſtifie) after their return made great diſturbance in the Church

Church for the erecting of Images, and put divers Preachers from their Livings for reſiſting that courſe. *An.* 697.

In all this time, which is not a little to be admired, the Eremitical life was in ſuch eſteem, not with Clergy-men alone, but with the greateſt Nobles and Princes, that they, forſaking their Honors and Dignities, betook themſelves thereto, as the moſt contented and deſirable ſort of life. Of theſe laſt our Stories do name *Droſtanus*, the Uncle, or, as others ſay, the Nephew of King *Aidanus*, Prince *Fiacre*, the ſecond ſon of *Eugenius* the fourth, and *Florentius*, a Gentleman of honorable birth and eſtate, who did all, nigh at one time, ſequeſter themſelves from the world, not out of any grief or diſcontent, whereof they had no cauſe, but upon a mere apprehenſion of the vanity of worldly greatneſs. The ſtory of *Fiacre*, as *Boeth.* rehearſeth it, is eſpecially memorable. This Prince being committed to the education of *Conanus* Biſhop of *Man*, after he came to ſome years, did ſteal away privately to *France*; and his intention being diſcovered to *Pharo* Biſhop of *Meauz*, he had by his gift a little Cell in a ſolitary place appointed for him. There ſeparating himſelf from all company, he ſpent his time wholly in Prayer and divine Contemplation. It happened after a little time, his elder brother King *Ferqhard* to be depoſed for his Tyrannical government; whereupon Commiſſioners were ſent to recall him, as being the next Heir of the Kingdom. He getting intelligence of their coming, did betake him to his prayers, and with many tears beſought God to confirm his mind in the reſolution he had taken, and divert them by ſome means from diſturbing his reſt: ſo as when they came unto him he appeared unto them leprous, looked ſo deformed as they were amazed to behold him: but they (notwithſtanding this, did not judge him unfit for government) reſolved to deliver their Commiſſion, intreating him to return to his Countrey, where he would find the air more healthful, and in a ſhort time by the help of Phyſicians recover his health. *Fiacre* at firſt excuſing himſelf by his infirmity, when he perceived them inſiſt for his return, and relinquiſhing that ſort of life, did cut them off with this anſwer: *I have*, ſaid he, *made choice of this condition of life which you ſee, and am contented with this little Cell for my dwelling: theſe Garments* (pointing to his apparel) *ſerve me for clothing, and my Food is a ſimple Pottage of herbs, which I dreſs to my ſelf; more I deſire not, nor would I change this ſtate of life with the moſt fortunate King in the world. I ſeem to you deformed, yet is my body ſound, and my bloud uncorrupted; but it is the will of God I ſhould look ſo, that I may be kept humble, and learn to amend my life. Go you therefore home, and ſhew my Brother and the Noblemen that ſent you hither, that I live content in this private manner, and will not change it with any ſtate whatſoever; and from me deſire them to ſerve God purely, to live juſtly, and entertain peace among themſelves: which if they do, they ſhall be always victorious over their enemies.* This ſaid, he withdrew himſelf into his Cell; and they, finding that there was no means to prevail with him, departed.

The Story of *Fiacre.*

The Commiſſioners at their return making report of that they had ſeen, and his reſolution, his only ſiſter *Syra* was ſo much moved with it, as, taking with her ſome Virgins in company, ſhe went to viſit him, and after ſome conference rendered her ſelf and thoſe that came with her Religious in the city of *Meaux*. This *Fiacre* is the ſame to whoſe memory divers Churches in *France* are dedicated, and is ſaid to have died in the year 665.

Florentius (whom I named) taking the like reſolution went into *Germany*, and in the countrey of *Alſatia*, upon the River *Haſel*, built a little Chappel for his private uſe, where he lived retired from all company, and purchaſed to himſelf great reputation. It happened *Rathildis* the daughter of *Dagobert* King of *France* to fall ſick in the time of a diſeaſe that deprived her both of ſight and ſpeech, and being recommended to *Florentius* prayers, ſhe within a little while recovered. Whereupon King *Dagobert* did build a magnifick Abbey, called yet *The Abbey of Haſelah*, and committed the Government thereof to *Florentius*. There was difficulty enough to win him from his ſolitary life; yet ſo earneſt were the ſolicitations uſed unto him, that in end he yielded, and was after that made Biſhop of *Straesburg*, upon the death of *Rotharius*. Twelve years he governed that See moſt wiſely, giving proof of his vertue and worth as well in the active as contemplative life. Before his death *Bal. cent.* 14.

An. 697. death he founded a Monastery for *Scottish*-men at the river *Bruschius* in *Alsatia*, and placed therein *Argobastus*, *Theodotus* and *Hidolphus*, who had accompanied him from *Scotland*. His Body, according as he directed, was there interred after his death.

Never did this Countrey abound more in Learned men then at this time. Our Writers speak of *Mocharius*, *Glacianus* and *Gervadius*, Bishops of great reputation: they name likewise *Divinicus*, *Conganus*, *Dunstanus*, *Medanus* and *Modanus*, as famous men all for their Piety and Learning. But they that King *Achaius* sent to *Charles* the Great, upon his earnest intreaty, did excel all the rest; *Joannes Scotus*, *Claudius Clemens*, *Rabanus Maurus* and *Flaccus Albinus*, otherwise called *Alcuinus*, these four he sent with Prince *Gulielme* his brother into *France*, at the time of the League made with that people, which to this day remaineth inviolate: and by them it was that the University of *Paris* was first founded. *Scotus*, after he had stayed some years at *Paris*, was imployed by the same *Clarles* for founding an University at *Pavia*, and was in great respect with all, the *Roman* Church excepted, who could not away with the liberty he used in his reproofs of the Errors then springing up. His Treatise of the Eucharist, a pious and learned Work, was by Pope *Leo* the ninth condemned in *Synodo Vercellensi* in the year 1030, long after his death. *Claudius Clemens* was afterwards preferred to the Bishoprick of *Auxene*, where he lived to his death in great esteem.

The Universities of *Paris* and *Pavia* founded by *Scottish*-men. *Scotus.*

Alcuin. *Alcuin*, commonly held to be *Charles* the Great his Master, was made his Eleemosynar, and lived in special credit with him. The Book that came forth under *Charles* his name against Images was thought to be penned by him; for he was a man of great Learning, as the many Books left by him to posterity do shew. *Ubique pius, ubique doctus*, says *Balæus*, *succinctus, gravis, & ante multos alios præcipue dignus qui in manibus hominum habeatur.* The *English* Writers will have him born in their Countrey, not far from the City of *York*. To which I only say, that the *English* at that time being adversaries to the *French* and *Scots*, speaking of them as common enemies to both people, it is not probable, if he had been of the *English* Nation, that he would be so inward with *Clarles* the Great.

Rabanus Maurus. *Rabanus Maurus* was his Auditor many years, and under his hand grew to such perfection of learning, that it is said, *quod nec* Italia *similem, nec* Germania *æqualem peperit*; that neither did *Italy* breed his like, nor *Germany* his equal. *Tantam viri eruditionem*, says *Bruschius*, *omnes Bibliothecæ nobis commendant; & quantum ingenio valuerit, edita ab eo volumina demonstrant. Bibliothecam enim* Fuldensem *tanta librorum multitudine locupletavit, ut dinumerari vix queant.* All Bibliotheques do witness the rare erudition of that man, and what a fertile ingenie he had the Volumes published by him do shew. The Library of *Fulden* he enriched with such multitudes of Books as can scarce be numbred. And certainly who shall but read the Catalogue of his Works, will wonder how any one man should in his life have penned so much, and upon so divers subjects; for besides that he did illustrate the whole Books of Scripture with his Expositions, he left a number of profitable Tractates in every Science to posterity. After *Clemens* was gone from *Paris* he continued in the University some years; and being made Abbot of *Fulden*, upon a displeasure he conceived against the Monks he went to the Court of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, where he had not long attended, when, upon the death of *Otgarius* Archbishop of *Mentz*, he was elected to the Government of that See. Ten years he sate Bishop, having no opposition made to him nor to his Doctrine, though he taught no other then what is with us in these times taught and professed; as in his Works yet extant may be seen.

Maidulphus Scotus. *Camden's* Antiquities. In this reckoning we must not forget our countrey-man *Maidulphus Scotus*, who was of great fame in these days for his skill in training up the youth in Letters, and kept a publick School at *Caerbladon* in *Wiltshire*, there being as yet no University in *England*: he also is said to have been a strong defender of the Bishop of *Rome* his Authority, and placed in that part by *Eleutherius* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, for withstanding the *British* Doctors that opposed the *Roman* Rites. After some time bestowed that way, embracing the Monastical life, he erected an Abbey at *Malmsbury*, which *Aldelin* his disciple and successor did much increase: and from him it is thought

thought that *Malmsbury* took the name, being at firſt called *Maidulphsbury*, or *Maidulphs city*. *An.* 800.

We are now at the 800 year, or thereabout, when as the wars were renewed betwixt the *Scots* and the *Picts*, which brought in end the utter ſubverſion of that people, I mean the *Picts*. Their Kingdom had continued near 1200 years under the Reign of 65 Kings, and was fortunate enough till the daies of King *Feredeth*; who, I know not by what ill counſel, bare an heavy hand upon the Church, and made ſpoil of her Rents, eſpecially of the Ornaments beſtowed by his Predeceſſour King *Hungus* upon the Church of St. *Andrews*. The occaſion of theſe Troubles I ſhall briefly ſet down, after I have remembred the Magnificence of Prince *Gulielme*, which ought never to be forgotten. After the League contracted with *France*, which he was ſent to ratifie, he followed *Charls* the Great in all his Wars, performing notable ſervices, eſpecially in *Italy*, where he was made Lieutenant for the King. Upon the end of the Warrs, being grown in age, he went to *Germany* reſolving to beſtow his means (which were very great) in founding Religious Houſes, which he did at *Colen*, *Francford*, *Vienna*, *Herford*, *Luneburg*, *Wirtsburg*, *Muleren*, and *Ratisbone*: fifteen Abbeys and Hoſpitals they reckon founded by him, ſome in *Italy*, but the moſt part in *Germany*; all which he endowed with a reaſonable proportion of lands and rents, but with this Proviſo, that none ſhould be admitted therein but *Scottiſh*-men born. This for many years according to his appointment was obſerved; and even at this time, notwithſtanding the manifold alterations that have happened, there be ſome of theſe Foundations that are no ways changed from their firſt Inſtitution. They alſo may poſſibly decay, yet the magnificence of that Noble Prince ſhall ever be recorded to his everlaſting honour.

Warrs renued between the *Scots* and the *Picts*. *An.* 800.

Religious Houſes founded by Prince *Gulielm*.

Boeth. l. 10.

And now to the occaſion of theſe Troubles I mentioned. There reigned in the time of King *Achaius* amongſt the *Picts Hungus*, a Prince well inclined, and a great lover of Religion and Juſtice. *Athelſtane* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, having uſurped upon divers of his neighbours, and inlarged his Kingdom by ſubduing the *Northumbers*, did likewiſe invade the *Picts*, intending the conqueſt of that part of their Kingdom which lay next unto his. *Hungus* hereupon did move King *Achaius*, who had married *Ferguſiana* his Siſter, for ſome ſupply; and he, no leſs offended with *Athelſtan*'s oppreſſions then was *Hungus* himſelf, ſent to his aid ten thouſand men, under the leading of Prince *Alpin* his Son. *Hungus* ſupplied with his power entered into *Northumberland*, and, having made great depredations, returned home with a rich booty. *Athelſtan* following upon his heels overtook him at a little Village not far from *Hadington*; which put *Hungus* in a ſore fright, for a great part of his Army was diſmiſſed and gone home: yet not ſeeing a way to eſchew the Fight, he gave order for the Battel againſt the next day, and in the mean time betook himſelf to prayer, ſpending moſt part of the night in that exerciſe. A little before day falling into a ſlumber, it ſeemed to him that the Apoſtle St. *Andrew* ſtood by him, and aſſured him of the victory; which Viſion being related to the Army did much encourage them. The Hiſtory addeth, that in the joyning of the battel there appeared in the air a Croſs, in form of the Letter X, which ſo terrified the enemies as preſently they gave back. King *Athelſtane* was himſelf there killed, whereupon the Village took the name which at this day it enjoyeth, of *Athelſtan Foord*.

Hungus King of *Picts* ſupplied by *Achaius* King of *Scots*.

Hungus, to expreſs his thankfulneſs for the Victory, gave to the Church of *Regulus*, now called St. *Andrews*, divers rich gifts, as Chalices, Baſons, the Image of Chriſt in gold, and of his twelve Apoſtles in ſilver. He gave likewiſe a Caſe of beaten gold for preſerving the Reliques of St. *Andrew*, and reſtored to the Spirituality the Tithes of all Corns, Cattel, and Herbage within the Realm, exempting them from anſwering before any temporal Judge. Farther, he did appoint the Croſs of St. *Andrew* to be the Badge and Cogniſance of the *Picts*, both in their Warrs and otherwiſe; which as long as that Kingdom ſtood was obſerved, and is by the *Scots* as yet retained. But all this was ſpoiled, as we ſaid, by *Feredith* the third in ſucceſſion from *Hungus*, after which time nothing proſpered either with him or with that people.

Hungus his thankfulneſs for his Victory.

For the Line maſculine of their Kings failing, *Alpin* the ſon of *Achaius* did claim the

An. 800. the Crown was next in bloud, by virtue of an old Covenant betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Picts* refuſing to accept him being a Stranger, made choice of this *Feredeth* whom we named; and thereupon War was denounced. The firſt Encounter was at *Reſtennoth* in *Angus*; where in a cruel Fight, which continued from the morning until night, *Feredeth* was killed. His Son *Brudeus*, who ſucceeded, was made away by the *Picts* themſelves in the firſt year of his reign, and *Kenneth* his Brother that ſucceeded to him came to the like unfortunate end. After *Kenneth*, another called *Brudeus* was elected King; and he, in a Battel fought not far from *Dundee*, took King *Alpin* and many of his Nobles priſoners: which Victory he uſed moſt foully, putting all the Nobles to death, killing the King, and cauſing his head to be ſet upon a pole in *Abernethy*, or, as others write, in the City of *Camelon*.

The *Scots* claim the Kingdom of the *Picts*.

Kenneth utterly overthroweth the *Picts*.

The *Picts* upon this Victory ſuppoſing that they had utterly broken the courage of the *Scots*, did purpoſe nothing leſs then their extermination, which, after the death of *Brudeus*, his Brother *Drusken* that ſucceeded went earneſtly about. But *Kenneth* the ſecond, the ſon of *Alpin*, a Prince of a brave and heroick ſpirit, purſued ſo hotly the revenge of his Fathers death, as having defeated the *Picts* in divers Battels, he drave them all in the end forth of the Kingdom, and united that Crown to his own of *Scotland*. This *Kenneth* was a moſt wiſe and valiant King, and ſo circumſpect in his buſineſs, that from that time forth none of the *Picts* were ever heard to reſume the title of a King. The Countreys which they inhabited he divided amongſt the Nobles, and others whoſe labours in theſe Wars had merited a recompence. He eſtabliſhed good and wholſome Laws. To the Church he gave another face, and a greater outward ſplendour then the former Ages had ſeen, tranſlating the Epiſcopal See (which whileſt the *Pictiſh* Kingdom ſtood was ſetled in *Abernethy*) to the Church of St. *Reul*, and ordained it from thenceforth to be called *The Church of S. Andrews*, and the Biſhop thereof *Maximus Scotorum Epiſcopus*, the principal Biſhop of *Scotland*. Churches, Chappels and Oratories, with their Prieſts and all ſorts of Religious men he cauſed to be held in great reverence; and, in a word, did ſo nobly perform all actions both of War and Peace, as he may rightly be placed amongſt the beſt Kings, and reckoned the third Founder of the *Scottiſh* Monarchy.

Boeth. l. 10.

Leſl. l. 5.

THE


DEUCALEDONIUS
OCEANUS
ORCADE
Insulæ
St Columbanus
Rona
Leui
St Columbanus
Barray maior
Barray minor
Shent
St Nicolaus
Waterness
St Patricius
Valtenesse
EBU
DES
siue
HEBRI
DES
Insulæ
St Columbanus
St Petrus
Barray
Mula
MALEOS
Celanzar
MARE HIBERNI
Ylay
Insula
Dunbritan
GLOTTA
CUM
Durnesse
Strat
Assinc
shyre
Loquha
bria
Argadia
Brea rd
Assayn
IRLANDIAE siue HIBER
NIAE PARS


SCOTIA
Regnum
MARE
Septen:
Orien:
Occidens
Meridies
GERMANI-
CUS
ANGLIAE
PARS
Stronza
Rosa
Aimzia
Buquhania
Strath Done
Perth
Bodotria æstuar
Lauconia
Barwick
Holy Il
Carlisle
Old weik
Dumberth ca:
Peterpelle
Red ca:
Dunbar ca
East ca
Lamerton
Merham ca
Flightes
New cast
Tyne flu

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

The Contents.

The Succeſsion of Biſhops in the ſeveral Sees of this Kingdom, eſpecially in the See of Saint ANDREWS, *with other principal things that happened in their times.*

HAving made a Collection of ſuch things as I found diſperſed in Stories, and warranted in any ſort, for the firſt ſix hundred years of our Church, and being now come to the time wherein this Church by enlarging of the Kindom received a farther extention in bounds, and therewith an addition of more wealth and ſtate; I will, as beginning with a new accompt, follow the Story thereof by the Succeſſion of Biſhops, eſpecially in the See of Saint *Andrews*, upon which the reſt did depend.

The Succeſſion of Biſhops in this Church after the ſubverſion of the *Picts.*

1. The firſt Biſhop who ſate in this See was *Adrian*, killed by the *Danes* in the Iſle of *May*, in the year 872, with *Stolbrandus* a Biſhop, *Monanus* an Archdeacon, *Glodianus* a Presbyter, and a number of other Churchmen, who fled thither for their ſafety. Whileſt this Biſhop lived, *Conſtantine* the ſecond the ſon of *Kenneth* did keep a Convention in *Scone*, for reforming the diſorders which the looſe and diſſolute Government of his Predeceſſor *Donald* the firſt had cauſed. In that Convention beginning was made at the Clergy, and concerning them it was ordained, "That they ſhould reſide upon their Charges, and have no medling with ſecular "buſineſs: That they ſhould inſtruct the people diligently, and be good enſam-"ples in their converſation: That they ſhould not keep Hawks, Hounds, or Hor-"ſes for pleaſure: That they ſhould carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of civil "cauſes, but live contented with their own proviſions. And if they were tried to "tranſgreſs in any of theſe points, that for the firſt fault they ſhould be fined in a "pecuniary mulct, and for the ſecond deprived from their office and living. Thus was it not held in that time a diminution of Eccleſiaſtical authority for Princes to give Laws to the Clergy, and to puniſh them if they were found guilty of any offence or crime.

Adrian the firſt in this accompt killed by the *Danes. An.* 872.

A convention at *Scone* for reformation of the State, *An.* 860.

Statutes for redreſſing Abuſes.

Divers other ſtatutes for redreſſing Abuſes crept into the Realm were then alſo concluded: as, "That Drunkenneſs ſhould be puniſhed with death; that none "ſhould eat above one meal a day, nor accuſtom themſelves to lie ſoftly, or uſe "any Recreations but ſuch as might inure them to ſufferance and labour. Whereby that good King did baniſh all Riot and Luxury, and in a ſhort time brought the Kingdom again to a flouriſhing eſtate. But the *Danes* (as we ſaid) invaded the Countrey, and practiſing many cruelties, whileſt he did purſue them, who had entrenched themſelves not far from the Town of *Carrail*, he was unfortunately

An. 904. with all his Army overthrown, and, being taken priſoner the day following, beheaded at the mouth of a little cave, which in deteſtation of that fact is to this day called *The Devils Cave.*

2. Unto Biſhop *Adrian* ſucceeded *Kellach*: how long he lived, I find not.

Scon. l. 2. in Catalogo Epiſc. S. Andreæ.

3. After him *Maliſius* governed the See by the ſpace of eight years. This Biſhop had the happineſs to live under *Gregory* called the Great, a King indued with all the Vertues that can be wiſhed for or deſired in a King. The Privileges and Immunities granted by him to the Church do witneſs his Piety; for in a convention held at *Forfare*, by an unanime conſent of his Eſtates, he ordained,

King *Gregory* his Favors to the Church.

Boeth. l. 10.

"That all Prieſts ſhould from thenceforth be exempted from paying Tribute, keeping Watch, and going in Warfare. That they ſhould not be drawn before Temporal Judges for any Civil cauſe, but that all matters concerning them ſhould be decided by their Biſhops. The judgement of Matrimonial cauſes, right of Tithes, Teſtaments, Legiſlatory actions, and all things depending upon ſimple faith and promiſe, ſhould be committed to the Biſhops, with power to them to make Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical, to try Hereticks, Blaſphemers, Perjured perſons and Magicians, and cenſure ſuch as they did find delinquent in that kind. And that all Kings ſucceeding ſhould at the time of their Coronation take oath for maintaining the Church in their Liberties. Theſe Favours had the Clergy in the following Ages uſed with that moderation and equity which they ought, we ſhould not have ſeen nor felt the interruptions that have been made upon Church-Liberties, with the Incroachments wch in our time have been juſtly complained of.

Jo. Scotus called *Ærigena.*

In this time lived that famous Scholar *Joannes Scotus*, called *Ærigena*, from the place of his birth, which was the town of *Aire* in the Weſt parts of *Scotland.* This man being very young went to *Athens*, and followed his ſtudies there ſome years, attained to great perfection in the *Greek*, *Chaldaick* and *Arabick* languages. Returning afterward to *France*, at the requeſt of *Carolus Calvus*, he tranſlated in *Latine* the Work of *Dionyſius De cœleſti Hierarchia*; at which Pope *Nicolaus* took exception, and wrote to King *Charles* on this manner. *Relatum eſt Apoſtolatui noſtro, quod Opus Dyonyſii Areopagitæ, quod de Divinis Nominibus, vel cœleſtibus Ordinibus, Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir,* Joannes *genere* Scotus, *in Latinum tranſtulit: quod juxta morem nobis mitti, & noſtro debuit judicio approbari; præſertim cum idem* Joannes, *licet multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicetur, olim non ſanus in quibuſdam frequenti rumore dicatur.* We have been informed that one called *John*, of the *Scottiſh* nation, hath tranſlated the Work which *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* did write of the Names of God, or of the heavenly Orders, into the *Latine* tongue: which Book ought, according to the cuſtom, have been ſent to us, and approved by our judgement; eſpecially ſince the ſaid *John*, albeit he be eſteemed of good learning, hath been of long time held to be unſound in certain Points of doctrine. Now the Point which the Pope did chiefly quarrel was his Opinion of the Sacrament; for he had publiſhed a Treatiſe *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, wherein he maintained *Bertram* his Doctrine of that Point. *Scotus* having knowledge of this, and thinking he could not be ſafe in thoſe parts becauſe of the Pope's diſlike, came into *Britan*, and was welcomed by King *Alfred*, a great favorer of Learned men, by whom he was employed to teach the Languages at *Malmsbury* Abbey, and by ſome Scholars, who could not indure the ſeverity of Diſcipline, was ſtabbed to death in the year 884, and buried in the ſame Abbey.

Leſl. l. 5.

An. 904. 4. Biſhop *Maliſius* dying, *Kellach* the ſecond, the ſon of one *Ferlegus*, ſucceeded in his place. He was the firſt Biſhop of this Kingdom that went to *Rome* to ſeek Confirmation, and lived to a great age, for he ſate Biſhop 35 years. In his time *Conſtantine* the Third King of that name, wearied with the troubles of a Publick life, renounced his temporal Dignity, and betook himſelf to Solitude among the *Culdees* in St. *Andrews*, with whom he ſpent his laſt five years, and there died.

King *Conſtantine* the Third forſaketh the publick life.

Paſſet. l. 6. c. 27.

After this *Killach* theſe ſucceſſively were Biſhops.

5. *Malmore.*
6. *Maliſius* the ſecond.
7. *Alwinus*, who ſate three years only.
8. *Maldwin* the ſon of *Gillander*, and
9. *Tuthaldus.*

In

In this time the Cœlibate of the Clergy was violently urged, and Married Prieſts thruſt from their Livings; which raiſed great Stirs in the Church, but the particulars are not recorded, nor the Broils which thereupon inſued. I reade in the Antiquities of the *Britannick* Church, that in the year 977 a Council was gathered at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire* for that buſineſs, to which *Beornellus* a Biſhop of *Scotland* was called by *Alfrithe* the widow of King *Edgar*, who favoured the cauſe of married Prieſts. This Biſhop, a man of great learning and eloquence, is ſaid to have defended the Conjugal life of Prieſts by ſolid Reaſons taken out of Scripture, and to have put all the oppoſites to ſilence. But *Dunſtane* the Archbiſhop, who preſided in that Council, when he ſaw that Reaſon could not bear out the erand, fell a threatning, and ſaid that notwithſtanding all their Arguments they ſhould not carry away the victory: which he had no ſooner ſpoken, then the beams of the Houſe wherein they ſate at Council burſting aſunder, all were overturned, and fell headlong to the ground; many were bruiſed, and ſome killed with the fall; *Dunſtan* himſelf only eſcaped without harm, the beam whereon he ſtood remaining whole and entire. Such as favoured the cauſe of Monks did interpret this accident to be a ſentence given by God on their ſide: others ſaid that *Dunſtan* had wrought this miſchief by Sorcery, (for many ſuppoſed him to be a Magician.) However it was, the married Prieſts (though repining) were forced indeed to yield and ſubmit themſelves. What became of *Beornellus*, I reade not, nor whether he returned to his countrey. *An.* 977. *Camd. ant.*

The names of ſome other Biſhops we have who were in good accompt at that time; ſuch as *Blaanus*, *Englatius*, *Colmocus*, and *Moveanus* Confeſſor to King *Kenneth* the Third, a wiſe and valiant King, and one who might have been reckoned amongſt the beſt Princes, if about his latter end he had not ſtained his fame with the murther of *Malcolm* his Nephew, whom he made away by poyſon: but the ambitious deſire he had to ſettle the ſucceſſion in his own poſterity let him to work this villany; which he carried in ſo covert a manner, as no man did once ſuſpect him thereof, (the opinion of his integrity being univerſally great.) But as wicked facts can never be aſſured, though poſſible they may be concealed; his mind was never after that time quiet, the conſcience of the crime vexing him day and night with continual fears. In end, (whether it was ſo in effect, or if his perplexed mind did form the ſelf ſuch an imagination) whileſt he lay aſleep, he heard a voice ſpeaking to him in this ſort: "Doſt thou think that the death of *Malcolm*, that innocent "Prince treacherouſly murthered by thee, is hidden from me, or that thou ſhalt "paſs any longer unpuniſhed? No, there is a plot laid for thy life, which thou ſhalt "not eſcape: and whereas thou didſt think to tranſmit the Crown firm and ſtable "to thy poſterity, thou ſhalt leave the Kingdom broken, diſtracted and full of "trouble. *Boeth. l.* 11.

The King awaked with the voice was ſtricken with great terrour. In the morning early calling *Moveanus*, he laid open to him the grief and vexation of his mind: who giving the King his beſt counſel for the pacifying of his Conſcience, did adviſe him to beſtow alms upon the poor, viſit the graves of holy men, have the Clergy in greater regard then he was accuſtomed, and perform ſuch other externall ſatisfactions as were uſed in thoſe times. The King following his directions did carry himſelf moſt piouſly, not thinking by theſe outward deeds of Penance to make expiation for his ſin; for they were not become as yet ſo groſly ignorant, as to believe that by ſuch external works the juſtice of God is ſatisfied: albeit ſome idle toyes, ſuch as the viſiting the graves of the Saints, kiſſing of Reliques, hearing of Maſſes, and others of that kinde, which Avarice and Superſtition had invented, were then crept into the Church; yet people were ſtill taught, that Chriſt is the only propitiation for ſin, and by his bloud the guilt thereof is only waſhed away. This being ſtill the Doctrine of the Church, to think that *Kenneth* was any other, is ſcarce charitable. Alwaies, as he was viſiting the grave of *Palladius*, being invited to lodge in the Caſtle of *Fettercarne*, he was there treacherouſly murthered. But to return to our Biſhops. *Buchan. l.* 6. King *Kenneth* murthered in the Caſtle of *Fettercarne*.

10. *Fothadus* ſucceeded next after *Tuthaldus*, a man greatly reſpected for the

An. 1004. opinion conceived of his Holineſs. In the competition which *Grimus* had with *Malcolm* the Second for the ſucceſſion of the Crown, by his wiſdom and the truſt they repoſed in him they were brought to an agreement, and a moſt perillous commotion ſtayed. How long he ſate Biſhop is not recorded; in his time lived *Vigiamus* a Monk, an eloquent Preacher, *Coganus* an Abbot, and *Onanus* a Deacon, men of eſpecial accompt.

Buchan. l. 6.

Scon. l. in Catalog. Epiſc. S. Andrews.

Buchan. l. 6. 11. After the death of *Fothadus*, *Gregorius* was elected and conſecrated Biſhop. He lived in a troubleſome time; for ſoon after his election, the *Danes* did of new invade the countrey, and landing in *Murray*, had ſuch ſucceſs at firſt as they did think to make conqueſt of the Realm. But *Malcolm* the Second having repulſed them at a battel fought at *Pambride* in *Angus*, did purſue them unto *Biohan*, where at a Village called *Murthlack* he gave them an utter overthrow, and forced thoſe that eſcaped to ſwear, that during the reign of *Malcolm*, and the life of *Swane* their King, they ſhould never return into *Scotland*.

Boeth. l. 11.

The *Danes* defeat at *Murthlack* in *Angus* by *Malcolm*.

An Epiſcopal See at *Murthlack*.

To memorize this victory, the King did found an Epiſcopal See at *Murthlack*, enduing the ſame with Rents forth of the adjacent lands; and calling the Clergy to an aſſembly in the Town of *Bertha*, (now *Perth*) he enacted by the advice of Biſhop *Gregorius* divers Canons for their better government. At the ſame time in a Convention kept at *Scone*, to reward thoſe that had done well in the late Wars, *An.* 1004. he gave away all the Crown lands, reſerving little or nothing to himſelf. The Barons, to requite his liberality, did grant to him and his ſucceſſors Kings of *Scotland* the Ward of all their lands, with the benefit that might accrue by the marriage of the Heir. But this, being caſual and uncertain, proved unſufficient for maintaining his Royal eſtate, ſo that neceſſity (the ſure companion of immoderate largition) did force him to make unlawful ſhifts: whereby he came to be as much hated in end as he was loved at firſt; and by ſome villains, that thought themſelves wronged by him, was murthered in the Caſtle of *Glammes*, after he had reigned 30 years. Before his time the titles of *Thane* and *Abthane* were the only Titles of honour and dignity in the Realm: whereas he, to give a greater ſplendor to the State, did introduce all theſe Offices which are now in uſe, and are commonly called *Offices of Eſtate*.

Boeth. l. 11.

Paſl. l. 4. c. 44.

Buchan. l. 6.

An. 1034. *Duncan* the Firſt, his Nephew by *Beatrix* his daughter, ſucceeded to the Crown, whoſe weakneſs and ſimplicity made way to *Mackbeth* his Couſin-german's uſurpation; for he, conſpiring with *Bancho* a man of great place, deprived the King both of his Crown and life, in the ſeventh year of his reign. The King's two ſons, *Malcolm*, ſurnamed *Canmore*, and *Donald Bane*, fearing the cruelty of the Tyrant, withdrew themſelves and fled, *Malcolm* into *Wales*, and *Donald* into the *Weſt Iſles*. Thus none being to oppoſe, *Mackbeth* did aſſume to himſelf the Crown, and for the firſt ten years governed the Kingdom better with juſtice then he got it. Afterward growing ſuſpicious, and ſeeking to rid himſelf of thoſe that might prove his enemies, he began his cruelty at *Bancho*, who had a hand with him in the Kings murther: and inviting him on a night to ſupper with his ſon *Fleanche*, as they were returning to their lodgings, made ſome lie in the way to murther them. *Bancho* doubting no harm was killed; but his ſon *Fleanche* through the darkneſs of the night eſcaped. The Nobles deteſting this treachery, and fearing it might turn to be their own caſe, retired home to their dwellings. *Mackbeth* finding himſelf to be forſaken of his Nobles, and knowing that he was hated by the people, fell then to practiſe open Tyranny, and forging quarrels againſt the better ſort, did upon light cauſes put divers to death.

Buchan. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 12.

The *Thane* of *Fife*, called *Mackduffe*, a man of great power, out of a ſuſpicion he conceived, fled into *England*; where meeting with *Malcolm* the lawful Heir of the Crown, after he had exponed the miſery whereunto the Countrey was brought by the Cruelties of *Mackbeth*, and the reaſons of his own flight, he perſuaded him to return and repeat his Father's Kingdom. *Malcolm*, who often before had been ſolicited to return by ſuch as *Mackbeth* did ſuborn, made anſwer, *That he underſtood all theſe things to be true which were related; but if*, ſaid he, *ye knew how unfit I am for Government, you would not be ſo earneſt as you ſeem to call me home: for, not to diſſemble*

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with you whom I esteem my friend, the Vices which have overthrown many Kings, Lust and Avarice, do reign in me: whilest I live obscure and in a private sort, these faults are not espied; but if I were in place of Rule, the same would soon appear and break forth. *An.* 1057. A discourse between *Mackduffe* and *Malcolm.* *Boeth.l.*12. *Mackduffe* replying, "That these were no reasons to keep him back, for that Mar- "riage and time would quench Lust; and for Avarice, when he should have abun- "dance, and be out of fear of want, it would cease. *That,* said he, *possible may be, but I have an imperfection greater then these; for I can trust no man, and have found such falshood in the world, as I am jealous of every one, and upon the smallest suspicions (for I measure every man by my self) I break and alter all my courses.* "Away then, said "*Mackduffe,* I am unfortunate, and thou unworthy to Reign: and with this word he made to depart. Then *Malcolm* taking him by the hand, said, *I do now know thou art a man worthy of trust, and will not refuse to undergo any hazard with you; for as to these Vices we have been talking of, I thank God none of them do reign in me, only I speak this to discover your mind and disposition.* Thus both agreeing upon the enterprise, they gave private notice to their friends of their coming; and obtaining a supply of ten thousand men from King *Edward,* under the leading of *Sibard* Earl of *Northumberland, Malcom*'s Grand-father by the Mother, they entered into *Scotland.* The rumour of this Army did cast *Mackbeth* into a great terror, and not knowing what to do, (for he was deserted of all) he shut up himself at first in the Castle of *Dunsinnan,* a Fort that he had lately built. The Army marching thither, how soon they came in sight, *Mackbeth* out of a new fear forsook the Fort, and made to fly by horse; but being pursued by some of *Malcolm* his friends, he was overtaken and killed. *Lesl.l.*5.*c.*3,4. *Scotichron.l.*7.

Upon this victory *Malcolm* was declared King, and crowned in *Scone* the 25 of *April,* 1057. Soon after his Coronation, calling the Estates together at *Forfar,* he restored the children of those that *Mackbeth* had forfeited: and to correct the intemperances of the people, and to recal them to the ancient frugality, made divers good Statutes, repealing that beastly Act of *Eugenius* the Third, which appointed the first night of the new-married woman to appertain to the Lord of the ground, and granting the husband liberty to redeem the same by payment of an half Mark of silver, which portion they call *Marchetus mulierum,* and is as yet disponed by superiors in the Charters they give to their vassals. *An.* 1057. *Buch.l.*7.

In this Convention likewise the Bishops, who, as we shewed before, did indifferently administrate their Functions in all places to which they came, had limits appointed to them for the exercise of their jurisdiction. To St. *Andrews* was committed the oversight of *Fife, Louthian, Merce, Striveling-shire, Angus* and *Mernis. Glasgow* had the charge given him of the West parts and Borders; *Galloway* this countrey which yet beareth the name; and *Murthlack* all that is now of the Diocy of *Aberdeen.* Besides these, the King did erect *Murray* and *Cathnes* in two Bishopricks, appointing able men for the discharge of the service, and providing them with maintenance sufficient, he gave the Lordship of *Momemusk,* the superiority whereof belongs as yet to that See. The Church of *Dunfermling* he built from the ground, and laid the foundation of the Cathedral in *Durham,* advancing great sums to the perfection thereof. In all which he was much furthered by that blessed Lady Queen *Margaret* his wife. Diocies appointed to the Bishops. *Cathnes* and *Murray* erected by King *Malcolm* the Third.

That we may better know this Lady, and how she came to be married unto *Malcolm,* I must relate a few things belonging to that purpose. *Edmond* King of *England,* surnamed *Ironside,* being treacherously killed at *Oxford, Canutus* a *Dane,* who reigned in a part of that Kingdom, attained the absolute dominion of the whole. This *Edmond* left two sons, *Edwin* and *Edward,* whom *Canutus* in the beginning entertained very kindly, but afterwards seeking to establish the Crown in his own posterity, he sent them to *Volgarus* the Governor of *Swain,* to be murthered. The Governor pitying the estate of these innocent youths, conveyed them secretly unto *Solomon* King of *Hungary,* giving out to *Canutus* that they were made away. *Edward* (surviving *Edwin* his brother) married *Agatha* sister to the Queen of *Hungary,* and daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the Second, by whom he had a son called *Edgar,* and two daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian.* After *Canutus* his death The History of Queen *Margaret,* and her Marriage with King *Malcolm.*

An. 1057. ſucceeded *Harold* his eldeſt ſon, whoſe reign was cruel and ſhort, and four years only. And after him *Hardicanutus*, who died ſuddenly in the ſecond year of his reign, and was the laſt of the *Danes* that ruled in *England*.

Upon his death *Edward* brother to *Edmond Ironſide*, living then in *Normandy*, was recalled and crowned King of *England* at *Wincheſter*, in the year 1042. This is he that is called *Edward the Confeſſor*, a moſt pious King; who having no iſſue, ſent to *Hungary* for his Couſin *Edward*, and for his children. *Edward* ſoon after his coming died, ſo *Edgar* ſurnamed *Atheling* remained, to whom Kiug *Edward* would willingly have reſigned the Crown; but ſuch was the modeſty of that young Prince, as he did abſolutely refuſe to reign during the King his life. That loſt him the Crown, for upon the death of the King, *Harold* ſon to Earl *Godwin* was preferred, Prince *Edgar* his right utterly misknown. But *Harold* his reign continued not long. *William* Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called *the Conqueror*, having killed him in a Battel fought in *Suſſex* the next year, uſurped the Kingdom to himſelf. *Edgar*, fearing the Conqueror's cruelty, took ſea with his mother *Agatha*, and his two ſiſters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, intending to return into *Hungary*, but were by Tempeſt driven upon the coaſt of *Scotland*, where King *Malcolm*, that had learned by his own ſufferances to compaſſionate the diſtreſſes of others, did moſt courteouſly receive them, and ſhortly after their coming took *Margaret* the eldeſt ſiſter of *Edgar* to wife; a Lady of rare Vertue, who, though ſhe brought him little or no Portion, made both him and his Kingdom happy.

King *Malcolm* and the Conqueror at War.

How ſoon the *Norman* had ſetled his dominion in *England*, he ſent to King *Malcolm* to require *Edgar* his Competitor and Fugitive (as he termed him) to be rendered. *Malcolm* refuſed, holding it an unſeemly deed in a King, to deliver any perſon that took their refuge to him, much more to betray a Prince allied to himſelf unto his mortal enemy. Hereupon War was proclaimed, and one *Roger* a Nobleman of *Normandy* ſent to invade *Northumberland*, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the *Scots*. *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* did ſecond him with a great power; but both theſe were put to the worſe. *Odo* the *Norman*'s brother, who of a Biſhop of *Bayeux* was made Earl of *Kent*, as likewiſe his own ſon *Robert*, whom he employed with ſeveral Armies, did proſper no better; ſo as wearied of the Wars, he began to think of Peace: neither was *Malcolm* unwilling unto it. And after ſome Treaty it was accorded, That King *Malcolm* ſhould retain *Cumberland* with the ſame right that his predeceſſors did enjoy it: and that the ſubjects of each Kindom might know their limits, and how far they were to paſs, a ſtone-Croſs was erected in *Stanmore*, which was called the *Ree Croſs*, that is, the Croſs of Kings; for on the North ſide thereof the Arms of the King of *Scotland* were graven, and upon the South the Arms of the King of *England*.

Peace concluded amongſt them.

The contrary diſpoſition of King *Malcolm* and *William Rufus*.

This Peace held firm all the Conqueror's time; but *William* called *Rufus* his ſon ſucceeding, it quickly diſſolved: neither could it be otherwiſe, conſidering the contrary diſpoſition of the two Kings. For as *Malcolm* was religiouſly given, and a great Benefactor to the Church, ſo *Rufus* in all his carriage manifeſted no affection that way: for, to inlarge his Foreſt at *Wincheſter*, he demoliſhed thirty Churches, and forced *Anſelm* that good Biſhop of *Canterbury* to quit the Kingdom, for the liberty he uſed in his reprehenſions. It was alſo thought that the interview of the two Kings at *Glouceſter* did farther their diſlike, (as hath been often obſerved to fall out in the meetings of Princes.) For *Malcolm* departed from him in diſpleaſure, *Rufus* by ſome ſecret practice got the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, whereupon aroſe the War in which King *Malcolm* and Prince *Edward* his ſon did both periſh.

Biſhop *Gregorius* dieth.

A little before the beginning of this War, Biſhop *Gregorius* died, and in his place one called *Edmundus* was elected, who deceaſed before his Conſecration.

Turgot elected in his place. *Buchan. l. 7.*

12. After him *Turgot* Prior of *Dureſme* was choſen Biſhop. He wrote the Hiſtory of King *Malcolm* and Queen *Margaret*, who ſome few days after the death of the King her husband departed this life in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the Church of *Dunfermlin*; whither alſo the bodies of *Malcolm* and *Edward* his ſon were afterwards tranſlated, for at firſt they were buried in *Tinmouth* Abbey.

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Never was more lamentation made for the death of two Princes, then was for this Queen and her Husband *Malcolm*. To ſpeak of his Piety, Juſtice and Magnanimity, he outwent in all theſe the Princes of his time: and for Courage, he gave a noble proof of it in the firſt entry of his Reign, when upon a Conſpiracy detected againſt his life, riding one day in the fields, he called the chief Conſpirator, and taking him aſide from the reſt of the company unto a ſecret place, he did challenge him as a Traitor, willing him, if he had any valour, to ſhew the ſame, and rather take his life in an honeſt manner then treacherouſly. The man confounded with the boldneſs of the King, fell upon his knees and entreated pardon; which the King granted, retaining him ſtill in his ſervice as before. The magnificence of his Court whileſt he lived was great; and in the State to diſtinguiſh the degrees of Honor, he introduced the Titles of *Earl*, *Baron* and *Knight*, in the place of *Thane* and *Abthane*, which were the Titles before in uſe. *An.* 1117. The vertues of King *Malcolm* the third.

His Queen *Margaret* was in her place no leſs famous in all the Vertues that became women, devout towards God, charitable to the poor, and exceeding liberal in the advancing of publick works. The Church of *Carlile* ſhe built upon her own charges, and was eſteemed not to be the leaſt cauſe of all that the King her husband beſtowed that way. By her the King had a fair iſſue, ſix ſons, and two daughters. The firſt, called *Edward*, died with his father at *Alnwick*: the ſecond, called *Edmond*, did render himſelf Religious: *Etheldred*, the third, deceaſed young: the other three, *Edgar*, *Alexander* and *David*, reigned ſucceſſively one after another, continuing all of them in the ſame courſe of goodneſs. The names of the two daughters were *Maud* and *Mary*. *Maud* entring into the Cloiſter wherein *Agatha* her Grandmother and *Chriſtian* her Aunt lived retired, was with much difficulty won to deſcend into the world, and to be joyned in marriage with *Henry* the Firſt King of *England*; a Lady of incomparable Vertues, and of ſo good a diſpoſition, as ſhe was commonly termed MAUD *the good Queen*. Having lived 17 years with her husband in great love, ſhe deceaſed at *Weſtminſter* the firſt of *May*, 1118 and was buried on the right hand of *Edward the Confeſſor* his Tomb, with this Epitaph affixed The praiſe of Queen *Margaret*. Her iſſue by King *Malcolm*. *Buchan. l. 7.* *Sa. Daniel* in his Collection.

Proſpera non lætam fecere, nec aſpera triſtem:
Aſpera riſus ei, proſpera terror erant.
Non decor effecit fragilem, non ſceptra ſuperbam:
Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.
Maii *prima dies noſtrorum nocte dierum*
Raptam perpetuum fecit inire diem.

The other ſiſter *Mary* was married to *Euſtathe* Earl of *Boloign*, who went to the recovery of the Holy Land with that noble Prince *Godfrey* his brother, She bare to him one only daughter, named *Maud*, who was afterward matched to *Stephen* King of *England*, and departed this life at *London* three years before her ſiſter, having her corps interred at *Bermondſey* Abbey in *Southwark*, with this Inſcription.

Nobilis hic tumulata jacet Comitiſſa Maria:
Artibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
Regum ſanguis erat, morum probitate vigebat;
Compatiens inibi, vivat in arce poli.

Thus much we owed to the memory of thoſe good and glorious Princes, and now return. *Turgot*, after he had governed the See of St. *Andrews* with good commendation ſome 25 or 26 years, died in the year of our Lord 1117. His corps, according to his appointment, was honourably conveyed to *Dureſme*, and there interred. *An.* 1117. *Scon. lib. in Catalog. Epiſc. S. Andrews.*

In his time lived *Veremudus* Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*, a *Spaniard* by nation, and well learned according to thoſe times. He wrote the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, from the

An. 1098. the beginning of the Kingdom unto the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, and is greatly commended for his diligence and fidelity in that Work; but by the injury of Time the ſame is loſt.

In *Germany* much about the ſame time lived *Marianus*, *Paternus*, *Ammichadus*, *Sigebertus* and *Helias*, all of them *Scotch*-men, and well reſpected. This laſt had the government of two Monaſteries in *Colen*, called St. *Pantaleon* and St. *Martin*. The ſeverity and rigour that he uſed toward his Monks brought him in diſlike with *Piligrinus* Archbiſhop of the City, who upon ſome falſe informations determined to expulſe him and all the *Scottiſh* Monks that were in the City, after his return from the Emperor's Court, where he was for the time. This being reported to *Helias*, he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words, *Si Chriſtus in nobis peregrinus eſt, nunquam vivus Coloniam veniet Piligrinus*: which falling out according to his prediction purchaſed to him the reputation of a Prophet. After that he lived many years in peace, and died at *Colen* in the year 1042.

Sigebertus having governed the Monaſtery of *Fulden* ſome years, was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, and being urged by *Gregory* the ſeventh, called *Hildebrand*, to depoſe the Married Prieſts that would not ſeparate from their wives, was in danger to be detruded by his Clergy, and had much ado to cauſe that law of Single life to be embraced by them.

Ammichadus, a man nobly born, and greatly affected to the ſolitary life, lived a Recluſe in the Abbey of *Fulden*, ſpending his time in the meditations of mortality, and died in the year 1043.

Paternus was a Monk in the City of *Potelbrum*, which in the year 1058 was conſumed with fire. *Ambiens Martyrium*, ſaith *Marianus*, in a fooliſh affection of Martyrdom, refuſing to come forth of the Monaſtery, he was therein burnt alive.

Marianus. *Marianus*, he was firſt a Monk in the Monaſtery of St. *Martin* at *Colen*, founded by *Ebergerus* the Archbiſhop of that City for a Seminary of *Scottiſh* Students, in the year 676; and having continued there two years, went to the Abbey of *Fulden*, where he lived ten years. After that he went to *Mentz* upon the Archbiſhop's viſitation, and ſtayed there ſome 15 years. All this time he imployed in the ſtudy of Letters, eſpecially of Story and Cronology, wherein he attained to ſuch a perfection, as he was accompted the only Cronologiſt in his days: The Cronicle he wrote from the beginning of the world unto the year of *Chriſt* 1183, yet extant, doth teſtifie no leſs. He died at *Mentz* in the year 1186, and was buried in the Church of St. *Martin* within the City. And thus much for the learned men of our Countrey that lived in the time of *Turgot*.

An. 1098. 13. Next after *Turgot* *Godricus* ſucceeded in the See of Saint *Andrews*. This Biſhop did anoint King *Edgar* the ſon of *Malcolm*, in the year 1098, after the manner of other Chriſtian Princes; which Rite had not been formerly uſed in the Coronation of our Kings, and (as they write) was obtained from Pope *Urban* the ſecond, at the requeſt of Queen *Margaret*: for the Popes of *Rome* having as then advanced themſelves above Kings, did take on them the conferring of theſe Enſigns of Majeſty to whom and where they pleaſed. This *Edgar* was a good King, and greatly beloved of all his ſubjects. The Abbey of *Cauldingham*, which in former times had been a ſanctuary of Virgins, he gave to the Church of *Dureſme*; but upon the ungrate behaviour of *Ranulph* Biſhop of that See, a man noted of much corruption, he recalled his gift, and erected the ſame into a Priory.

King *Edgar* erected the Abbey of *Cauldingham* in a Priory.

King *Alexander* the *Fierce* ſeeketh advice of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Upon the death of *Godricus*, King *Alexander* ſurnamed *the Fierce* ſent to *Radolph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to have his advice for the promoving of ſome worthy perſon unto the place; and in his Letters directed to that effect, complained of the Archbiſhop of *York* his encroaching upon the Church of *Scotland*, through the overſight of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that had given way to the conſecration of ſome of the Biſhops of Saint *Andrews* at *York*, whereas in old times they were not wont to receive Conſecration but either from the Biſhop himſelf, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: therefore deſired his aſſiſtance in redreſſing that abuſe, which he ſaid he could not any longer tolerate. Now this *Radolph* was

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at the ſame time in queſtion with *Thurſtan* the elect of *York* for his Conſecration, to which by no means he would aſſent, unleſs *Thurſtan* would make profeſſion of obedience to the See of *Canterbury*. And about that was ſo much buſineſs made, that *Radolph*, though he was then both aged and ſickly, did undertake a journey to *Rome* to debate his right. At his return, which was ſome four years after, (ſo long did the See of Saint *Andrews* remain void) the King ſent to him *Peter* Prior of *Dunfermlin* and one of his own Gentlemen to congratulate his ſafe return, and requeſt that *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, a man well reported of, might be ſent hither, for filling the place. *Radolph* knowing that *Eadmerus* had neither by himſelf, nor by any other indirect means moved the buſineſs, and ſo taking it to come of God, howſoever it grieved him that the Church of *Canterbury* ſhould lack the benefit of his ſervice, gaue his conſent, and having obtained King *Henry*'s licence, (without whoſe knowledge he would not have him go into a ſtrange countrey) ſent him to *Alexander* with an ample recommendation, in ſubſtance this: "We give unto "God (ſaid he) everlaſting thanks, for that it hath pleaſed him to open the eyes of "your mind, and make you know and ſeek that which you ſhould; and to your High-"neſs ſelf we eſteem our ſelves greatly bound, becauſe of your friendly and fami-"liar uſage: for albeit your deſires tend to our hurt, and are not leſs grievous to us "then if you ſhould pull out our eyes or cut of our right hand, we cannot but com-"mend your deſire, and ſo far as we may in God obey the ſame. Therefore unwil-"ling, and yet willing, we yield unto all your will: willing in ſo far as we perceive it "is God's will, which we dare not withſtand, nor will we in any thing willingly diſ-"pleaſe; yet unwilling, for that we are left alone, and deprived of his fellowſhip, "who as a Father miniſtred unto us conſolation in time of grief, giving us ſound "advice in many perplexed caſes, and was to us a moſt helpful Brother in this our "infirm and old age. If any other ſhould have required him of us, we would no "more have parted with him then with our own heart; but there is nothing which "in God we can deny you. Thus we ſend unto you the perſon that you deſired, "and ſo free, as you may lay on him what charge you will, ſo as it be to the honour "of God, and to the credit of the Mother-Church of *Canterbury*. Do therefore "what you purpoſe wiſely, and remit him unto us with diligence to be conſecra-"ted, becauſe delay in that errand may breed impediments that we deſire to "eſchew, &c.

An. 1098.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York* at difference.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Letter to King *Alexander*.

Eadmerus bringing with him this Commendatory Letter, was the third day after his coming elected Biſhop by the King's licence, and with conſent both of the Clergy and Laiety; but the next morning, whileſt the King conferred with him apart touching his Conſecration, he began to magnifie the Church of *Canterbury*, and the authority it had over all the Churches of *Britan*; declaring that, by his leave, he would ſeek the Epiſcopal benediction from the Biſhop, and not receive it at the hands of any other. Which offended the King greatly; for by no means could he endure to hear of this Churches ſubjection to the *Engliſh*. Thereupon the Monks who had been truſted in the years preceding with the intromiſſion of the rents, were charged to uplift the ſame, and to impede the Elect his poſſeſſion. Yet within a few daies the King going in an Expedition againſt ſome Rebels in the countrey of *Roſs*, by the interceſſion of Noblemen it was agreed that *Eadmerus* ſhould receive the Ring out of the King's hand, and the Croſier being laid upon the Altar, he ſhould take up the ſame, and that way be inveſted into the Biſhoprick. In this ſort was he entered to his charge, the Clergy and people accepting him for their Biſhop.

Eadmerus hiſt. l. 5. *&* 6.

King *Alexander* offended that *Eadmerus* would not be conſecrated in *Scotland*.

He is inveſted in the Biſhoprick by the interceſſion of the Noblemen.

Mean while *Thurſtan* the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was then beyond the ſea, ceaſed not to ſolicit King *Henry* of *England* by his Letters to impede the Conſecration; for which effect three ſeveral meſſages were ſent to King *Alexander*. *Eadmerus*, upon the diſtaſt the King had taken of him, was not much reſpected: which he perceiving, and with all conſidering that the King being his unfriend, his ſervice could not be very profitable to the Church and Kingdom, reſolved to go unto *Canterbury*, and ſeek the advice of his brethren and friends in thoſe parts. This ſignified to the King, he ſaid that the Biſhop had nothing to do with *Canterbury*, nor ſo long as he lived ſhould

Thurſtan the Archbiſhop of *York* oppoſes the conſecration of *Eadmerus*.

An. 1124. ſhould any Biſhop of *Scotland* profeſs ſubjection to that See. Which being reported to the Biſhop, he replied in paſſion, *That not for the Biſhoprick, nay not for all* Scotland, *would he deny himſelf to be a Monk of* Canterbury.

Eadmerus departeth into *England* upon the King's diſlike.

Falling thus more and more in the diſlike of the King, and jarrs daily encreaſing, he employed the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* to try the King his mind towards him: who told him that he found the King greatly diſpleaſed with his courſes, and if he continued in the ſame mind, he was not to expect his favour. Hereupon *Eadmerus* reſolving to depart, delivered back the Ring which he had received from the King, and laid down his Croſier upon the Altar, with a proteſtation that he was forced thereunto, and ſo went away. The King did by his Letter purge himſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, declaring that it was not his fault, but wilfulneſs on *Eadmerus* his part, which made him relinquiſh his charge. But the Archbiſhop, a man of courteous nature, not willing farther to enquire of the reaſons of *Eadmerus* his departure, paſſed over the buſineſs with a gentle anſwer to the King for that time. I find upon better advice, that *Eadmerus* made offer to return, and give the King ſatisfaction in all he required; but herein he was prevented by a new Election, which the King had cauſed to be made.

He purgeth himſelf to the Archbiſhop.

15. For how ſoon it was advertiſed that *Eadmerus* had a purpoſe to return, the King for his own peace did think it moſt ſure to have one of his Subjects preferred to the place; and ſo recommending to the Chapter *Rrobert* Prior of *Scone*, he with an uniform conſent was choſen Biſhop, and ſtood elect two years (for before King *Alexander* his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1114, he was not conſecrated:) then he received the benediction at the hands of *Thurſtan* Biſhop of *York*, with reſervation of the priviledges of both Churches; which if the King had lived, would not have been permitted; for he was a Prince that ſtood much upon his Royalty, and would not endure at any hand the leaſt encroachment either upon his Kingdom, or upon the Church. The Abbeys of *Scone* and S. *Columbe* were founded by this King. To the See of S. *Andrews* he was a great Benefactor, and gave the lands called *Curſus apri*, The Boar's chace; and was reſolved to do more in that kind, if he had not been taken away by death.

An. 1124. *Robert* Prior of *Scone* elected Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, and conſecrated at *York*.

The Abbey of *Scone* and S. *Columbe* founded.

Curſus Apri given to S. *Andrews*.

But what may be thought lacking in him was abundantly ſupplied by his brother and ſucceſſor King *David*, whoſe beneficence that way exceeded all others; for beſides the repairing of theſe Monaſteries which were either by age become ruinous, or were defaced by injuries of War, he erected the Biſhopricks of *Roſſe*, *Brichen*, *Dunkeld* and *Dumblane*, with the Abbeys of *Jedburgh*, *Kelſoe*, *Melroſe*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhouſe*, *Kinloſſe*, *Combuskenneth*, *Dundrennan* and *Holmecultram* in *Cumberland*; he founded likewiſe two religious Houſes at *Newcaſtle*, one for the *Benedictins*, another for the *white Monks*; and for profeſſed Virgins two Monaſteries, one at *Berwick*, and another at *Carlile*: all which he provided with competent Revenues.

King *David* ſucceeded to *Alexander*, and his beneficence to the Church.

King *David* taxed of Profuſion.

Some of our Writers have taxed this moſt worthy King for his immoderate Profuſion, as they call it, on theſe Monaſteries; and *Holinſhed* ſaith that his unmeaſurable Liberality towards the Church made his Succeſſors oppreſs their Nobles at home, lay Impoſitions upon the people, and do many other things prejudicial to the Commonwealth, that they might have wherewith to maintain their Royal eſtates. But herein he erreth greatly; for let an examination be taken of the behaviour of our Kings in the Ages ſucceeding, it will appear that their proceedings either with their own Subjects at home or with their Enemies abroad have been more juſtifiable then the doings of any of their Neighbours: neither can it be ſhewed, that any one of them did ever take thoſe indirect courſes which he mentioneth for penury or want. But it is eaſie to ſpeak ill, and deprave the actions of the beſt Princes.

His Magnificence vindicated from theſe aſperſions.

It is true, that Profuſeneſs in any perſon, eſpecially in a King, is not to be allowed, for that it bringeth a great miſchief both to the King and Subjects; but the beſtowing of ſixſcore thouſand Franks (that is the higheſt eſtimate they make of his Donations) cannot be called an immoderate Profuſion. He was certainly a moſt wiſe King, and knew well his own work, and could proportion his Gifts to his Revenues. Neither was his Liberality an hindrance to his Succeſſors in the doing

ing of the like pious works. For *Malcolm* who ſucceeded did erect the Abbey of *Couper* in *Angus*, *Sautrey* in *Lothian*, and a religious Houſe at *Manwell* for profeſſed Virgins. King *William* erected the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, and his Queen *Emergarda* the Abbey of *Balmerinoch*. The like did the following Kings in their own times, which ſhewed that he did not leave his Succeſſors deſtitute of means to ſupport their Royal eſtate. This farther will I boldly affirm, that if there be any Profuſion excuſable in Princes, it is this: for beſides that theſe Foundations are the moſt laſting Monuments to glorifie their memories, they are the readieſt helps which they ſhall find to ſupply their neceſſities at all occaſions. *An.* 1159.

Now whereas ſome have diſapproved theſe Donations becauſe of the fruits that enſued, meaning the abuſes that crept in by the corruption of the perſons who did afterwards enjoy them; if this reaſon ſhould hold, the beſt of God's creatures, and the moſt pious Inſtitutions which ever were in the world, ſhould be all condemned: for what is it that was ever put in the hands of men to uſe, that hath not been corrupted? and to caſt the faults of men upon the things themſelves, is a great iniquity. *Buch. l.* 7. The faults of perſons ought not to be caſt on things abuſed.

But this ſuperfluous enriching of Monaſteries whereof they ſpeak came not by this mean. The Foundations at firſt were moderate, and no way exceſſive; but in after-times the Prelates growing ſluggiſh, and ſhaking off the care of Preaching, as a work not beſeeming their dignity, they, to flatter the Predicants, who had then all the way among the popular, and to be recommended of them for charitable and devout Prelates, gave away almoſt all their own Churches, and impropriated them to Abbeys, leaving a poor Prieſt to do ſervice in the Pariſh: and of this did ſpring a world of evils, which ſince that time could never be remedied. This I thought needful to be ſaid for vindicating the fame of that good King, who in all his actions, both private and publick, lived beyond all cenſure; ſo as it is truly ſaid of him, "That the moſt learned wits who have gone about to frame the chara-"cter of a good King, could never deviſe nor imagine ſuch a one as he did expreſs "himſelf in the whole courſe of his life. Whence the ſuperfluous enriching of Abbeys proceed. *Buch. l.* 7.

But to follow our purpoſe; Biſhop *Robert* living under this King, and ſome ſix years after, did carry himſelf in all the parts of his charge commendably; he founded the Priory of S. *Andrews*, and obtained to the City the liberties of a Burg Royal, placing therein one *Mainard* a *Fleming* to be Provoſt, and departing this life in the year 1159, after he had ſate Biſhop 35 years, was buried in the Church of S. *Rewle*, the Cathedral not being as yet built. *An.* 1159. Biſhop *Robert* dieth.

Their flouriſhed in this time two of our Countreymen, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, a Canon regular of the order of S. *Auguſtine*, and *David* a Presbyter. This *David* lived in *Germany*, and was choſen by the Emperor *Henry* the Fifth to accompany him in that Expedition which he made to *Italy* againſt Pope *Paſchal*; the Story whereof he wrote, as likewiſe a Treatiſe *de Regno Scotorum*, both which are periſhed. *Richardus de Sancto Victore* with *David* a Presbyter.

Richardus was a profeſſor of Divinity at *Paris* in the Abbey of S. *Victor*, a great Philoſopher, and left many Books that witneſs his learning, the Titles whereof you may read in *Baleus*. He died in the ſame Abbey, and was buried with this Epitaph.

Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulvereo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, *ſitu.*
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica *partu,*
Te fovet in gremio Gallica *terra ſuo.*
Nil tibi Parca ferox nocuit, quæ ſtamina parco
Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu.
Plurima namque tui ſuperant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum ſunt paritura decus.
Segnior ut lento ſceleratas mors petit ædes;
Sic propero nimis it ſub pia tecta gradu.

16. Biſhop *Robert* deceaſing, *Walthemius* Abbot of *Melroſſe* was earneſtly entreated to accept the Charge, but would not forſake the Monaſtery, ſaying, *That he had*

An. 1159. *had washed his feet, and could not contaminate them again with the dust of earthly cares.* Whereupon *Arnold* Abbot of *Kelso* was elected, and in presence of King *Malcolm* the Fourth consecrated by *William* Bishop of *Murray*. This Bishop had been the year preceding directed to *Rome* with one *Nicolaus* the Kings Secretary, to complain of the Archbishop of *York* his usurpation upon the Church of *Scotland*, and being then returned, carried himself as Legate to the Pope; which power he resigned to *Arnold* after his Consecration, as he was enjoyned by *Eugenius* the Third, who then held the Chair.

In a Convention of the Estates kept the same year, *Arnold* did earnestly insist with the King to make choice of a wife for assuring the Royal Succession, and to that effect made a long speech in the hearing of the Estates; but the King had taken a resolution to live single, and would not be diverted. *Edward* Bishop of *Aberdeen* was much blamed for confirming him in that course, and for that cause hated of many. The Cathedral of S. *Andrews*, a fair and stately Church whilest it stood, was founded by this *Arnold*; but before the work was raised to any height he died, having sate Bishop one year, ten months, and seventeen days only.

17. Upon *Arnold* his death the King did recommend his Chaplain *Richard* to the place; who was immediately elected by the Convent, but not consecrated for the space of two years after, because of the Archbishop of *York* his pretensions. One *Roger* held at that time the See of *York*, a man ambitious beyond all measure, who from being Archdeacon of *Canterbury* was by the means of the Archbishop *Thomas Becket* preferred to that place: no sooner was he advanced, but he procured of Pope *Anastasius* the Fourth a Bull, whereby he was designed Metropolitane of *Scotland*; but the King and the Clergy (notwithstanding the Popes authority was in those days greatly respected) refused to acknowledge him. *Anastasius* dying, by whom the Archbishop *Roger* was maintained, the Prelates of *Scotland* did convene, and by themselves performed the Consecration. *Roger* incensed herewith sent to *Rome*, and complaining of this contempt, found the favour to be made Legate of *Scotland*: by vertue whereof he caused cite all the *Scottish* Clergy to appear before him at *Norham* in *England*, whither he came in great pomp.

He citeth the *Scottish* Clergy to *Norham*.

Angelramus Archdeacon of *Glasgow* (accompanied with *Walter* Prior of *Kelso*, *Solomon* Dean of *Glasgow*, and some others of the Clergy) went and kept the Diet, and in the name of the Church of *Scotland* appealing to the Pope, took journey to *Rome*. Where the business being debated before Pope *Alexander* the Third, sentence was given against *Roger* his pretended Legation, and the Church of *Scotland* declared to be exempted from all spiritual Jurisdiction, the Apostolick See only excepted. This exemption *Angelramus*, who in the mean time was promoted to the See of *Glasgow* by the death of Bishop *Herbert*, and consecrated at *Rome*, brought back and presented to the King. The Bull is yet extant, and begins thus:

The Clergy by some Delegates appeal to *Rome* to the Pope.

Pope *Alexander* the Third giveth sentence for *Scotland*.

Angelramus elected Bishop of *Glasgow*.

Alexander P. servus servorum Dei Malcolmo Regi, &c,

A few days after the Bishop's return King *Malcolm* died at *Jedburgh*, in the 25 year of his age, and 12 of his reign: a sweet and meek Prince, uncourteously used by King *Henry* the Second King of *England*, but more rudely by his own Subjects. This *Henry*, by nature ambitious, and one that could not keep himself within bounds, took many ways to wrong this good King, and make him despised of his own people: yet for that he had sworn to King *David*, *Malcolm*'s Grandfather, that he should never molest him nor any of his posterity in the possession of the lands they held in *England*, and could not for shame go against his oath; he stirred up the Bishop of *York* to place a Bishop at *Carlile*, thinking the King of *Scots* would not endure that wrong. *John* Bishop of *Glasgow*, under whose charge the Countrey of *Cumberland* then was, did exceedingly offend with this; and finding that the King would not break with *Henry* for so little a cause, not seeing a way to repair himself, abandoned his charge, and went unto the Monastery of *Tours* in *France*, where he abode till he was forced by the Pope's authority to return.

King *Malcolm* the Fourth his death.

A Bishop placed at *Carlile* by the Archbishop of *York*.

Buch. l. 7. King *Henry* finding this injury dissembled, went afterwards more plainly to work;

work; for having desired *Malcolm* to come to *London* to do homage for the lands he held in *England*, he compelled him to follow him in the War he made upon *France*, thinking thereby to alienate the mind of the *French* King from the *Scots*. Again, when he had returned home, inviting him of new to a Parliament kept at *York*, upon a forged quarrel, as if he had crossed King *Henry* his affairs in *France*, he was declared to have lost all his lands in *England*. And not content to have wronged him in this sort, to stir up his own Subjects against him, made the report go, that King *Malcolm* had voluntarily resigned all those lands. Which did so irritate the Nobles, as presently after his return putting themselves in Arms, they did besiege the Town of *Bertha*, where the King remained, and had not failed to use violence, but that by the intercession of some wise Prelates matters were composed. The Nobility being grieved to see the King so abused, did urge him to denounce War; but he loving rather to have matters peaceably agreed, was content to accept *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, and suffer *Northumberland* to go to King *Henry*. This displeased the Subjects, and diminished much of the regard that was formerly carried to him; which he took greatly to heart, and shortly after died, as was thought, of displeasure.

An. 1165.

Boeth. l. 13.

The good King being thus taken away, his brother *William* succeeded in the year 1165. The first thing he undertook, was the repetition of *Northumberland*; for which Ambassadours were sent to King *Henry*. His answer was, That he should have right done him at his coming to *London*, after he had performed his homage for the Counties he held in *England*. King *William* taking journey thither with *David* his younger brother, found the King at his Easter in *Windsore*: where insisting for the restitution of *Northumberland*. he had many good words given him, and promise made, that at the meeting of the Parliament a course should be taken to his content. In this hope he followed King *Henry*, going then in expedition to *France*, and staid there with him some moneths; but when he perceived the King was not shortly to return unto *England*, and that he was fed only with fair promises, he took his leave and came home. Presently after his return, he sent an Herald to denounce War, unless *Northumberland* were restored. King *Henry* being then ingaged in the *French* Wars, and not willing to make himself more business, was content to quit that part of *Northumberland* which King *William* his great Grandfather had possessed. Yet suddenly forethinking what he had done, he stirred up underhand those that lived in the Borders to make Incursions upon the *Scots*. This being complained, and no redress made, King *William* raised an Army, and went into *England*, and at *Alnwick*, as he was taking the air, suspecting no Enemy to be at hand, he was surprised by some *English*, and sent Prisoner to King *Henry* in *France*, who put him in the Castle of *Calice* in *Picardie*, where he was some moneths detained. A great disaster this was, and how grievous to the whole State, may appear by the Articles condescended upon, for obtaining his liberty, which were:

Buch. l. 7.

King *William* seeketh to have *Northumberland* restored.

King *William* surprised at *Alnwick*.

Boeth. l. 13.

1. *That for his redemption there should be paid one hundred thousand pounds sterling money, the one half in hand, the other half in a short time*; *and for assurance thereof, the Counties of* Cumberland, Huntington *and* Northumberland *be morgaged to King* Henry.

2. *That the* Scots *should move no war against* England *for retention of these Counties.*

3. *And for the more security the Castles of* Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh *and* Sterling *should be delivered to the King of* England, *or unto such as he should appoint to receive the same.*

Hollinshed setteth down other Conditions besides these: as, *That the King of* Scots *should acknowledge the King of* England *for his supreme Lord*; *That the Prelates of* Scotland *and their successors should be subject to the Church of* England; *And that the Lords and Barons of* Scotland *should swear fealty to the King of* England *and his successours*: which are meer Forgeries, it being certain that the *Scots*, howsoever they loved their King, and for his liberty would not refuse to undergoe very hard conditions, yet would never have renounced their Liberties, maintained so long and

Hollinshed History of *Scotland.*

An. 1175. with ſo much bloud, and yielded themſelves in any caſe to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſubjection. Always the agreement concluded in *Normandy* the 8 of *December* 1175, by *Richard* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* and divers Noblemen ſent thither to treat in that buſineſs, was at *Auguſt* thereafter confirmed in *York* by both Kings, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility almoſt of *Scotland* being preſent.

Buch. l. 16. 7. In *January* thereafter at a meeting in *Norham*, where King *William* was alſo in perſon, the King of *England* dealt earneſtly to have the Clergy of *Scotland* accept the Archbiſhop of *York* for their Metropolitane; but they pretending the abſence of many of their number, and the want of the inferiour Clergies conſent, deferred to give any anſwer at that time. The next year the ſame matter was renewed, and followed earneſtly by a Legate ſent from the Pope, with Commiſſion to reform the abuſes he ſhould find in the Churches both in *England* and *Scotland*. This Legate called *Hugo*, and ſtyled *Cardinal De ſancto Angelo*, having ſent his Apparitors with a citation to the Biſhops of *Scotland*, for their appearing before him at a certain day in *Northampton*, they went thither with a great number of their Clergy. The Aſſembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the Cardinal (who had his ſeat ſomewhat higher then the reſt) made a long ſpeech in commendation of Humility and Obedience, ſhewing what excellent Vertues theſe were, and how much to be deſired of men of Spiritual profeſſion; whereof when he talked a while, he came in end to perſuade *the Clergy of* Scotland *to ſubmit themſelves to the Primate of* York: which he ſaid *was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their eaſe and commodity; for having no Superiour amongſt themſelves, nor Metropolitane to decide Controverſies that poſſibly might happen, there could none be fitter then their neighbour the Archbiſhop of* York, *a Prelate of great reſpect, and one whoſe credit in the Court of* Rome *might ſerve them to good uſe; therefore beſought them to lay aſide all grudges and emulations, and diſpoſe themſelves to live in all times after as members of one and the ſame Church.*

Sa. Daniel.

A meeting of the *Scottiſh* Clergy at *Northampton.*

Gilbertus Canonicus his Reply to the Legate.

The Biſhops who feared to offend the Legate made no anſwer, and after a long ſilence, a young Canon named *Gilbert* roſe up, and ſpake to this effect. "The "Church of *Scotland*, ever ſince the Faith of Chriſt was embraced in that King- "dom, hath been a free and independent Church, ſubject to none but the Biſhop "of *Rome*, whoſe authority we refuſe not to acknowledge. To admit any other "for our Metropolitane, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of *York*, we neither can nor "will: for notwithſtanding the preſent Peace, which we wiſh may long con- "tinue, Warrs may break up betwixt the two Kingdoms; and if it ſhall fall "out ſo, neither ſhall he be able to diſcharge any duty amongſt us, nor can we "ſafely and without ſuſpicion reſort to him. For the Controverſies which you, "my Lord Cardinal, ſay may ariſe amongſt our ſelves, we have learned and wiſe "Prelates who can determine the ſame; and if they ſhould be deficient in their "duties, we have a good and religious King, who is able to keep all things in "frame and order, ſo as we have no neceſſity of any ſtranger to be ſet over us. "And I cannot think that either his Holineſs hath forgotten, or you, my Lord, "that are his Legate, can be ignorant of the late Exemption granted unto *Mal-* "*colm* our laſt King; ſince the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may "make us ſeem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore in the name of all the "*Scottiſh* Church we do humbly intreat the preſervation of our ancient Liber- "ties, and that we be not brought under ſubjection to our enemies. Theſe ſpeeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in ſo paſſionate a manner, that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the *Engliſh* themſelves commending his courage and the affection he ſhewed to his Countrey. But the Archbiſhop of *York*, who looked not for ſuch oppoſition, called the young Canon to come unto him, and laying his hand upon his head, ſaid, *Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit iſta ſagitta*, meaning that he was ſet on to ſpeak by ſome others of greater note. So the Legate perceiving that the buſineſs would not work, and that the oppoſition was like to grow greater, he brake up the Aſſembly. After which the Prelates returning home, were univerſally welcomed; but above the reſt the Canon *Gilbert* was in the mouths of all men, and judged worthy of a good Preferment; and

Boeth. ibidem.

Scon. l. 8. *c* 16.

Boeth. l. 13.

ſoon

ſoon after was promoved to the Biſhoprick of *Cathenes*, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom. *An.* 1178.

The year following one *Vibianus* a Cardinal (*titulo ſancti Stephani in monte Cælio*) came into *Scotland*, in ſhew to reform abuſes, and do ſome good to the Church, but in effect to extort moneys from Church-men. For at this time it was grown to be an ordinary trick of the Popes, when they ſtood in need of moneys, to ſend forth their Legates unto all Countreys, ſometimes under a colour of reforming abuſes, ſometimes for the recovering of the Holy land, & ſometimes upon other pretexts. This Cardinal, having ſtayed a while in *Scotland*, took his journey into *Ireland*, and in his return would needs make a new viſit of this Church; for which effect, he convened the Clergy at *Edinburgh* in the month of *Auguſt*, and eſtabliſhed divers Canons; which the Clergy eſteeming prejudicial to their liberties, did incontinent after he was gone revoke and diſannul: but what theſe Canons were, our Writers do not remember. *Scon. l. 8.*

18. It was a fatal year this to many of our Church-men, both Biſhops and Abbots; amongſt others *Richard* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* deceaſing, King *William* recommended *Hugo*, one of his Chaplains, (whom he much favoured) to the Convent. But they taking another courſe made choice of the Archdeacon *John Scot*, who was an *Engliſh* born. The King diſpleaſed therewith, did ſwear by the Arm of S. *James* (this was his ordinary oath) that ſo long as he lived *Scot* ſhould never enjoy that place. So he ſent a Command unto the *Canons* to make a new Election, appointing *Joceline* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* their Aſſiſtent; and thus was *Hugo* his Chaplain elected. *An.* 1178. The Archdeacon of S. *Andrews* elected Biſhop. The King diſpleaſed maketh his Chaplain to be choſen of new.

The Archdeacon appealed to *Rome*, and going thither complained of the wrong done to the Church, intreating the Pope for redreſs. Hereupon *Alexius* Sub-dean of the *Roman* See was diſpatched to try and examine the cauſe. At firſt the King made difficulty to admit him, but afterwards yielding, the two Elections being tried by the Legate, ſentence was given for the firſt; and *Jocelin* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, with the reſt of the Clergy that aſſiſted the ſecond, excommunicated. This done the Legate called an Aſſembly of the Biſhops, Abbots and whole Clergy at *Haliroudhouſe*, and made *Matthew* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* publickly to conſecrate the Archdeacon upon *Trinity*-Sunday 1178. The Archdeacon appealeth to *Rome*.

He not the leſs fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, left the Realm and went to *Rome*, where he was honorably entertained by Pope *Lucius* the Third, who ſent Letters to the King, and admoniſhed him not to uſurp upon the Church, and to remit the Biſhop, who was lawfully elected and conſecrated, to enjoy his place with quietneſs. This Letter the Story ſaith was conceived in milde terms, for the Pope feared to incenſe the King, leſt he ſhould follow the enſample of his Couſin *Henry* King of *England*, that ſome 8 years before had made away *Thomas Becket* Biſhop of *Canterbury* for his obſtinate and wilful oppoſition in ſome matters not unlike: yet the King nothing moved with the Letter, to make his diſpleaſure the better known, did confiſcate all the Revenues pertaining to the See of S. *Andrews*, and baniſhed thoſe whom he underſtood to favour the Biſhop's cauſe. His journey thither. Pope *Lucius* his Letter to the King.

The Pope advertiſed hereof, reſolved to put the Realm under Interdiction. But the Biſhop proſtrating himſelf at his feet, beſought him not to uſe any ſuch rigour, ſaying, *That he would much rather renounce his dignity, then have ſo many Chriſtian Souls for ought that concerned him defrauded of ſpiritual benefits.* The Pope highly commending the goodneſs and patience of the Biſhop, held him from that time forth in more regard, and at his requeſt forbare the Interdiction. Mean while it happened that *Walter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* departed this life; whereupon the King taking occaſion, ſent to recal the Biſhop with offers of great kindneſs, proteſting that if it had not been for the oath he raſhly made, he would willingly have conſented to his enjoying of the See of S. *Andrews*: But ſeeing it did touch him in Honor and Conſcience (as he eſteemed) to be yielding thereto, he requeſted the Biſhop to accept the Benefice of *Dunkeld*, which was then fallen void, and was in value not much inferior to the other. The Pope purpoſeth to interdict the Realm, is ſtayed by the inteaty of the Archdeacon. The Biſhop of *Dunkeld* dieth; and the Biſhoprick offered by the King to the Archdeacon.

This the Biſhop communicated to the Pope, who deſired to have the matter qui-

An. 1188. eted, adviſed him to return, and accept the offer. Thus was the Archdeacon by the Pope's conſent preferred to *Dunkeld*, having the Rents of the Archdeaconry reſerved to him during his life, in recompence of his loſſes. *Hugo* this way coming to be poſſeſſed of S. *Andrews*, took journey to *Rome* that he might be reconciled to the Pope, and being abſolved for his intruſion, in his return died ſome ſix miles from the City of *Rome*, the 6 of *Auguſt*, 1188, ten years and ten moneths after his Election.

The Archbiſhop accepted *Dunkeld*.

Biſhop *Hugo* dieth.

An. 1188. At this time news was brought from the Eaſt, of the prevailing of Sultan *Saladine* of *Egypt* againſt the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, which moved *Philip* the ſecond of *France* and *Henry* King of *England* to undertake the recovery of the Holy land, and to employ all their credit and means, as well in their own Countreys, as with other Chriſtian Princes their neighbours, for the furtherance of that enterpriſe. To defray the charges of the voiage, both Kings by conſent of their Clergy and Nobles ordained, that all their ſubjects, both Clergy and Laiety, (ſuch excepted as went in the voiage) ſhould pay the tenth of all their movables either in gold or ſilver. King *Henry* having laid this Impoſition upon his ſubjects at home, ſent *Hugh Puſar* then Biſhop of *Dureſme* with other Commiſſioners to collect the tenths of the Clergy and Layety in this Kingdom: which the King and States interpreting to be an enchroachment upon their Liberties would not permit; yet for advancing that holy action, they did offer a ſupply of 5000 Marks ſterling, which King *Henry* refuſed. But the enterpriſe, upon a quarrel that aroſe betwixt the Kings of *France* & *Engl.* was at that time daſhed, & ſo the Collection was no farther urged.

The Kings of *England* and *France* prepare to recover the Holy land.

Sa. Daniel.

King *Henry* a little after this ended his life, and *Richard* his ſon, who ſucceeded, reſolving to purſue the action of the Holy War, to aſſure the King of *Scotland*, who he feared would take ſome advantage in his abſence, reſtored all the Caſtles which were delivered to King *Henry* his Father, and releaſed him and his poſterity of all Covenants made and confirmed by Charter unto King *Henry*, as extorted from him being then his Priſoner, reſerving only ſuch Rights to himſelf as had been and were to be performed by *Malcolm* his brother to his Anceſtors Kings of *England*. King *William*, to requite his kindneſs, gave unto *Richard* ten thouſand Marks ſterling, and cauſed his brother *David* (to whom he reſigned the Earldom of *Huntington*) go in company with him, There went under his charge 500 Gentlemen, who were all in their return caſt away by a tempeſt at ſea; only the Earl himſelf, having his ſhip driven upon the coaſt of *Egypt*, was taken priſoner, and led to *Alexandria*; where being redeemed by ſome *Venetians*, he was brought to *Conſtantinople*, and freed by an *Engliſh* Merchant in the City, that had known him in former times. From thence he returned ſafe unto his countrey, the fourth year after his ſetting forth, to the great joy and contentment of the King his brother, who took him to be loſt. The part where he arrived being, as *Boethius* writeth, before that time called *Alectum*, had the name changed, and upon that occaſion was called *Dei donum*. But the opinion of *Buchannan* is more probable, that the Town now called *Dundy* is a compound word of *Down* and *Tay*. As ever this was, the Town there ſituated received many privileges of King *William* at that time for his brother's happy arrival, which to this day they enjoy. Likewiſe in memory thereof was the Abbey of *Lundors* founded for the *Benedictine* Monks, and divers lands gifted thereto by the King and the Earl his brother.

Buchan. l. 7.

Sa. Daniel.

Leſl. l. 6.

King of *Scots* his kindneſs to the King of *England*.

Boeth. l. 13.

The Abbey of *Lundors* founded.

The King of *England* after many diſtreſſes being returned home, King *William* goeth to congratulate his ſafety went into *England*, where he contracted a great ſickneſs; the rumor whereof being diſperſed, and his death much ſuſpected, gave occaſion of divers Inſolencies at home. Amongſt others *Herald* Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes*, upon a malice conceived againſt the Biſhop of that countrey, (who, as he alledged, had impeded the grant of ſome thing he demanded of the King) took him priſoner, put out his eyes, and cut forth his tongue. This inhumanity the King at his return puniſhed moſt ſeverely; for the Earl being apprehended and brought to his trial, had his eyes in like ſort pulled out, and was thereafter publickly ſtrangled by the hands of the hangman; all his male children being gelded, to extinguiſh his ſucceſſion. His kinſmen and others, accounted acceſſors to the fact for not reſcuing the

King *William* goeth to *England* to congratulate King *Richard* his return.

The Biſhop of *Cathnes* cruelly uſed by the Earl of the Country.

The King puniſhed it ſeverely.

the Biſhop, were fined in great ſums of money. This exemplary juſtice reported to Pope *Innocent* the Third, he ſent unto the King by his Legate *Joannes Cardinalis de monte Celio* a Sword richly ſet with precious ſtones, a purple Hat in form of a diadem, and a large Bull of Privileges, whereby the Church of *Scotland* was exempted from all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, the Pope himſelf and his Legate *à latere* only excepted. It was alſo declared, "That it ſhould not be lawful to any to excommunicate the King and his ſucceſſors, or yet to interdict the Ringdom, but "the Pope or his Legate: and that no ſtranger ſhould exerciſe any Legation with-"in the Realm, except a Cardinal, or ſuch a one as the Conclave did appoint. This Bull is yet extant, and beginneth thus; *Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſſimo filio Gulielmo illuſtri Scotorum Regi ejúſque ſucceſſoribus.* *An.* 1189. *Buchan. l.* 7. Pope *Innocent* the Third his thanks to the King for the juſtice of execution.

This Cardinal before his departing forth of the Realm kept a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*, in which all the Prieſts were depoſed who were found to have taken orders upon Sunday. The abbot of *Dunfermlin*, called *Robert*, was removed from his place, (the cauſe whereof is not mentioned) and one *Patrick* Superiour of *Dureſme* appointed Abbot in his ſtead. In this Convention alſo it was decreed, "That every Saturday from twelve of the clock ſhould be kept as holy-day, and "that all people at the ſound of the Bell ſhould addreſs themſelves to hear Service, "and abſtain from all handy-work until Munday morning. After this meeting he took journey into *Ireland*, taking with him *Radolph* Abbot of *Melroſſe*, a man of good reſpect, whom he preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Down*, which at his coming thither happened to fall void. A Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*. *Boeth. l.* 13. *Leſl. l.* 8. Saturday from 12 of the clock to be kept as holy.

19. Biſhop *Hugo* dying, *Roger* ſon to the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſucceeded. He had been Chancellour to the King, and at his election to the Biſhoprick reſigned the office to one of the King his Chaplains. For in thoſe days the office of a Chancellour was not in that reputation to which afterwards it grew. In ſome old Records I find at one time two Officers in that kind, the one called *Cancellarius Regis*, the other *Cancellarius Regni*; but which of the two was in greateſt dignity I know not, nor what their charge did differ; only my conjecture is, that he who is now the writer of the Great Seal, and is called *The Director to the Chancellary*, was then ſtyled *Cancellarius Regis*. *An.* 1189. Biſhop *Roger* ſucceedeth to *Hugo* after his death.

But remitting this to others of greater skill, ten years this *Roger* ſtood elect, and was not conſecrated before the year of God 1198. at which time *Richard* Biſhop of *Murray* performed the ceremony: the reaſon of the delay is not mentioned by Writers. Four years only he lived after his Conſecration, and died at *Combuskenneth* the ninth of *July*, 1202. His corps with great ſolemnity convoyed to S. *Andrews*, was interred in the old Church of S. *Rewle*. *Roger* conſecrated in the year 1189. dieth in *July* 1202.

20. *William Malvoiſin* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, a *French*-man born, was after the death of *Roger*, by the King's recommendation, tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, a man of ſingular wiſdom and courage. He lived a long time, (for he ſate Biſhop after his tranſlation 35 years) and governed the Church moſt happily. The Rents alienated by his predeceſſors, or loſt by their negligence, he recovered to his See, advanced the fabrick of the Church (which was then a building) more then any that went before him, and ſuffered no man, of what quality ſoever he was, to uſurp upon the Church or poſſeſſions of it. *William Malvoiſin* tranſlated from *Glaſgow* to S. *Andrews*. *Scon. l.* 8.

Some years after his tranſlation, King *William* died at *Striveling*, to the great regret of all men, eſpecially thoſe of the Clergy, to whom he had been very beneficial. For beſides the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, which he founded to the memory of *Thomas Becket*, then generally held to be a Martyr and Saint, he gave divers lands to the See of *Argile*, which had been in his time erected; and to the Monaſteries of *Newbottle*, *Halyrudhouſe* and *Dunfermlin*, many rich gifts; as likewiſe for the *Trinity* Monks of *Aberdene*, an Order lately invented, and then confirmed by *Innocentius* the Third, he made a competent proviſion. Never were the Funerals of any of our Kings performed with greater ſolemnity. All the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom attending the corps from *Striveling* to *Aberbrothock*, where he had appointed his body to be buried. There they continued 14 days, ſpending that time in the devotions accuſtomed; and before their parting, by a common conſent *Paſl. l.* 6. *c.* 27. King *William* dieth. His pious devotion. *Boeth. l.* 13. *Buchan. l.* 7.

An. 1214. ordained, that for a year thereafter no publick plays nor feaſts ſhould be made in any part of the Kingdom: ſuch a ſorrow they ſhewed, notwithſtanding he had reigned long, and died being of a great age, for it was the 74 of his age, and the 49 of his reign, when he departed this life.

King *Alexander* the Second crowned at *Scone.*

The Funerals ended, his ſon *Alexander* the Second, accompanied with all the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom, went to *Scone*, and received the Crown by the hands of the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*. This King did no waies degenerate from the Vertues of his Predeceſſors, and was a great protector of the Church againſt the fines and extortions of *Rome*. *Guallo*, others call him *Waldo*, a Cardinal, ſent Legate into *England* by Pope *Innocentius* the Third to aſſiſt King *John*, who was then become his vaſſal, did put the Kingdom of *Scotland* under interdiction, becauſe the King had ſupplied the *French* in his invaſion of *England*, and, as he pretended, robbed ſome Churches & Religious places in his return from that War. The Churchmen ceaſing by this occaſion from their ordinary ſervices, no religious exerciſe was performed by any through the whole Realm, but the *white Monks*, whoſe priviledge did warrant them to celebrate at ſuch times; which the Legate hearing, did ſuſpend, inhibiting them by one *Weſtbeck* Archdeacon of *York* to do any ſervice, under pain of the higheſt ſpiritual Cenſures, till the reſt of the Clergy were abſolved.

Boeth. l. 7: *Buchan. l.* 13.

The Kingdom interdicted by the Pope's Legate.

Scon. l. c. 33.

The priviledge of the *white Monks* ſuſpended.

Peace concluded betwixt the King and *Henry* the Third of *England.*

But King *John* dying, and *Henry* his ſon Crowned, by mediation of certain Prelates Peace was made betwixt King *Alexander* and him upon the conditions following. That *Joan* the ſiſter of *Henry* ſhould be given in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his ſiſter to *Hubert de Burgh* Juſticiar of *England*, (the man who then ruled all affairs.) That *Berwick* ſhould be rendred to the *Scots*, and *Carlile* to the *Engliſh*; The King of *Scots* abſolved from the Legates Cenſures, and his Kingdom releaſed from the Interdiction. For performing the laſt Article, the Biſhops of *York* and *Saliſbury* (by whoſe means eſpecially the Peace was concluded) had Commiſſion given them by the Legate, which preſently they diſcharged. But *Guallo* being diſpleaſed that the Interdict had paſſed ſo eaſily, (for he was a man extremely avaritious, and one who made his profit of every buſineſs) ſince he could not retreat what was done, took him to the Clergy, ſaying, That the Abſolution granted did not comprehend them; and thereupon did ſummon them to appear before him at *Alnwick*. The Diet was kept, and thither went all the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and beneficed men in great numbers; Abſolution was offered, but not without the payment of large ſums; which were at firſt denied, but after ſome menacings, that he ſhould make them anſwer it at *Rome*, the moſt out of fear did tranſact. A few Prelates only ſtanding out, went afterwards to *Rome* to juſtifie their Cauſe.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* abſolved from the Interdiction.

Boeth. l. 13. *Buchan. l.* 7.

The courſe taken with the inferiour Churchmen.

With the inferiour Churchmen he took a courſe, in ſhew beneficial, and for their eaſe; that ſome one or two ſhould go with Commiſſion and abſolve them in their own Provinces at home: but it tnrned to their great moleſtation; for the Prior of *Dureſme* and *Weſtbeck* the Archdeacon, who were imployed in that buſineſs, beginning at *Berwick*, went through all the Realm, and making the Prieſts and Canons convene at the principal City of the bounds, cauſed them to take oath, that they ſhould confeſs themſelves, and anſwer truly unto every particular inquired of them; which done, and their ſeveral depoſitions taken, what by terrifying ſome with deprivation from their places for faults confeſſed by themſelves, what by wearying others with the protractions they made from day to day, great ſums were extorted from them, and the poor Prieſts forced, notwithſtanding all this oppreſſion, to go barefooted to the door of the principal Church, where they were convened, and ask their Abſolution in a moſt baſe and abject form.

Scon. l. 9. *c.* 32.

The *Scots* Clergy complain of the Legates extortions.

The Clergy, offended herewith, ſent *Walter* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Brice* Biſhop of *Murray*, and *Adam* Biſhop of *Cathnes* to complain at *Rome*; where finding Pope *Innocent* dead, and *Honorius* the Third preferred in his room, they exhibited in name of the Church of *Scotland* a grievous complaint againſt *Guallo*, charging him to have been the eſpecial cauſe of theſe miſerable Combuſtions which both the Kingdoms had endured, to have abuſed his Legation unto his private commodity, and to have extorted

extorted moneys from Churchmen and others under colour of Abſolution. *Guallo* brought to his anſwer, becauſe he did not clear himſelf ſufficiently in divers points, was declared not to have carried himſelf as became his Holineſs Legate, and fined in a pecuniary mulct: ſo as he eſcaped by dividing the ſpoil (which he had made in thoſe parts) betwixt his Maſter and himſelf. The Biſhops who preferred the complaint were, upon confeſſion of their fault, abſolved, one of the Cardinals who ſtood by ſcornfully commending their humility, and ſaying, *Quòd piarum mentium eſſet crimen agnoſcere, ubi nec culpa reperitur*, That it was the part of devout men to acknowledge an offence, even where no fault was committed: and for ſome recompence of their pains, a confirmation was given them of the old privileges granted to the Church of *Scotland* by four Popes. This Privilege is dated at *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 1218, and in the ſecond of Pope *Honorius* his Pontificat.

An. 1219. *Buchan. l.* 7. *Scon, ibidem.*

Yet the next year *Egidius* a Spaniard by nation, and by place a Cardinal, was ſent to gather contribution for the Holy War; wherein both the Clergy and Laiety ſhewed themſelves ſo forward, as in a ſhort ſpace great ſums were collected: all which he ſpent moſt prodigally in his return to *Rome*, giving out for an excuſe that he was robbed by certain Brigants in the way. And no ſooner was this Cardinal gone, then another followed, having the like Commiſſion. But the King conſidering how prejudicial theſe Contributions might prove to the Kingdom, and that through the eaſie yieldings of the State, the See of *Rome* was grown impudent in their Exactions, would not permit him to enter into the Realm, till he had propounded the matter in Council: at which time one of the Biſhops (his name is not expreſſed in the ſtory) made a long ſpeech againſt the rapine of theſe Legates; where, in recounting the inſolent oppreſſions of *Guallo* and the riotous profuſion of *Egidius*, he diſſwaded by many good reaſons his admiſſion, or the receiving of any other who ſhould afterwards happen to come about the like buſineſs. This Speech ſeconded with the applauſe of all that were preſent, an Act was made prohibiting the reception of the Legate, or any others without licence from the King.

An. 1219. The King offended with the Contributions of *Rome*. The Popes Legate diſcharged from entering into *Scotland*.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* being all this while in *France*, did now return bringing with him ſome of the order of S. *Dominick*, ſome *Franciſcans*, *Jacobins*, and of the Monks called *Vallis umbroſæ*. Theſe Orders not being known before in this Church, by their crafty inſinuations with people, and the profeſſion they made in leading an auſtere life, did ſupplant the credit of the Prieſts, drawing to themſelves all the force and credit of the ſpiritual Miniſtery, and were upheld by the Popes, whoſe deſigns they ſtudied eſpecially to advance. The King, who looked no farther then the devout profeſſion they made, gave them all a kind reception, and to the Monks *Vallis umbroſæ* he erected a Monaſtery in *Pluſcardy* within the countrey of *Murray*. In the countrey of *Roſſe*, the Lord *Biſſet* founded *Beawly* for Monks of the ſame Order; and one *Maccolloch*, a man of great wealth, did found the Priory of *Archatton* in *Lorne*. About the ſame time did *Ada* or *Adhama*, Grandmother to the King, found the Abbey of *Haddington* for conſecrated Virgins. The like was erected at *Northberwick* by *Malcolm* Earl of *Fife*, who alſo founded the Abbey of *Culroſſe* for the *Ciſtercian* Monks. *Dornagilla*, the daughter of *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*, erected for the ſame order a Monaſtery at *New-Abbey*; and by a rare example, *Gilbert* Earl of *Strathern*, having divided his Inheritance in three parts, gave one third thereof to the See of *Dumblane*, and another to the Abbey of *Inchaffray*, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs a third only of the whole. Shortly after in the year 1327 died *William Malvoiſin* at *Inchmurtach*, and, as he himſelf had directed, was buried in the new Church of S. *Andrews*.

Orders of S. *Dominick* and *Francis* brought into *Scotland*. *Scon. l.* 10. c. 8 Foundation of Religious houſes. *Gilbert* Earl of *Stratherne* his Donations to the Church. *Scon. l.* 8. *c.* 73.

21. *Galfrid* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* being earneſtly deſired both of the Clergy and Laiety, the King would not permit his Tranſlation: ſo *David Benham*, Chamberlain to the King, was elected, and on S. *Vincent*'s day in the year 1238 conſecrated by *William* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Gathnes*, & *Clement* Biſhop of *Dumblane*. This Biſhop kept a ſevere hand over the Clergy, eſpecially the Monks and others that lived in religious Orders; & calling an Aſſembly by the King's conſent at *Perth* in the year 1242, (where the King himſelf with divers of the Nobility did aſſiſt) made

An. 1238. *David* the King's Chamberlain elected Biſhop upon *Malvoiſin* his death.

An. 1238. made many good Constitutions as well for reformation of abuses, as for securing of Clergy-men in their possessions and rights. In his time fell out great Troubles betwixt the Emperour *Frederick* the Second and Pope *Gregory* the Ninth; for which a general Council was called by the said *Gregory* at *Rome*, and thither were summoned all the Bishops of Christendome. The pretext was, the relief of the Holy-land, which at that time was in great distress; but *Frederick* apprehending the intention to be against himself, resolved to hinder the meeting of the Council, and having belayed the ways, made the Bishops of S. *Andrews* and *Glasgow* prisoners, as they travelled through *Germany*. Upon their promise to return home, they were afterwards set at liberty: not the less they sent their Procurations thither by some Religious persons, who took another way. But the Council held not, because of the Pope's death that intervened.

King *Alexander* the Second buried at *Melrosse*.

Some few years after this King *Alexander* deceased at *Carnire* in the West Isles; and, as he had appointed, was interred in the Abbey-Church of *Melrosse*, with an Inscription according to the rudeness of the Time, yet such as shewed how greatly he was beloved of his Subjects.

His Epitaph.

Ecclesiæ clypeus, pax plebis, dux miserorum,
Rex rectus, rigidus, sapiens, consultus, honestus,
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus,
Nominis istius ipse secundus erat.
Annis ter denis & quinis Rex fuit ipse.
Insula quæ Carnire dicitur hunc rapuit.
Spiritus alta petit Celestibus associatus,
Sed Melrossensis *ossa sepulta tenet.*

King *Alexander* the Third crowned.

His son *Alexander* the Third by *Maria* the daughter of Sir *Ingram de Consey* (for his first wife died without children) succeeded, and was crowned of eight years old; at the age of ten years he was married to *Margaret* the daughter of *Henry* the Third of *England*. The marriage being solemnized at *York*, and the Bishop of S. *Andrews* sent thither with others of the Nobility to see all things duly performed, fell there in a Feaver, and departed this life on the first of *May* 1251. His Corps brought from thence was buried in the Abbey Church of *Kelsoe*, some thirteen years and three moneths after his Consecration.

Sa. Daniel in the life of *Henry* the Third.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 8.

Abel Archdeacon of S. *Andrews* elected Bishop after *David*.

22. The Prior and Canons convening to elect a new Bishop, did all give their voices to *Robert Sutevile* Dean of *Dunkeld*, a man of great virtue and learning: But this Election took no effect; *Abel* Archdean of S. *Andrews*, by the favour of some that ruled the Court, having procured an inhibition to the Bishop to proceed in the Consecration, with a Mandate to the Canons to make a new Election. The Chapter refusing made their appeal to *Rome*; and *Abel* posting thither, by the bribes he bestowed in that Court, got himself preferred, and was consecrated by Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth.

Abel his rigour exercised upon the Canons.

At his return, to be revenged of the Prior and Canons, he behaved himself well insolently, calling them in question for every light occasion, and censuring them with great rigour; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him that, in a vain-glorious humour, as he was walking in his Church one day, he did with a little Chalk draw this line upon the gate of the Church,

Hæc mihi sunt tria, Lex, Canon, Philosophia;

braging of his knowledge and skill in those Professions: and that going to Church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former, which said,

Te levant absque tria, Fraus, Favor, Vanasophia.

This did so gall him as taking bed he died within a few days, having sate Bishop ten moneths and two days only.

23. After

23. After *Abel*'s death *Gamelinus* was elected to govern the See, and by a warrant from *Rome* was conſecrated on S. *Stephen*'s day, in the year 1255. Two years he ſtood elect, his Conſecration being ſtayed by the Rulers of the Court, who had ſent alſo to *Rome* for caſſing his Election. A time this was (ſuch as uſually falleth out in the minority of Princes) full of choppings and changes. Under the laſt King the *Cummings* had ruled all publick buſineſs, for they were of great power, the Earls of *Monteth*, *Bughan*, *Athol* and *Marre* being all of that name, beſides thirty two Barons and Knights. *Robert* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Chancellor of the Kingdom for the time, inclining to their courſe, had legitimated a baſe ſiſter of the King's, who was married to one *Allan Dooroward*, and for the ſame was put from his place, *Gamelinus* being preferred thereto; but he enjoyed the ſame a ſhort ſpace, for upon ſome diſcontents he was likewiſe thruſt out, and *Richard* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* made Chancellor. This made the Court to oppoſe *Gamelinus* his Election; not the leſs he prevailed by his gifts at *Rome*, and procured a Warrant to *William* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* to proceed to his Conſecration.

An. 1255.

Gamelinus elected Biſhop upon *Abel*'s death.

Paſt. l. 6.

Boeth. l. 13.

Buch. l. 7.

The Court highly diſpleaſed at this, there fell out another occaſion which did greatly incenſe them againſt him. A Knight called Sir *John Dinnure* for ſome oppreſſions committed upon the Prior of S. *Andrews* was excommunicated: he complaining to the King obtained by *Moyen* a command to *Gamelinus* to abſolve him; who ſimply refuſed, unleſs ſatisfaction was made for the offence: and becauſe no redreſs was offered, a new intimation was made of his curſing through the whole Province. This the King and the Court took ſo ill, as forthwith a meſſenger was ſent to charge the Biſhop to depart forth of the Realm; which as he was preparing to obey, the news of a Legate ſent from *Rome* into *England* made the Court take a more moderate courſe, fearing the conſequence of ſo rigorous a proceeding.

The Court diſpleaſed with the Biſhop.

A Legate ſent from *Rome*.

This Legate called *Ottobon* being employed for pacifying the Troubles raiſed betwixt the King of *England* and his Barons, did ſummon the Clergy of *Scotland* to appear before him by their Commiſſioners, and to bring with them a Collection of four Marks for every Pariſh within the Realm, and ſix Marks for every Cathedral Church. The Clergy meaning themſelves to the King, he did prohibit any ſuch Contribution, and ſent his Chancellor to the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, partly to declare the reaſons of his prohibition, and partly to obſerve the proceedings of the Legate with theſe of *England*. At their return ſome Acts were ſhewed which the Legate had ſet down to be obſerved by the Clergy: all which they rejected, ſaying, *That they would acknowledge no Statutes but ſuch as proceeded either from the Pope, or from a General Council.*

Scon. l. 2. *c.* 24

Boeth. l. 13.

Ottobon was not well gone, when another Legate named *Ruſtaneus* was ſent to demand a Tenth of all the Church-rents within the Kingdom, for advancing the journey of King *Henrie*'s ſon, who had undertaken the Holy War at the ſolicitation of *Ottobon*. But this ſeeming to croſs the Liberties granted by former Popes unto the Church, and it being notorious that the Pope was to employ the moneys to other ends, (for he was then warring againſt *Manfred* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*) therefore the ſame was denied, and *Ruſtane* prohibited to enter into the Realm. The King not the leſs in token of his affection ſent to the Pope 1000 Marks ſterling; and for the furtherance of the holy War did levy 100 men, which he ſent to *Lewes* the *French* King, who had determined to adventure himſelf of new againſt the Infidels, under the charge of the Earls of *Athol* and *Carrick*. All theſe died in that War, partly of the plague, as did *Lewes* himſelf, and partly by the ſword of the Enemy.

Buch. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 13.

In this Biſhop's time the *Carmelite* Friers came into *Scotland*, and had a dwelling aſſigned them at *Perth* by *Richard* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. The Croſs-Church at *Peblis* was at that ſame time built, and endowed by the King with large Revenues. The reaſon why this Church was erected was a Croſs, as they write, found in that place encloſed in a little Shrine, on which the name of *Nicolaus* a Biſhop was written. The Church was dedicated with many pompous Ceremonies, divers Prelates being preſent, amongſt whom was *Gamelinus*, who at his return home was taken with a Palſie, and died in *Inchmurtach*, having ſate Biſhop 16 years. His

The *Carmelite* Friers received in *Scotland*.

Croſs-Church at *Peblis* erected.

Boeth. l. 13.

Scon. l. 10.

Corps

An. 1274. Corps was laid in the new Church of S. *Andrews* nigh to the high Altar.

William Wiſhart elected Biſhop upon *Gamelinus* his death.

24. *William Wiſhart* elect of *Glaſgow* was upon the death of *Gamelinus* preferred to S. *Andrews*. Pope *Urban* the Fourth had not long before ordained, *That every Biſhop and Abbot elect ſhould travel to* Rome *for Conſecration*: but the Papacy then vacant by reaſon of a Schiſm, that continued two years and nine months after the death of *Clement* the Fourth, he was unwilling to go thither; four other Prelates being kept there depending at the ſame time, *William* elect of *Brichen*, *Matthew* elect of *Roſſe*, *Nicoll* elect of *Cathnes*, and *Hugh Benham* elect of *Aberdene*.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 30. *Paſt. l.* 6.

Biſhops attending at *Rome* for Conſecration.

The elect of *Brichen* died at *Rome*; *Aberdene* and *Roſſe* were conſecrated by *Gregory* the Tenth upon the ending of the Schiſm at *Viterbium*; *Nicoll* was rejected, and the Chapter of *Cathnes* appointed to make a new Election. The Agents that *Wiſhart* ſent for licence to be conſecrated were detained a long time, and had returned without effectuating their errand, if *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, who coming from the Holy land was then at *Rome*, had not by his interceſſion prevailed with the Pope, and obtained licence for the Conſecration; which was performed at *Scone* in the year 1274, in the preſence of the King and divers of his Nobles. At the ſame time *William Fraſer* Dean of *Glaſgow* was preferred to be Chancellor.

A Councel at *Lions*.

The Pope ſhortly after this having convocated a Councel at *Lions*, cauſed cite all the Prelates thereto. To this effect a meeting of the Clergy was kept at *Perth*, where it was concluded, that the Biſhops (*Dunkeld* and *Murray* only excepted) ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Journey, and be at *Lions* before the firſt of *May*. Hopes were given of great reformation to be made in that Council, eſpecially of the Orders of *Mendicants*, who were mightily increaſed and grown to the higheſt of depravation. The Council was frequent, there being preſent (as my Author ſaith) two Patriarchs, fifteen Cardinals, five hundred Biſhops, and a thouſaud other mitred Prelates, beſides the King of *France* and the Emperor of *Greece*, and many other Princes.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 34.

A ſupply for the Holy War.

The firſt propoſition was for the Holy War; and concerning it the Council decreed, *That a Tenth of all the Benefices in Chriſtendom (the privileged Churches not excepted) ſhould be paid for ſix years*; *That all Penitentiaries and Confeſſors ſhould urge offenders to aſſiſt that holy buſineſs with their wealth and riches*; *and That every Chriſtian, without exception of ſex or quality, ſhould pay a yearly penny during that ſpace, under pain of excommunication.*

The Acts of the Council.

For remedying abuſes in the Church, the Council ordained, 1. *That no Procurations ſhould be paid to Biſhops or Archdeacons, unleſs they did viſit the Churches in their own perſons.* 2. *That no Churchman ſhould poſſeſs more Benefices then one, and ſhould make his reſidence at the Church he retained.* 3. *That without the Pope's licence no Clergy ſhould anſwer the Impoſitions which might happen to be laid upon them by Princes or States.* 4. *That the* Mendicants *ſhould be reduced to four Orders, the* Minorites, *the* Predicants, Carmelites *and* Heremites *of* S. Auguſtine, *who ſhould continue in their preſent ſtate, until the Pope ſhould otherwiſe think good. And* 5. *a general prohibition was made to adviſe or admit any new* Orders, *beſides thoſe which the Council had allowed.*

All the Acts overturned by Diſpenſations.

Some other Acts of leſs moment were paſſed, whereof the extract under the hands of the publick Notaries of the Councel was ſent to this Church: but all theſe Statutes turned in a ſhort time to ſmoke. Pluralities being of new diſpenſed with, with the clauſe of *Non obſtante*, which then firſt came in uſe. The Orders of the Friers and Monks reſtored one by one: as firſt the *Ciſtertian* Monks, who redeemed their Order by the payment of 500000 Marks; then the *Bernardines* with the ſum of 600000 Crowns: the other Orders made in little ſort their Compoſitions. Whereby it appeared, that the Statutes there enacted were only deviſed to raiſe ſums of money, and not out of any purpoſe thoſe Fathers had to redreſs abuſes. The ſame year was one *Bagimund* a Legate directed hither, who calling before him all the Benificed perſons within the Kingdom, cauſed them upon their oath give up the worth and value of their Benefices; according to which they were taxed. The Table (commonly called *Bagiments Rolls*) ſerved for the preſent collection, and was a rule in after-times for the prices taken of thoſe that came to ſue for Benefices in the Court of *Rome*.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 35.

Wiſhart

Wiſhart, not long after his return from this Council, being employed by the King and State in a Commiſſion of the Borders, ſickned at *Marbotle* in *Teviotdale*, and there died. He is commended to have been a man careful in his Charge, and a great lover of Peace, then which there is no vertue more required in a Churchman. He continued Biſhop 5 years and 8 moneths onely. His Corps was honourably conveyed from *Marbotle*, and interred in his own Church nigh to the high Altar in the year 1279. *An.* 1279. Biſhop *Wiſhart* dieth. *Scon. l.* 10. c. 31. *An.* 1279.

There lived in the Kingdome at this time *Michael Scot* and *Thomas Lermonth*, men greatly admired, the firſt for his rareſt skill in the Secrets of Nature, the other for his Predictions and foretelling of things to come. *Picus Mirandula* and *Cornelius Agrippa* do make honourable mention of *Michael Scot* in their Writings, and accompt him to have been a ſubtle Philoſopher, and moſt expert in the Mathematick ſciences. The Prophecies yet extant in the *Scottiſh* Rymes of the other, whereupon he was commonly called *Thomas the Rymer*, may juſtly be admired, having foretold ſo many Ages before the Union of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in the ninth degree of the *Bruces* bloud, with the Succeſſion of *Bruce* himſelf to the Crown being yet a childe, and other divers particulars, which the event hath ratified and made good. *Boeth.* in his Story relateth his Prediction of King *Alexander*'s death, and that he did foretel the ſame to the Earl of *March* the day before it fell out, ſaying, *That before the next day at noon ſuch a tempeſt ſhould blow as* Scotland *had not felt many years before.* The next morning, the day being clear, and no change appearing in the air, the Nobleman did challenge *Thomas* of his ſaying, calling him an Impoſtor. He replied, *that noon was not yet paſſed.* About which time a Poſt came to advertiſe the Earl of the King his ſudden death. Then ſaid *Thomas, This is the tempeſt I foretold, and ſo it ſhall prove to* Scotland. Whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed; but ſure it is that he did divine and anſwer truly of many things to come. *Michael Scot* and *Tho. Lermonth.* *Buchan. l.* 13. *Leſl. l.* 6. *Boeth. l.* 13.

25. *William Fraſer* Chancellour of the Kingdom, was after *Wiſhart* elected Biſhop, and going to *Rome* was conſecrated by Pope *Nicolaus* the Third in the year 1280. The office of Chancery upon his reſignation was given by the King to Mr. *John Pebles* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*. At his return from *Rome* a peſtilential fever (never before known in this Kingdom) brake up to the deſtruction of an infinite number of people. This viſitation was ſcarce ceaſed, when all the King's children were taken away one after another: Firſt *David* his yongeſt ſon died; then *Alexander* the Prince, who had married a daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*; after him *Margaret* Queen of *Norway*, who left behinde her one only daughter; and laſt the King himſelf, who had taken to wife (after the death of his Queen) *Iolet* a daughter to the Count of *Dreux*, in hope to reſtore his iſſue, was moſt unfortunately killed by the fall of his horſe a little ſpace from the town of *Kingorne*. *William Fraſer* elected Biſhop after *Wiſhart*. *Buchan. l.* 7. The death of King *Alexander* the Third and his children.

So many deaths falling out together in the Royal Family did preſage great Calamities to enſue. The only hope that remained was in the *Norvegian* maid, for whom Sir *David Wemis* and Sir *Michael Scot*, two Knights of *Fife*, were directed by the Eſtates. The adminiſtration of affairs was in the mean time committed to *William Fraſer* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*, and *John Coming* Earl of *Bughan*, for the Countreys on the North ſide of *Forth*; and to *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *John* Lord *Comin*, and *John* Lord *Stewart*, for the South parts. But it was not long before that theſe Gentlemen that were ſent to *Norway* returned, bringing word that the maid of *Norway* was likewiſe departed this life. At which news it cannot be told whether the fears or ſorrows of the ſubjects were greater: for as their Sorrow for the loſs of ſo worthy a King was great, ſo their Fear was no leſs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the Succeſſion; for ſo many Competitors (ſix they were in number) claiming the inheritance of the Crown, and all of them men of power and friendſhip, they could not but divide the Realm, and ſo beget a civil Warr; yet they who were truſted during the Interreign did by their mediation work them to a compromiſe, and to remit the deciſion of the controverſion to King *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, a Prince of long experience, and much reſpected in that time. To this purpoſe the Biſhop of *Brichen* with the Abbot of *Jedburgh* and Two Knights of *Fife* directed to the maid of *Norway*, whom they found dead. *Boeth. l.* 14. *Buchan. l.* 8. Competitors for the Crown.

Galfred

An. 1279. *Galfred Mowbray* a Gentleman were ſent to King *Edward*, who finding him at *Xantoign* in *France*, did expone to him the inconveniences that were feared to fall out in the Kingdom, and the courſe they had taken to prevent the ſame, intreating his help for quieting the State.

Scon. l. 11. *c.* 2.

King *Edward* his ſpeech at the meeting in *Norham*.

King *Edward* glad to have an hand in the making of a King in *Scotland*, dimitted them with many loving words, aſſigning a Diet to the Competitors at *Norham* upon *Tweed*, which he promiſed to keep. The day come, and the Competitors all preſent, with the Prelates and other Nobles, the King by a long and premeditated ſpeech declared, "That albeit he might juſtly claim the Superiority of the King-"dom of *Scotland*, as belonging to him by right, yet as a friend and arbiter elected "by themſelves, he would labour to compoſe the preſent controverſie in the beſt "ſort he could. For the right, ſaid he, howſoever there be divers pretenders, be-"longeth to one only; and for my ſelf, I determine to wrong no man, but to do "that which is juſt, aſſuring my ſelf you will all acquieſce and take him for King "who ſhall be pronounced ſo to be.

Robert Biſhop of *Glaſgow* his reply. *Scon. l.* 11. *c.* 10.

This ſaid, *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* aroſe, and gave the King moſt hearty thanks, in name of the reſt, *for the good affection they bare to their Countrey, and the pains he had taken to come and remove their debates; ſhewing that out of a perſuaſion they all had of his wiſdom and equity, they were well pleaſed to ſubmit to him as ſole Arbiter the judgment and deciſion of that weighty affair. But where it had pleaſed him to ſpeak of a right of Superiority over the Kingdom; it was ſufficiently known that* Scotland *from the firſt foundation of the State had been a free and independent Kingdom, and not ſubject to any other power whatſoever. That their anceſtors had valiantly defended themſelves and their Liberties againſt the* Romans, Picts, Britans, Danes, Noriſhes, *and all others who ſought to uſurp upon them. And howbeit,* ſaid he, *the preſent occaſion hath bred ſome diſtraction of minds, all true-hearted* Scotch-men *will ſtand for the Liberty of their Countrey to the death: for they eſteem their Liberty more precious then their lives, and in that quarrel will neither ſeparate nor divide. Wherefore as he had profeſſed in way of friendſhip, and as an Arbiter elected by themſelves, to cognoſce and decide the preſent controverſie, they were all in moſt humble manner to intreat him that he would proceed to determine the queſtion, which they and their poſterities ſhould remember with their beſt affections und ſervices.* King *Edward*, although he was not well pleaſed with the Biſhop's free ſpeech, made no ſpeech thereof at the time, but continuing his purpoſe, deſired the Competitors to be called. They all being ſeverally heard, the right was found to lie chiefly betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, and the reſt ordained to ceaſe from their claim. Of *Baliol* and *Bruce* an oath was taken, that they ſhould abide by the ſentence which King *Edward* ſhould pronounce. The like oath was taken by the Prelates, Nobles, and other Commiſſioners of the State, who ſware all to accept him for their King that ſhould be tried to have the beſt right; and for the greater aſſurance, all their ſeals were appended to the Compromiſe. Then *Edward* proceeding, made twelve of either Kingdom, men learned in the Law, to be elected for examination of the right, declaring that he would take the opinions alſo of the beſt Civilians in the Univerſities of *France*. In this ſort was the buſineſs carried in publick; but privately, and amongſt ſome few, the conſultation was how to bring *Scotland* under his ſubjection.

The right of the Crown found to lie betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*. *Buchan. l.* 8.

A meeting at *Berwick* for determinating the right. *Sa. Daniel. Boeth. l.* 14.

Five years and ſome more were ſpent before the controverſie was brought to an end. At laſt every one longing to have it concluded, the King returned to *Berwick*, and calling the 24 who had been named at the firſt meeting, he did encloſe them within the Church, commanding them to debate the matter, and permitting none to have acceſs unto them, he himſelf went in now and then to feel their minds; and perceiving the moſt part inclining to *Bruce* his right, he dealt firſt with him, promiſing to inveſt him in the Kingdom, ſo as he would hold the ſame of the Crown of *England*. *Bruce* anſwered that he was not ſo deſirous of Rule, as he would therefore prejudice the Liberties of the Countrey. The like offer he made to *Baliol*, who, being more greedy of a Kingdom then careful of his honour, did yield thereunto, and ſo was crowned King at *Scone*; all the Nobility, *Bruce* excepted, doing him homage. Some dayes after his Coronation he went to *Newcaſtle*, to do the Homage

Bruce refuſeth the offer, which *Baliol* embraceth.

(as

(as he had promiſed) to King *Edward* as unto his Soveraign Lord. The Nobles that accompanied him thither, fearing to withſtand the two Kings ſo far from home, did likewiſe ſwear ſubjection to King *Edward*. Which as ſoon as the reſt of the Nobility and others of the State (who were tender of their Countreys Liberty) underſtood, they grew highly diſpleaſed. They that were in *Baliol*'s company were excuſed, as not daring oppoſe the fact in that place; but he himſelf having done it upon a ſecret paction, which then began firſt to break out, he became ſo univerſally hated, as after that time could he never purchaſe their love; nor was it long before he felt the ſmart of his own error. For being cited to anſwer before the Parliament of *England* upon a complaint exhibited againſt him, he appeared; and having deſired to anſwer by Procurator, the ſame was denied him, and he forced to deſcend to the ordinary place of pleading, and ſtand as a ſubject. This affront did ſo vex his mind, that from thenceforth he did meditate upon nothing but revenge, whereof a good opportunity was offered him by the War which then burſt forth between *France* and *England*.

An. 1279.

Baliol hated for ſwearing ſubjection to the King of *England*. *Buchan. l.* 8.

Baliol breaketh with *England*.

The Ambaſſadours of both theſe King's coming at one time into *Scotland*, (the *French* to ſeek the renewing of the ancient League, and the *Engliſh* to crave a ſupply of men to be ſent unto King *Edward* by virtue of the late Allegiance ſworn by *Baliol*) the deſire of *England* was utterly rejected as unjuſt; *Becauſe the Allegiance ſworn by their King was*, as they ſaid, *forced; and granting he had done it willingly, it was not in his power, without conſent of the State, to do any ſuch act. Therefore whatſoever was done by him that way, both he and they did recall, renouncing* Edward's *friendſhip both for that and other wrongs committed by him.* Thereupon it was concluded, that two Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent, one to *France* for renewing the League, and confirming it by new alliance of *Edward Baliol* the King's ſon with the daughter of *France*; another to *England*, for defying King *Edward*, and renouncing his Allegiance. Towards *France*, *William* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Motthew* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Sir *John Sowlis*, and Sir *Ingram Umphraville* Knights, were imployed. The Ambaſſadour to *England* being declined by many, *Henry Abbot* of *Aberbrothock*, a man of great ſtomach, undertook and performed.

Ambaſſadors from *France* and *England*.

Boeth. l. 14. *Scon. l.* 11. *c.* 18.

Upon this defection of *Baliol*, King *Edward* ſummoned him to appear at *Newcaſtle*; and upon his refuſe entered into *Scotland* with a mighty Army, took *Berwick* with the ſlaughter of 7000 *Scots*, and had delivered into his hands the Caſtles of *Dumbar*, *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*. *Baliol* thus overthrown, was again by the perſuaſion of *John Cumin* of *Strathbogy* brought to ſubmit himſelf, and ſwear Fealty of new to King *Edward*. After which the Parliament of *Scotland* was called to meet at *Berwick*; there did all the Nobility that were preſent perform Homage to the King of *England*. *William Dowglas*, a man nobly born, and of great courage, only refuſed, and was therefore caſt in priſon, where he died. This done, King *Edward* turned home, leaving *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex* Governour of the Kingdom, *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormſley* chief Juſtice.

Baliol cited to *Newcaſtle*.

Scotland invaded by King *Edward*.

Buchan. l. 8.

Boeth. l. 14.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, who was lately come from *France*, not enduring to ſee the Countrey ſo thralled, returned thither, appointing Mr. *William Kingorne* and *Peter de Campaigne* his Chaplains to ſupply his abſence in all ſpiritual affairs: *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* and *Maurice* Biſhop of *Iſles* were taken and ſent priſoners to *London*. The reſt of the Churchmen, though permitted to attend their Cures, were held under miſerable bondage: whereupon they ſecretly diſpatched a meſſage to the Pope with *William* Archdeacon of *Lothian*, *Baldred Biſſet* and *William Egiſhame*, willing them *to lament the oppreſſions of the Church, and the uſurpation made upon the Countrey, and ſo intreated him, as the univerſal Father of Chriſtendome, to uſe his authority with the King of* England, *over whom he had power, and take the matter to his own hearing, unto whoſe judgement they would ſimply ſubmit themſelves.* Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, who then ruled that See, moved with their prayers, ſent immediately to *Edward*, and deſired him to *forbear any further proceeding againſt the Scots*, alledging with a ſtrange impudence *the Sovereginty of* Scotland *to belong unto the Church*. The Commiſſioners nothing pleaſed with the Pope's claim, did notwithſtanding forbear to take notice of it, leſt they ſhould make him alſo their

The Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Iſles* ſent priſoners to *London*.

A meſſage ſent to the Pope from the Clergy.

Scon. l. 11. *c.* 36.

The Pope's Letters to King *Edward* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

An. 1300. enemy. To the ſame purpoſe did the Pope write Letters to *Robert Winchelſey*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, willing him to deal with the King for ſetling the Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Iſles* at liberty, and the ſubmitting of all controverſies between him and the *Scots* to the judgement of the Apoſtolick See.

King *Edward*'s Anſwer to the Popes Letter was, *That from all antiquity the direct and ſuperiour dominion of* Scotland *did appertain to the Kingdom of* England, *even from* Brutus *unto his own time. That it was never yet heard that the Kingdom of* Scotland *belonged to the Church, nor did he think the* Scots *would confeſs ſo much. And that if he ſhould yield to his deſire, he would unquiet his own Kingdom, and draw upon himſelf the hatred of his ſubjects; which he knew his Holineſs would not wiſh. Therefore prayed him to hold him excuſed, and to be perſwaded of his affection to the See Apoſtolick.* He moved likewiſe his Nobility, who were then met in parliament at *Lincoln*, to write to the Pope to the ſame effect. Albeit ſomewhat more roundly thoy told him, *That the King their Lord ought not to undergoe his judgement in matters of that kind, neither ſend his Procurators about that buſineſs as he had been required, ſeeing that was to call in doubt their King's Title, to the prejudice of his Crown, the Royal Dignity, the Liberties, Cuſtomes and Laws of* England, *which by their Oath they were bound to obſerve, and would defend with their lives. Nor would they permit the King, although he would, in any way to attempt the ſame. Wherefore they beſought his Holineſs to meddle no more in that matter.* The Pope, having his hands full otherwiſe at the time, did upon this dimit the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, who had made a long ſtay at *Rome*, with great promiſes of favour when he ſhould ſee it to be convenient. The Supplication directed to the Pope is by ſome of our Writers ſaid to be ſent after King *Edward*'s ſecond Expedition into *Scotland*; but I rather think it was at the firſt.

King *Edward* his anſwer.

An. 1300. *William Wallace.* Whileſt theſe things were a-doing, *William Wallace*, a Gentleman well deſcended, but of no great eſtate, began to ſhew himſelf, and gathering (out of a deſire to free his Countrey from the ſubjection of *England*) a company of ſuch as would adventure with him, effected things beyond all expectation; for he ſlew Sir *Hugh Creſſingham*, who was left Governour of the Realm, recovered moſt of the ſtrengths and Caſtles, won again the Town of *Berwick*, expulſed the *Engliſh* Clergy that had planted themſelves in the Kingdom, and, if he had not been hindered by his own countreymen, had made his victory abſolute. King *Edward* being all that time in *Flanders*, and informed at his return to *England* of the diſtractions amongſt the *Scots* themſelves, fell of new upon them; and after a ſore defeat given them at *Falkirk*, called a Parliament at S. *Andrews*, where all the Earls and Barons did again ſwear obedience unto him, not one of any note (*Wallace* excepted) ſtanding out in the whole Kingdom.

S. Daniel. Boeth. l. 14. *Buch. l.* 8.

A Parliament at S. *Andrews.*

King *Edward* his courſe for extirpating the *Scots.* And now did the State ſeem to be wholly ruined, for *Edward* intending to make ſure his Conqueſt, led away captive all that had the leaſt ability to ſtir; and to extinguiſh (if it had been poſſible) the very memory of the Nation, he aboliſhed all the ancient Laws of *Scotland*, traduced the Eccleſiaſtical Rites to the form of *England*, deſtroyed the antique monuments erected either by the *Romans* or by their own progenitors, burnt all the Regiſters, with that famous Library of *Reſtennoth*, (wherein, beſides many other volumes, were reſerved the Books which King *Fergus* the Second brought with him from *Rome*) removed the Marble Chair in which (as the vulgar believed) the Fate of the Kingdom did conſiſt; and to be ſhort, left nothing which might incite generous ſpirits to remember their former fortunes, or encourage them in any ſort to vertue and worthineſs.

Scon. Catal. Epiſc. S. Andreæ. Paſl. l. 6. The Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, (who then remained at *Artevile* in *France*) upon the report of this pitiful vaſtation, did contract ſuch a melancholy, as within a few days he died. His body was interred at the Predicants Church at *Paris*, and his heart brought into *Scotland*, and entombed by *Lamberton* his ſucceſſour in the wall of the Church of S. *Andrews*, nigh to the ſepulchre of *Gamelinus*. He was a man careful of the Church, and ſought by all means to better the eſtate thereof. At his firſt admiſſion to the See he purchaſed the Priory of *May* from the Abbot of *Reading* in *England*, which he gave afterwards to the Prior and Canons; and had he fallen in peaceable times, would have performed many good works.

26. *William*

26. *William Lamberton*, Parſon of *Campſey*, and Chancellour of the Church of *Glaſgow*, was then preferred to the place. This man, after the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* was ſent priſoner to *London*, made his own peace with King *Edward*, and ſware fealty unto him, which was the thing that wrought his advancement; yet the *Culdees*, who claimed a chief voice in the election of the Biſhop, withſtood him mightily at the firſt. Before the Abbey was founded, the *Culdees* were the only Electors of the Biſhop: afterwards being excluded by a Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Second, the election was committed to the Prior and Canons; whereupon aroſe a great controverſie amongſt them, which by the authority of good King *David* was agreed in theſe terms, that ſo many of the *Culdees* as would become Canons, and enter in the Monaſtery, ſhould have voice with them. But to elude this appointment, a Mandate was procured from the Pope to admit none in the Convent without the advice of the Prior and moſt part of the Canons: by which means the *Culdees* were kept out, and deprived quite of all voice in the Election. *William Comin* their Provoſt, ſuppoſing to get ſome advantage of the Prior in theſe troubleſome times, did ſtrongly oppoſe *Lamberton*'s Election, and the matter by an appeal drawn to the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, they both went thither to debate their rights: in end *Lamberton* prevailed, and was conſecrated by Pope *Boniface* in *June* 1298. This turned ſo to the diſgrace of the *Culdees*, as after this time we hear no more of them, the name and Order being by little and little quite extinguiſhed.

An. 1300.

William Lamberton preferred to S. *Andrews* upon the death of *Fraſer*.

Poſt l. 6. *c.* 2.

The Culdees and Canons ſtrife

About the ſame time were the Templars, otherwiſe called the Red Friers, made away; an Order inſtituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* ſome 200 years before, for the defence of that City, and the ſafe conveying of all ſuch as travelled thither, by the pious liberality of Princes and others well affected: they were in a ſhort time greatly enriched, and for their wealth ſore envied. Some report, that degenerating from their firſt inſtitution they became execrably vicious. But *Bocatius*, *Villanus*, *Antonius*, *Nauclerus*, *Aventinus*, and other Authors do all purge them of the crimes laid to their charge. The rumour in that time went, that *Philip* King of *France*, to get one of his ſons made King of *Jeruſalem*, and poſſeſſed with their Revenues, did labour to have them and the Order condemned. But others ſay, that the Pope (this was *Clement* the Fifth) was mightily offended with them for inveighing againſt the corruptions of his Court and ſinfulneſs of the Clergy; which they maintained to be the only cauſe of all the miſeries of Chriſtendome, eſpecially of the Holy Land. But howſoever their deſtruction was wrought, all Authors teſtifie that notwithſtanding the cruel torments which divers of that profeſſion were put unto, none of the crimes laid to their charge could ever be made out againſt them.

The diſſolution of the Templars.

Paulus Æmilius in his Hiſtory writeth, that *James Burgond* the Principal of that Order being brought forth to die, and, whileſt the fire was kindled before him, having his life offered, if he would quickly declare that what he had deponed in the time of his impriſonment, both of himſelf and of his whole Order, was true, did utter theſe words; *In theſe my laſt actions, it being unpardonable impiety to lie, I freely and frankly confeſs, that I committed a great offence both againſt my ſelf and my Order, and that therein I have deſerved a moſt tormenting puniſhment, becauſe in favour of them for whom I ſhould not, and allured with the ſweetneſs of life, I have in my tortures ſlanderouſly impoſed many impieties and detractions upon the Order, which hath ever deſerved well of the Chriſtian world. I have no need of life obtained by intreaty, much leſs retained by lying and defamation.* This ſaid, and he being ſet to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet to wring out from him a confeſſion, even when the flames began to waſte and fire his entrails, he never ſwarved from the conſtancy of his former ſpeech, or ſhewed the leaſt change and alteration of minde. with him two other of the ſame Order did ſuffer, (one of them being of a great family, and brother to the *Daulphin* of *Vienna*) who ſhewed the like conſtancy. There be other Authors of no ſmall eſteem, ſaith *Pleſſis*, who report, *That two Cardinals being preſent at their execution, the great Maſter did ſummon Pope* Clement *before the Tribunal of God, to anſwer for the wrongous judgement and ſentence given againſt them*; and that *the Pope died the ſame day to which he was cited*, being the 40

Paulus Æmilius.

Pleſſis.

An. 1307. 40 day after their execution. Partly by these testimonies, and partly by the clause insert in the condemnatory Bull of Pope *Clement*, in which it was said, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus*, Albeit by way of right we cannot, yet out of the fulness of our power we reprobate and condemn the said Order, by this, I say, it would appear that they were rigorously used. But howsoever all the Kings of Christendome, as combining together, caused them at one instant to be apprehended within their dominions, and put from their estates, which afterwards were given to the Hospitalers and Knights of S. *John*.

B *Lamberton* loseth K. *Edward*'s favour.

Buchan. l. 8.

But to return to *Lamberton*; he stood not long in King *Edward*'s favour, being suspected for the entertainment he gave to *James Douglas* the son of *William Douglas*, who died in Prison at *Berwick*. This Gentleman at the time of his father's death was in *Paris* following his studies, and being advertised that his father was dead, and his estate given away to strangers, returned home; where finding no means to maintain himself, he took his recourse to the Bishop, who pitying the Gentleman's estate, did accept him amongst his followers, and in the next Expedition which King *Edward* made into *Scotland*, taking the Gentleman with him to *Striveling*, did present him to the King, intreating that he might have his lands restored, and be admitted into his service. King *Edward* answered, *That he could not look for good service of him whose father had proved such an enemy; and that the lands were disponed to others that had merited better.* So the Gentleman despairing to find any favour with the King, did wait still upon the Bishop.

Lesl. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 14.

The Bishop committed to prison.

Afterwards hearing that *Robert Bruce* had taken the field, he stole away secretly, taking with him the Bishop's horses and moneys, and went to assist *Bruce*. King *Edward* apprehending this to be done with the Bishop's knowledge, did commit him to prison, where he remained till the death of King *Edward*, which happened in the year 1307.

Robert Bruce crowned King.

King *Robert Bruce* was in this time crowned King, and by the Troubles which *Edward* the Second found in the beginning of his Reign, got leisure to settle himself in the Kingdom; so as when King *Edward* returned (which was not till seven years after his father's death) to take possession of the Countrey, and came with a world of people,)they are reckoned to be no fewer then two hundred thousand) they were encountred by King *Robert* at the River of *Bannockburn*, and wholly defeated. This victory did so much discourage the *English*, as after a long surcease of war, when some eight years after they attempted to repair themselves, they were forced with much dishonour to return, and become suiters to the Pope to intercede for peace.

Boeth. l. 14.

Buchan. l. 8.

The Pope's Legate sent to dissuade the King from troubling *England*.

To this effect a Legate was sent into *Scotland*, who had audience given him at *Aberbrothock*. His Proposition was, "That the *Scots* should desist from troubling "*England*, till the Pope should hear the questions that were amongst them, and "be enformed of the right which King *Edward* had to the Crown of *Scotland*. King *Robert* answered, "That the Pope could not be ignorant of the estate of that "business, the same having been often exponed by the Commissioners of *Scot*-"*land* to divers of his predecessors, in the hearing of many Cardinals then alive, "who could relate, if they pleased, the insolent answers which Pope *Boniface* recei-"ved, when he desired the *English* to forbear their cruel oppression of the *Scots*. "And now, saith he, when it hath pleased God to give us the better by some Victo-"ries, and that we have not only recovered our own, but are in a possibility to "make them live as good neighbours, they have recourse to such Treaties, seek-"ing only to gain time, that when they have setled their affairs, they may fall "again upon us with the greater force: but in this his Holiness must excuse "me, for I will not be so unwise as to let the advantage I have slip out of my "hands.

Boeth. l. 14.

The King his answer to the Legate.

The Kingdom interdicted.

The Legate not satisfied with this Answer, and interpreting it as a disobedience to the Apostolick See, did put the Kingdom under Interdiction, and so departed. But the King, to shew how little he esteemed these proceedings, followed the Legate at the heels, and entering into *England*: wasted all the adjacent Countries

tries with fire and ſword. At his return from that Expedition an Ambaſſage was ſent to *Rome* for reconciling the Kingdom, and a Letter ſubſcribed by the Nobility and Barons to the Pope, the Copy whereof I have thought good to inſert. *An.* 1307. *Buch. l.* 8.

A Letter ſent by the Nobles and Barons of *Scotland* to the Pope.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & domino Joanni, &c. filii ſui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Ranulphus Comes Moraviæ, dominus Manviæ, & dominus Wallis Annandiæ, Patricius Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Maliſius Comes Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Lennox, Gulielmus Comes de Roſſe, Magnus Comes Cathannon & Orcaden, & Gulielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Seneſcallus Scotiæ, Gulielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus de Douglas, David de Brichen, David Grahame, Ingelramus Umphravile, Johannes Montieth Cuſtos Comitatus ejuſdem, Alexander Fraſer, Gilbertus de Haya Conſtabularius Scotiæ, Robertus Mareſcallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Santo Claro Panitarius Scotiæ, Johannes Grahame, David Lindſay, Patritius Grahame, Johannes de Fenton, Gulielmus de Abernethy, David de Weymis, Gulielmus de Monteſixo, Ferguſius de Androſſen, Euſtathius Maxwell, Gulielmus Ramſey, Alanus de Moravia, Donaldus Campbell, Johannes Cameron, Reginaldus Loquhoir, Alexander Seaton, Andreas Leſlie, & Alexander de Straton, cæterique Barones & liberè tenentes & tota communitas Regni Scotiæ, &c. *Scam. l.* 13. c. 1.

Thereafter they ſaid, "That *Scotland* being an ancient Kingdome governed "by a continued ſucceſſion of 97 Kings, and amongſt the firſt that embraced "the Faith of *Chriſt*, living under the patronage of S. *Andrew* the brother of S. *Pe*"*ter*, and graced with many priviledges by the Popes his predeceſſors, had alwaies "been free from uſurpation of any ſtranger, before that *Edward* the father of him "that now reigneth in *England*, did in the time of the interreign, when the que"ſtion was of a ſucceſſour, labour by violence to eſtabliſh the Kingdom to him"ſelf: ſince which time they have endured many injuries, having their Churches "ſpoiled, their Monaſteries burnt, and their Countrey intolerably oppreſſed, till "of late it hath pleaſed God to ſtir up King *Robert Bruce*, who as another *Joſua* "or *Judas Maccabeus* had redeemed them by his valour; with whom they reſolved "in defence of their Countrey to ſpend their lives. And if he ſhould forſake "them, (which they knew he would not do) ſo long as they were any of them in "life, *England* ſhould never bring them in ſubjection. Wherefore they beſought "his Holineſs to make the *Engliſh* content themſelves with the ſpacious bounds "they poſſeſſed, in which there reigned ſometimes ſeven Kings, and ſuffer the "*Scots* quietly to enjoy that little piece of ground which their progenitors had "long defended, and left free unto them. In end they entreated, "To be re"ceived again into his grace and favour, promiſing all dutiful obedience to him "and to the See Apoſtolick. This was the tenor of the Letter which the Pope favourably accepted, and thereupon gave order that the *Engliſh* and *Scots* ſhould both be warned to a certain Diet for debating their rights. The Diet come, and the *Engliſh* not appearing, the Pope, after he had examined the caſe, and peruſed the Reſcripts of divers his predeceſſors, releaſed the Interdiction which his Legate had publiſhed, and declared the *Scots* to be reconciled to the Church.

The Interdiction releaſed.

The great diſcontents which were then amongſt the *Engliſh* for the government of affairs under *Edward* the Third (who was then made King upon his Father's Reſignation) brought them to ſue for peace: which after a ſhort Treaty was concluded, and the Peace confirmed by a Match betwixt *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Jane* ſiſter to King *Edward*. The Conditions of the Peace were theſe: "That King *Edward* ſhould ſurrender by Charter his Title of Sovereignty of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*; Reſtore whatſoever Acts, Deeds, and Inſtruments he had "of Homage and Fealty done by the Kings of *Scotland* or their Nobility to any "of his anteceſſors, eſpecially thoſe which *Edward* the Firſt his Grandfather had "by force extorted; and leave the Kingdome of *Scotland* as free as it was at the "death of King *Alexander* the Third: That the *Scots* ſhould quit and renounce all "the lands they held in *England*, and *Stanmore* be taken for the March both in "*Cumberland* and in *Northumberland*: That no *Engliſhman* ſhould enjoy lands in "*Scotland*, unleſs he dwelt in the Countrey; and that in ſatisfaction of the lands "poſſeſſed by ſome of them who would not remain in *Scotland*, the King of *Scots*

The *Engliſh* ſue for peace.

The Conditions of the Peace.

An. 1328. "ſhould pay 30000 Marks. Peace thus made, and the Marriage with great ſolemnity performed, (though the Prince was then but ſeven years old) King *Robert* waxing ſickly lived private (in a ſort) until his death, which happened ſome two years after. He was a King of incomparable wiſdome and valour, whoſe worth and vertue no pen can expreſs.

King *Robert Bruce* dieth.

B *Lamberton* his death and vertues.

Whileſt this Peace was treating, *Lamberton* departed this life, having continued Biſhop thirty years: a Prelate wiſe, active, and a great Benefactor to the Abbey, wherein for the moſt part he kept his reſidence. The Buildings whereof now we only behold the ruines, were erected upon his charges. It is reported, that being asked by one of his ſervants on a night, *Why he did lay out ſo great ſums for the Monaſtery, and forget to build for himſelf*; he anſwered, *That ere he died he hoped to build more then his ſucceſſors ſhould well maintain.* Which he indeed performed; for beſides the repairing of his Palace in S. *Andrews*, he built at *Monymaill*, *Torrey*, *Derſey*, *Inchmortach*, *Muſchart*. *Ketins*, *Lincon*, *Monymusk*, and *Stow* in *Twaddale*, Houſes of good receipt for himſelf and his ſucceſſors. He finiſhed the Cathedral Church which had been many years a building, and dedicated the ſame with great ſolemnity in the year 1318. He adorned the Chapter-houſe with curious ſeats and cieling, furniſhed the Canons with precious Veſtments for the daily ſervice, ſtored their Library with Books, and at the Dedication of the Church procured of the King who honoured the ſame with his preſence) a yearly rent of 100 Marks to be paid to the Abbey forth of the Exchequer; which annuity was afterward redeemed by the donation of the Church of *Forden* in *Mernis*. He himſelf the ſame very day gave unto the Prior and Convent the Churches of *Derſey* and *Abercromby*, as the donations yet extant do teſtifie; and dying at the laſt in the Prior's Chamber within the Monaſtery, was buried in the new Church on the north ſide of the high Altar, in the year 1328.

Scon. l. in Catalogo epiſc. S. Andreæ.

Jo. Duns. *Bal. cent.* 14. *Leſl. l.* 14.

The famous Doctor *Joannes Duns, aliàs Scotus*, lived in his time. He was born in the Town of *Duns* in the Countrey of *Mers*, and being yet a childe, after ſome taſte he had got of the *Latine* Tongue, by the perſwaſion of two *Minorite* Friers, went to *Oxford*, ſtudying *Logick* in *Merton* College: then applying himſelf to Scholaſtick Divinity, grew to ſuch a perfection therein, as he was called *The ſubtile Doctor*; and was followed of a number, who after his name are called to this day *Scotiſtæ*. After he had profeſſed a while at *Oxford*, he was called to reade Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and from thence went to *Colen*, where he died of the Apoplexy. They write that after he was laid in grave, his ſpirits did return, and that ſtriving to get forth, he was there ſmothered; whereupon an *Italian* did write this Epigram:

Camd. Brit.

Quæcunque humani fuerant juriſque ſacrati,
In dubium veniunt cuncta vocante Scoto.
Quid? quòd & in dubium illius ſit vita vocata,
Morte illum ſimili ludificante ſtrophâ;
Quum non antè virum vitâ jugulârit ademptâ,
Quàm vivus tumulo conditus ille foret.

Duns proved to be a *Scottiſh* man born.

The *Engliſh* Writers contend that this *Scotus* was born in *England*, in *Dunſtane* Village within the Pariſh of *Emilden*, in the County of *Northumberland*; and confirm it by the Manuſcripts reſerved in the Library of *Merton* College, in one whereof are written theſe words, *Explicit Lectura ſubtilis Doctoris in Univerſitate* Oxonienſi, *(ſuper libros Sententiarum) Doctoris* Joannis Duns, *nati in Villa de* Emilden *vocata* Dunſtan, *contracta* Duns, *in Comitatu* Northumbriæ, *pertinens ad domum ſcholaſticorum de* Merton Hall *in* Oxonio, *& quondam dictæ domus ſocii.* Thus ends the Lecture of the ſubtile Doctor in the Univerſity of *Oxford* (upon the Book of Sentences) Doctor *John Duns*, born in a Village of *Emilden* callen *Dunſtan*, or by abbreviation *Duns*, in the County of *Northumberland*, pertaining to the houſe of Scolars of *Merton Hall* in *Oxford*, and ſometime one of the Fellows of the ſaid Houſe. But this is no ſufficient proof; for it may be probably ſuppoſed that he living

living at *Oxford* in *England* when the Wars were ſo hot betwixt the two Kingdoms, did diſſemble his Countrey, and pretend himſelf to be an *Engliſh* born, to eſchew the hatred of the Students. In *Colen*, where he might without danger ſhew of what Countrey he was, he did profeſs himſelf a *Scot*, and the Minorites (of which Order he was) did therefore upon his Tomb erected in their Church, at the end of the Quire nigh unto the high Altar, ſet this Inſcription, which is there yet to be ſeen: *An.* 1341.

Scotia me genuit, Anglia ſuſcepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

What a fine ſubtle wit he had, the Monuments left by him to poſterity do witneſs. He died young in the year 1308.

27. The Chapter after *Lamberton*'s death meeting for the election of a new Biſhop, went into factions, the one half giving their voices to Sir *James Bane* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, the other half to Sir *Alexander Kinnimmouth* Archdeacon of *Lothian:* but *Bane* being then in the Court of *Rome*, and advertiſed of the Biſhop's death, obtained the Biſhoprick of the Pope, who in thoſe times diſpoſed all Church-livings as he thought good, having no regard to Canonical Elections. Sir *James Bane* elected in *Lamberton*'s place. *Scon. l. in Catal. Epiſc. S. Andr.*

This Biſhop lived four years only after his Conſecration, and died at *Bruges* in *Flanders:* for upon breach of the Peace with *England*, and the Coronation of *Edward Baliol*, when *David* with his Queen went into *France*, he withdrew himſelf to the *Low-Countreys*, He was buried in the Monaſtery of the Regular Canons within *Bruges*. The Biſhop dieth at *Bruges* in *Flanders*.

28. How ſoon *Bane* his death was made known, the Convent meeting, elected *William Bell* Dean of *Dunkeld*. The Pope refuſing to confirm the Election, the See remained void for the ſpace of nine years and more. At laſt *William Landells*, Provoſt of *Kinkell*, upon the recommendation of the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, was preferred and conſecrated by Pope *Benedict* the Tenth at *Avignon* in the year 1341. The See of S. *Andrews* void nine years. *William Landels* choſen Biſhop.

This Prelate was nobly born, and the heir of great poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, of a generous mind, and given to all goodneſs: he lived Biſhop 44 years, and in that time ſaw many Alterations: King *David Bruce* peaceably repoſſeſſed in the Kingdome; taken captive in the Battel of *Dureſme*, (where he himſelf was made Priſoner;) ſet again at liberty for the payment of one hundred thouſand Marks ſterling, to the help whereof he procured from the Church-men, with the conſent of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth, the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtial Livings within the Kingdom for the ſpace of three years; and after King *David* his death, his ſon *Robert Stewart*, called *Robert* the Second, crowned King; to the fifteenth year of whoſe reign he attained, and then died in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*. His body was buried in the Cathedral Church at the Chancery door.

It was a cuſtome before theſe times, that when any Biſhop deceaſed, all his moveable goods were ſeiſed on by the King's Officers, as belonging to the King: this he got diſcharged, and liberty granted to all the Prelates to diſpoſe their goods by Teſtament to whom they pleaſed; or if they ſhould happen to die inteſtate, it was made lawful to their neareſt kinſmen to call and purſue for the ſame. The benefit of this priviledge he himſelf firſt enjoyed. The Biſhops obtained liberty to diſpoſe of their goods by Teſtament.

29. In his place the Prior of S. *Andrews*, called *Stephen*, a man of great experience, and wiſdom, was choſen Biſhop; who going towards *Rome* for Confirmation, was taken priſoner at Sea by the *Engliſh*, and died at *Alnwick* of ſickneſs in the year 1385. *Stephen* choſen Biſhop of S. *Andrews*: he dieth at *Alnwick*.

30. *Walter Traill* was then attending Pope *Clement* at *Avignon*, a man ſingularly learned, and well expert both in the Civil and Canon Law. So great an opinion the Pope had of his worth, as at his preferment he did ſay to thoſe that ſtood by him, *This man deſerveth better to be Pope then Biſhop; the place is better provided then the perſon.* Which proved true in effect; for when he came to govern the See, he adminiſtred all affairs moſt wiſely. Nor had he the charge only of the Church, but the whole affairs of the Kingdom being caſt upon him, he governed *Walter Traill* elected in his ſtead. *Scon. l. in Catal. Epiſc. S. Andr.*

An. 1401. verned the ſame in ſuch ſort as the Realm was never remembred to have been better and more peaceably ruled. Writers deſcribe him to have been a man of courteous behaviour, affable, pitiful and compaſſionate of thoſe that were in any ſort diſtreſſed, a hater of vice, and of moſt ſincere converſation. He lived unto a great age, in much eſteem, and died in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* built by himſelf) in the year 1401. His body was interred with great ſolemnity amongſt his predeceſſors, with this Inſcription in graven upon his monument:

His Vertues and Qualities.

An. 1401.

Hic fuit Eccleſiæ Columna, Feneſtra lucida,
Thuribulum aureum, Campana ſonora.

Thomas Stewart ſon to *Robert* the ſecond elected Biſhop.

31. After him was *Thomas Stewart* ſon to King *Robert* the Second (being then Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*) elected Biſhop; but he affecting the retired life, refuſed to accept the place, which thereupon remained void the ſpace of three years (for the Chapter would not in his life-time proceed to a new Election:) the Rents were in the mean time aſſigned by King *Robert* the Third (with the Convent's permiſſion) to *Walter Danzelſton* in recompence of the Caſtle of *Dumbriton*, which he enjoyed by an hereditary title, and did at that time reſign unto the King.

Scon. l. in Catalogo Epiſc. S. Andreæ.

Henry Wardlaw Provided by Pope *Benedict* the 13 to the Biſhoprick.

32. *Thomas Stewart* deceaſing, *Gilbert Grinlaw* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, and Chancellour of the Kingdom, was poſtulated Biſhop; but *Henry Wardlaw* preſentor of *Glaſgow*, being then at *Avignon*, was provided thereto by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth. There was at this time a fearful Schiſm in the Church, of all that we do read the moſt ſcandalous, and of longeſt continuance; two, and ſometimes three, Popes warring one againſt another, and condemning each others Ordinances; which did ſo divide the Chriſtian world, and made ſuch partakings as were pitiful. This Schiſm laſting 29 years and more, was at laſt quenched in the Councel of *Conſtance*, and *Martin* the firſt choſen Pope.

A Schiſm in the Church.

Martin the 5 choſen Pope by the Council of *Conſtance*.

The Abbot of *Pontiniac* directed to intimate the Election.

Scotland at that time lived in the obedience of *Benedict*, the Abbot of *Pontiniac* was directed to intimate the Election of the Council, and had audience given him in a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*. Thither came alſo one *Harding* a Minorite Frier, ſent by *Benedict* to ſolicite the Churches adherence to him againſt the Decree of the Council, who taking for his Theme theſe words, *My ſon, do nothing without adviſement, ſo ſhall it not repent thee after the deed*, held a long diſcourſe of the proceedings of the Council, and the informality thereof, affirming that none was bound to obey and acknowledge the ſame. Maſter *John Fogo*, a Monk of the Abbey of *Melroſſe*, replying to his Oration, began his ſpeech with that precept of the Apoſtle, *Withdraw your ſelves from every brother that walketh inordinately*, and refuting all the Minorites reaſons brought againſt the Councel, concluded that whoſoever did procure for *Peter de Luna* (this was *Benedict*'s name before he was elected Pope) was a very diſturber of the Churches peace, and not to be countenanced in any ſort. The Clergy in end, diſclaiming *Benedict*, promiſed obedience to Pope *Martin*, whom the Council had elected.

Harding a Minorite perſwadeth the *Scots* to continue in the obedience of *Benedict*.

John Fogo, a Monk of *Melroſs*, refuteth *Harding*'s Oration.

The Schiſm made way to the Reformation.

By occaſion of this Schiſm the mouths of many were opened againſt the corrupt doctrine and manners of *Rome*. *John Wickliffe* in *England*, *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, did openly preach againſt the Tyranny of the Pope, and the abuſes introduced in the Church; and in this Countrey one called *Joannes Resby*, an Engliſh-man, *& de Schola Wickliffi*, as the Story ſpeaketh, was brought in queſtion for ſome points of Doctrine which he taught, and condemned to the fire. He was charged by Maſter *Laurence Lendors* with forty Heretical opinions, whereof we have two only mentioned; One, that *the Pope was not Chriſt's Vicar*; the other, that *he was not to be eſteemed Pope, if he was a man of wicked life*. For maintaining theſe two points, he ſuffered in the year 1407. Some 24 years after *Paul Craw* a Bohemian came into *Scotland*, and for venting certain opinions touching the Sacrament of the Supper, the Adoration of Saints, and auricular Confeſſion, he was alſo condemned, and burnt at S. *Andrews* in the year 1432.

John Wickliffe, *Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*.

James Resby Martyr.

Paul Craw Martyr.

The Biſhop his qualities.

The death of theſe two Martyrs lieth heavy upon the memory of this Biſhop, who otherwiſe deſerved well of the Countrey and Church; for in his time he laboured

red much to have the riotous forms crept in among all sorts of men repressed, and was a man most hospitable. They report of him, that the Masters of his house complaining of the great numbers that resorted unto him for entertainment, and desiring that for the ease of the servants he would condescend to make a bill of Houshold, that they might know who were to be served, he condescended; and when his Secretary was called to set down the names of the Houshold, being asked whom he would first name, he answered, *Fife* and *Angus*, (these are two large Countreys, containing millions of people:) his servants hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his Family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house. The bridge at the mouth of *Eden* was his work. And besides, he was the first that opened the publick Schools at S. *Andrews*, making Divinity, Laws, Logick, and all other parts of Philosophy to be there taught. *An.* 1412.

In the founding of this University he took his example from that of *Paris*, and obtained the Pope's confirmation thereof, which in the year 1412 being brought from *Rome* by *Alexander Ogilvy* Master of Arts, was received with solemn processions, fires of joy, sounding of bells, and all the tokens of gladness that could be expressed. Master *John Sheves* Official, Master *William Stephen*, afterwards Bishop of *Dumblane*, and Sir *John Lister*, a Canon of the Abbey, were appointed to reade Divinity; Master *Laurence Lendors* was ordained to reade the Canon law, and Master *Richard Cornwall* the Civil; Master *John Gaw*, Master *William Fowlis*, and Master *William Crosier* were chosen for Philosophy men, worthy to be remembred for being the first instruments that were imployed in that service, and the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance at all for their labours. The University of S. *Andrews* founded in the year 1412. *Boeth. l.* 16.

King *James* the First, at his return from *England*, 12 years after, did greatly advance this work by the encouragement he gave to studies; for not only did he countenance Professors with his presence at their Lectures, but also took order that none should be preferred to any Benefice, unless it was testified by them that the person recommended had made a reasonable progress in Learning: and for that effect kept a Roll of the most qualified persons by him, for the filling of places that happened to fall void. This that good King esteemed to be the most sure and easie way for banishing Ignorance forth of the Church, and ceased not to admonish the Church-men that were in places to live as they professed, and not to shame the bountifulness of Princes by abusing their Donations unto Riot and Luxury. Farther, to allure them by good example, he brought home the *Carthusian* Monks, who were at that time greatly respected for their preciseness of living, and erected for them a beautiful Monastery at *Perth*, bestowing large Revenues upon the same. The Bishop surviving the King some seven years (for the King was treacherously murthered at *Perth* in the year 1437. departed this life in the Castle of S. *Andrews* the sixth day of *April* 1444, having governed that See 35 years, and was buried in the wall betwixt the Chore and the Chappel called *Our Ladies Chappel*. King *James* the first a great favourer of the University. *Buchan. l.* 10. The King his Admonition to the Church-men. *Buchan. l.* 10. *Boeth. l.* 17. Bishop *Wardlaw* dieth, *Anno* 1444.

33. *James Kennedy*, Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and Nephew to King *James* the First by his Sister the Countess of *Angus*, was after *Wardlaw* his death elected Bishop by the Prior and Canons: he himself was then at *Florence* with Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, and had gone thither out of a desire to have the Disorders crept in among Church-men redressed, hoping to be strengthned with greater authority from thence. But finding all things troubled in these parts, *Eugenius* keeping a Council at *Florence*, whilest another was held at *Basile*, and each of them condemning another as unlawful, he returned with a resolution to do the best he could at home by his own credit. Upon his Translation to S. *Andrews*, he did put all things in such order, as no man then living did remember to have seen the Church in so good an estate; for partly by his own ensample, partly by the strict observance of Discipline, he induced them all to live as became men of their profession. And as he was to the Clergy a pattern of Vertue, so was he a great supporter of the King and Kingdome by his wise and prudent counsel: For in that Insurrection of the Earls of *Douglas* and *Crawford* against King *James* the Second, when the King had determined to leave the Countrey and flye into *France*, he found the means to disunite the Rebels, and break their Forces, restoring the King to his Estate, and the Kingdome Bishop *James Kennedy* translated from *Dunkeld* to S. *Andrews*. *Buchan. l.* 12. *Kennedy* his just praises.

An. 1466. dome to Peace. And in the beginning of King *James* the Third his Reign, when matters were very troubled, he did ſo carry all things by his prudence, as whileſt he lived the publick eſtate received no harm. Of what and how great worth he was, it appeared ſoon after his death, all things turning to Confuſion both in the Church and State. A monument of his Piety and magnificent mind towards the advancement of Letters is the College he erected in S. *Andrews*, (now called *Saint Salvator's College*) which he built from the ground, provided with large Revenues, and furniſhed with moſt coſtly Ornaments. Thus having lived a great Benefactor to the publick and in much glory, he died at S. *Andrews*, in the year 1466. 22 years he ſate Biſhop in this See, and was interred after his death in a ſepulchre prepared by himſelf within the Chappel of the ſame College.

Biſhop *Kennedy* his death; the year 1466.

Patrick Grahame choſen to ſucceed.

34. *Patrick Grahame* his Nephew, *Buchannan* calleth him his Brother, (ſaying that they were born of one and the ſame Mother) being Biſhop of *Brichen* for the time, a man of ſingular Vertues, was choſen to ſucceed. The *Boyds*, who then ruled the Court, envying his preferment becauſe of the variance betwixt the *Kennedies* and them, withſtood his journey to *Rome*, where he was to get his Confirmation: but he not ſtaying upon the King's licence, which he ſaw without their favour could not be obtained, took his way thither, and at his coming was well accepted of Pope *Paul* the Second.

The See of S. *Andrews* erected in an Archbiſhoprick.

Whileſt he abode there (for he ſtayed a long time, fearing to return ſo long as the *Boyds* were in credit) the old controverſie of the Archbiſhop of *York* his Superiority over the Church of *Scotland* was renewed by *George Nevill* Archbiſhop of that See for the time. The matter drawn in diſpute before Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, (for *Paul* the Second was then dead) ſentence was given for the Church of *Scotland*, whereby it was declared "a thing unfitting, that an *Engliſh* Prelate ſhould be Pri-"mate of *Scotland*, by reaſon of the Wars that might break forth betwixt the two "Kingdoms. And to the effect a Primate ſhould not be lacking from thenceforth "in *Scotland*, the See of S. *Andrews* by the Bull of *Sixtus* was erected in an Arch-"biſhoprick, and the reſt of the Biſhops of *Scotland*, twelve in number, ordained "all to be ſubject unto that See. Farther, the Pope, for the Biſhop's more graceing, did appoint him his Legate for the ſpace of three years, with commiſſion to reform all abuſes in the Church, and to correct the diſſoluteneſs of the Clergy.

The Bulls of Legation and Primacy publiſhed.

Buchan. l. 12.

How ſoon the Biſhop was advertiſed of the alteration of Court, and that the King was begun to govern of himſelf, he made haſte to return, ſending before him the Bulls of Primacy and Legation to be publiſhed, thinking the ſame ſhould have purchaſed to him a great reſpect. But he found himſelf deceived; for upon the publication (made at *Edinburgh* in *September* 1472.) the Biſhops out of ſpite and emulation, becauſe of the Primacy, the inferiour Clergy fearing his rigour in executing the Legation, and the Courtiers, who made ſale of all the Church-livings, apprehending that the ſame would be reformed, combined all againſt him, and went to the King, informing that he had accepted a Legation from the Pope without his licence, which was prohibited by the Laws of the Kingdome, and might prove hurtful to the King, and that in contempt of his Majeſty he had gone to *Rome* without once asking him licence.

The King inhibiteth the exerciſe of his Legation.

The King poſſeſſed with theſe informations did inhibit the Biſhop how ſoon he landed to exerce any part of his Legation, till the King ſhould try the complaints preferred againſt him, aſſigning the firſt of *November* for his compeirance. At the day he exhibited his Bulls, and ſhewed the power he had to reform abuſes in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, intreating the King not to impede him in the execution of his Charge; but his adverſaries having corrupted ſome of the King's Officers, and given (as it was ſaid) the ſum of eleven thouſand Marks in hand, his Petition was not regarded. His accuſers, to colour their proceedings the better, made an appeal to the Pope, offering to qualifie before him the invalidity of the Bulls which he had purchaſed. So he was dimitted with expreſs charge not to uſe the title and dignity of an Archbiſhop, nor to attempt any thing but that which the Biſhops his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to do by virtue of their places, until the deciſion of the controverſie.

A while after a freſh and bitter enemy was raiſed againſt him. *William Shevez*, a young man of a quick and active ſpirit, having ſtudied ſome years at *Lovain* under *John Spernick*, (who was famous in thoſe days for his knowledge in the ſtudies of Phyſick and aſtrology) did inſinuate himſelf in the favour of the Court, which then was madly given to all ſorts of divination; and the Archdeaconry of S. *Andrews* falling void in the middle time, procured the King's recommendation to the Biſhop for the ſame. *An.* 1472. *William Shevez* recommended to the Archdeaconry of S. *Andrews*.

The Biſhop took exception at his ſtudies, and in end gave him an abſolute denial, as being inſufficient for the charge, and otherwiſe not trained up in the knowledge of Divinity. *Shevez* taking to heart this diſgrace (for ſo he did accompt it) combined with one *Locky*, Rector at that time in the Univerſity, and a profeſſed enemy to the Biſhop: theſe two conſpired againſt him, and *Locky*, who pretended he was the Biſhops equal in juriſdiction, forging a quarrel, denounced him excommunicate: but the Biſhop contemning the ſentence of his inferiour, carried himſelf both at home and abroad as he was wont; whereupon his enemies (as the cuſtom is, when Church-Cenſures are deſpiſed) did implore the King's aſſiſtance. Who being made to their effect, diſcharged the Biſhop from coming into any ſacred place, declared his goods confiſcate, and ſequeſtring all his ſervants, did appoint to him other attendants. The Biſhop rejecteth him as inſufficient. *Shevez* conſpireth with the Rector. The Biſhop contemning the Cenſure, hath his goods confiſcated.

The reſt of the Biſhops, to witneſs their gratitude, did preſent the King with a ſum of money, which they had collected (with grudge enough) amongſt the inferiour Prieſts. Not the leſs, ſhortly after, by the interceſſion of friends, and the advancing of moneys to the rulers of the Court, the Biſhop was taken in favour, who then thinking all his Troubles to be overpaſt. withdrew himſelf to his houſe of *Monymaill*; where he was ſcarce well ſetled, when the Bankers of *Rome*, ſtirred up by his adverſaries, charged him with payment of the moneys, wherein he ſtood obliged for his Bull of Privileges. He not able to give ſatisfaction (for the moſt of his Rents had been taken up yearly by the King's Factors; and what he could purchaſe from his friends was all beſtowed at his late reconcilement amongſt Courtiers) was of new accurſed, his perſon arreſted, his Rents lifted by the King's Officers, and a guard appointed to attend him in his own Caſtle at S. *Andrews*. The Biſhop taken in favour. *Buchan. l.* 12. The Biſhop of new troubled by the bankers of *Rome*.

In this miſerable condition not knowing what to do, he fell in ſome trouble of mind, and was thereupon committed to the cuſtody of *Shevez* his mortal enemy, who was declared his Coadjutor, by reaſon of his diſtraction: yet the Malice of his adverſaries not ſatisfied herewith, at *Rome* they accuſed him of Hereſie, Schiſm, Simony, and a number of other ſcandalous Crimes; the trial whereof was commended to one *Huſman* the Pope's Inquiſitor, and to *Shevez*. The Biſhop falling in ſome diſtraction is committed to *Shevez*.

Divers light and ridiculous Accuſations were brought againſt him, and amongſt other points, he was charged *to have ſaid three Maſſes in one day*; whereas in thoſe times it was difficile to find a Biſhop that in three moneths did ſay one Maſs: yet the Proceſs going on, Witneſſes were brought, who verified the Accuſations; and his enemy ſitting Judge, he was ſentenced as guilty of Schiſm, Simony, Hereſie, and other crimes, and thereupon decerned to have loſt his Dignity, and condemned to perpetual priſon. *Buchan. l.* 12. The Biſhop condemned to loſe his Dignity.

35. The ſentence pronounced, *Shevez* poſted to *Rome*, got the Sentence approved, and was himſelf provided to the Archbiſhoprick. All theſe Croſſes this innocent Biſhop ſuſtained moſt patiently: which his adverſaries perceiving, they procured him to be put in cloſe priſon within the Iſle of *Inchcolme*, where he had four keepers watching him that he ſhould not eſcape. War afterwards breaking up with *England*, out of a fear that the *Engliſh* Navy (which was then at Sea) might fall upon the Iſle, he was tranſported to *Dunfermlin*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Lochleven*, where at laſt he died. This end had that worthy man, in Vertue and Learning inferiour to none of his time, oppreſſed by the malice and calumnies of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared reformation of their wicked abuſes by his means. The title rather then the Prelacy it ſelf he enjoyed 13 years, and was buried in S. *Servanus* Iſle, within the Chappel of *Lochleven*. *Shevez* provided to the Archbiſhoprick. *Patrick Grahame* dieth at *Lochleven*.

All things went now in the Church daily from ill to worſe; for thoſe who did affect

An. 1478. affect a Reformation, and lived in ſome hope thereof, beholding the courſe of things, betook themſelves to a private life. At Court, Benefices were ſold or then beſtowed as rewards upon Flatterers and the Miniſters of unlawful pleaſures; and in the Church Canonical Elections, eſpecially in the Monaſteries, were quite abrogated. The King preſenting Abbots and Priors unto the Pope, none were refuſed that came with his recommendation. Thus was *Alexander Thomiſon* Abbot of *Dunfermlin* (canonically elected by the Monks ſome years before) extruded from his place, and *Henry Chrichton*, then Abbot of *Paiſley*, ſurrogated in his ſtead by the Pope at the King's interceſſion. Likewiſe *Robert Shaw* of *Minto* was in the ſame manner preferred into *Paiſley*, the conſent of the Convent not once required. So as the Monaſteries, which were founded for pious and charitable uſes, came by little and little in the hands of Secular men, who having had their education in the Court, brought with them from thence the manners thereof, ſhaking off all care of Diſcipline, & neglecting the duties of Hoſpitality. This begat great offences, and made the Foundations themſelves abhorred; partly through the diſſoluteneſs of thoſe that lived in the places, and partly becauſe men ſaw them inverted to other and contrary uſes then the firſt Founders had appointed. Neither were the Monaſteries only corrupted, but the whole Eccleſiaſtick ſtate became alſo infected, Ignorance and Impiety every where prevailing; till in end the Laiety putting their hands to the work, and made that violent and diſordered Reformation whereof in the next Book we ſhall hear.

The Church altogether in diſorder.

Shevez receiveth the Pall, and is inveſted *Ann.* 1478.

But to return to *Shevez*; he receiving the Pall from the Pope in ſign of Archiepiſcopal dignity, was publickly inveſted therewith in the Church of *Halirudhouſe*, in the year 1478. the King and divers of the Nobility being there preſent. How he governed the See, I find not, but his entry being ſuch as we have ſeen, did not promiſe much good. I reade in ſome Writers, that he was induced by the King and the Duke of *Albany*, to dimit his place in the favours of Maſter *Andrew Stewart* Provoſt of *Linclowden*, (the King's Uncle) and to content himſelf with the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, whereunto the ſaid Maſter *Andrew* was provided: but it ſeemeth this charge took not effect, for both the one and the other poſſeſſed their own Benefices until their deaths.

Leſl. l. 8.

Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow* at diſſenſion.

Some years before *Shevez* his death there aroſe a controverſie betwixt him and *Robert Blacater* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, concerning their Juriſdictions. For *Blacater* had obtained of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth the erection of the See of *Glaſgow* into an Archbiſhoprick, and thereunto were the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Iſles*, ordained to be ſubject. *Shevez* refuſing to acknowledge him for an Archbiſhop, both the Clergy and Noblemen went into Factions, ſome taking part with the one, and ſome with the other. But this diſſenſion was ſoon appeaſed, howbeit with the grudge of both parties, and *Glaſgow* declared to be a Metropolitan Church, the honour of Precedency reſerved alwaies to S. *Andrews*.

The Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*.

Now whileſt the Prelates were contending for preheminence, certain Articles were diſperſed in the Countreys of *Kile* and *Cunningham* againſt the Doctrine taught in the Church, which ſtirred up divers to examine the truth of Religion then profeſſed.

The Articles were theſe.

1. The Images ought not to be made, nor worſhipped.
2. That the Reliques of Saints ought not to be adored.
3. That it is not lawful to fight for the Faith.
4. That Chriſt gave the power of binding and looſing to *Peter* only, and not to his Succeſſours.
5. That Chriſt ordained no Prieſts to conſecrate.
6. That after the Conſecration in the Maſſe there remaineth Bread, and that the natural Body of Chriſt is not there.
7. That Tithes ought not to be paid to Eccleſiaſtical perſons.
8. That Chriſt at his coming did abrogate the power of ſecular Princes.
9. That every faithful man and woman is a Prieſt.
10. That the Unction of Kings ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt.

11. That

11. That the Pope is not the Succeſſour of *Peter*, except in that which our Saviour ſpake to him, when he ſaid, *Go behind me, Satan.* *An.* 1513.
12. That the Pope deceiveth the people with his Bulls and Indulgences.
13. That the Maſſe profiteth not the Souls that are in Purgatory.
14. That the Biſhop's Bleſſing is of no value.
15. That Indulgences ſhould not be granted to fight againſt the *Saracens*.
16. That the Pope exalts himſelf above God, and againſt God.
17. That the Pope cannot remit the pains of Purgatory.
18. That the Excommunication of the Church is not to be feared.
19. That in no caſe it is lawful to ſwear.
20. That Prieſts may have Wives according to the Ordinance of the old Law, and that true Chriſtians receive the Body of Chriſt every day.

The maintainers of theſe Articles were by an opprobrious title called *Lollards*: but whether or not they did hold all theſe Opinions may well be doubted, ſeeing we have them only from the report of adverſaries, whoſe chief ſtudy was to make them and their Doctrine odious: and granting that they held the ſame, we are not to wonder that in the firſt breaking up of the Light men ſaw not the Truth in every point, conſidering the darkneſs and groſs ignorance of preceding times.

For diſperſing theſe Articles, ſome thirty perſons were cited before the Counſel, of whom the principals were, *George Campbel* of *Seſnock*, *Adam Read* of *Barskining*, *John Campbel* of *Newmilus*, and *Andrew Shaw* of *Polkennet*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* laying theſe things to their charge, they anſwered all with ſuch confidence, as it was thought ſafeſt to dimit them, with admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and content themſelves with the Faith of the Church. Of *Shevez* I find nothing ſaid all this time, only that he departed this life at S. *Andrews* in the year 1496, and was buried in the Cathedral Church before the high Altar. The diſperſers of theſe Articles cited before the Councel.

36. *James Stewart*, Brother to King *James* the Fourth, was provided after *Shevez* to the See, being yet very young, and lived but a ſhort ſpace; for he died at S. *Andrews* in the year 1503. His body was interred in the Cathedral Church amongſt the Biſhops his predeceſſors. In an old Charter produced by one of the vaſſals, I have ſeen him thus ſtyled, *Jacobus Sancti Andreæ Archiepiſcopus, Dux Roſſiæ, Marchio de Ormond, Comes de Ardmannach, Dominus de Brichen & Never, Commendatorius perpetuus Monaſterii de Dunfermline, ac Regni Scotiæ Cancellarius.* The Charter is dated in this manner, *Apud Eccleſiam noſtram Metropolitanam Sancti Andreæ, 7° die Menſis Februari, An. Dom.* 1502, *& noſtrarum adminiſtrationum quinto.* *James Stewart* brother to King *James* the Fourth elected Biſhop, *Anno* 1503.

37. To him ſucceeded *Alexander Stewart*, baſe ſon to King *James* the Fourth, a youth of great hopes. He died with his Father in the unfortunate battel of *Flowdon*, *Anno* 1513. and was much lamented by *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, under whom he had ſtudied ſome years. I find him ſtyled *Chancellour of the Kingdom* in one of the vaſſals Characters, which is dated in the year 1512. *Alexander Stewart* ſucceedeth.

38. Three ſtrong competitours fell then at ſtrife for the place, *Gawane Dowglas* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *John Hepburn* Prior of S. *Andrews*, and *Andrew Forman* Biſhop of *Murray*. *Gawane Dowglas* was nobly born, (for he was brother to the Earl of *Angus*) and greatly eſteemed for his vertue and learning. He, upon the Queens preſentation, (who at that time governed all publick affairs) poſſeſſed himſelf with the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*. *Hepburn*, a factious man and of great power, procured the Canons to elect him, and under this colour expulſed *Dowglas* his ſervants, fortifying the houſe with a Garriſon of ſouldiers. *Forman* was provided by the gift of Pope *Julius* the Second, and made *Legatus à latere*, (for by his many employments in *France* and at the Court of *Rome* he had gained to himſelf much credit.) But the power of *Hepburn* was ſuch as for a while no man could be found to publiſh *Forman*'s Bulls. *Alexander* Lord *Home* (who ſome write was *Forman*'s Uncle) was at laſt moved by the dimiſſion of *Coldingham* in favour of his brother *David* to take his part, and coming to *Edinburgh* proclaimed the Pope's Gift and *Forman*'s Legation with great ſolemnity. A competition for the Archbiſhop. *Buchan. l.* 3. *Leſl. l.* 3.

This Act divided the *Homes* and the *Hepburns*, who after that time were never in ſound friendſhip. *Dowglas*, not willing to be ſeen more in that contention, did quit his The Biſhop of *Dunkeld* quitteth his intereſt.

An. 1522. his intereſs, leaving the quarrel to the other two, who did purſue it both. *Hepburn* poſting to *Rome* laboured to have his Election confirmed, but prevailed not. *Forman* becauſe of his Legation was followed of the Churchmen for the moſt part, and acknowledged by all the vaſſals of the See; yet the jarring ſtill continued untill the Duke of *Albany* his coming into the countrey, who at his acceptation of the Regency, brought them to a ſubmiſſion, and pacified all theſe ſtrifes, diſtributing the Benifices in this manner. To *Forman* he left the Archbiſhoprick of S. *Andrews* and Abbacy of *Dunfermlin*, which was given him by the Pope in Commendam. The Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which *Forman* likewiſe poſſeſſed, he gave to *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellour for the time. The Prior *John Hepburn* was contented with a penſion of three thouſand Crowns, which *Forman* was ordained to pay him during life; and upon his brother Maſter *James Hepburn* was the Biſhoprick of *Murray* beſtowed. *Alexander Gordon*, Couſen to the Earl of *Huntley*, was made Biſhop of *Aberdene*; *James Ogilvy*, a brother of the houſe of *Ogilvy*, Abbot of *Dryburgh*; and *George Dundaſs*, of the houſe of *Dundaſs*, Commendator of the Preceptory of *Torphichen*. This partition did ſatisfie them all, and ſo they were fully reconciled. Some few years after *Forman* died at *Dunfermlin*, where he was alſo buried. A plain and open man, but ſaid to be profuſe. Beſides the Benefices he poſſeſſed in *Scotland*, he was Archbiſhop of *Bourges* in *France*, by the gift of King *Lewis* the Twelfth; which did greatly increaſe his means.

The Duke of *Albany* pacifieth the Competitors.

Leſl. c. 9.

James Beaton tranſlated from *Glaſgow* to S. *Andrews.*

39. Upon the death of *Forman*, *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellour of the Kingdom, was tranſlated to S. *Andrews*. Maſter *Gawane Dumbar*, to whoſe inſtruction the young King was committed, was preferred to his place. The troubles of the time were great, becauſe of the Minority of the King; and therein this Biſhop had not the leaſt part, being chaſed from the Court, and from his own dwellings glad to lurk, and ſhift himſelf a long time from place to place amongſt friends, to eſchew the violence of the *Dowglaſſes*, who had ſetled themſelves about the King, and ſwayed all affairs at their pleaſures. But it was not long ere he made even with them; the Queen-mother, who had taken the Earl of *Angus* to her Husband, falling into diſlike of him, and purſuing a divorce in the Biſhop's Court, which ſhe eaſily obtained: thereupon the young King his eſcape from the *Dowglaſſes*, and their exile in *England*, at which time the Biſhop was reponed to his office and place. Seventeen years he lived Biſhop of this See, and was herein moſt unfortunate, that under the ſhadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cauſe of Religion, though he himſelf was neither violently ſet, nor much ſolicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church.

An. 1522.

Leſl. l. 9.

Buchan: l. 14.

Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* Abbot of *Ferm* Martyr.

The firſt that was called in queſtion was Maſter *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Ferm*, a man nobly deſcended, (for he was Nephew to the Earl of *Arrane* by his Father, and to the Duke of *Albany* by the Mother) and not much paſt twenty three years of age. This young Gentleman had travelled in *Germany*, and falling in familiarity with *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Francis Lamberd*, and other learned men, was by them inſtructed in the knowledge of true Religion; in the profeſſion whereof he was ſo zealous, as he was reſolved to come back into his Countrey, and communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereſoever he came, he ſpared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to ſhew the Errours crept into Chriſtian Religion: whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all ſorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of S. *Andrews*; and when he came thither, appointed Frier *Alexander Campbel* to keep company with him, and to uſe the beſt perſuaſions he could to divert him from his Opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Frier acknowledging that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgement in moſt of the Points, his mind was rather confirmed, then in any ſort weakened. Thus having ſtaied ſome few days in the City, whileſt he ſuſpected no violence to be uſed, under night he was apprehended being in bed, and carried priſoner to the Caſtle; the next day he was preſented before the Biſhop, accuſed for maintaining the Articles following.

Buchan. l. 14.

Hiſtory of the Church *p.* 21.

1. That

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Articles wherewith the Abbot was charged.

1. That the corruption of Sin remains in Children after their Baptiſm.
2. That no man by the power of his Free will can do any good.
3. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth.
4. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the ſtate of Grace.
5. That a man is not juſtified by Works, but by Faith only.
6. That good Works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good Works; and that an ill man doth ill Works, yet the ſame ill Works truly repented make not an ill man.
7. That Faith, Hope and Charity are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.
8. That God is the cauſe of Sin in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but ſin.
9. That it is a devilliſh Doctrine to teach, that by any actual Penance Remiſſion of ſin is purchaſed.
10. That auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to Salvation.
11. That there is no Purgatory.
12. That the holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſt's Paſſion.
13. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt hath as much power as the Pope.

Being deſired to expreſs his mind touching theſe Articles, he ſaid, *That he held the firſt Seven to be undoubtedly true,* whereunto he offered to ſet his hand: *the reſt* (he ſaid) *were diſputable Points, but ſuch as he could not condemn, unleſs he ſaw better reaſons then yet he had heard.* After ſome conference kept with him on each Article, the whole were remitted to the judgement of the Theologues. There met to this effect Maſter *Hugh Spence,* Provoſt of S. *Salvator*'s College, Maſter *James Waddall,* Parſon of *Flisk,* and Rector of the Univerſity, Maſter *James Simſon,* Official of S. *Andrews,* Maſter *Thomas Ramſey,* Profeſſor of the holy Scriptures, Maſter *John Griſon,* Theologue, and Provincial of the Black Friers, *John Tillidaff,* Warden of the Gray Friers, Maſter *Martine Balfoure* and Maſter *John Spence,* Lawyers, Sir *Alexander Young,* Batchelour of Divinity, Sir *John Annand,* Canon of S. *Andrews,* Frier *Alexander Campbell,* Prior of the Black Friers, and Maſter *Robert Bannerman,* Regent of the Pedagogy. Theſe men within a day or two preſented their Cenſure of the Articles, judging them all Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. This ſubſcribed with all their hands, and delivered to the Biſhop in a ſolemn meeting, kept in the Cathedral Church the firſt of *March,* 1527, Sentence was pronounced againſt the young Gentleman, declaring him an Heretick, and giving him over in the hands of the Secular power to ſuffer puniſhment due to Hereſie.

Manuſcript Proceſs, which is extant under the hands of the Theologues.

An. 1527.

The ſubſcrivers of the Sentence.

There aſſiſted the Biſhop in that meeting, *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow, George* Biſhop of *Dunkeld, John* Biſhop of *Brichen,* and *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane, Patrick* Prior of S. *Andrews, David* Abbot of *Aberbrothock, George* Abbot of *Dumfermling, Alexander* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth, Henry* Abbot of *Lundors,* and *John* Prior of *Pettenweem,* the Dean, Subdean and Theſaurer of the Church of *Glaſgow,* with the Rectors of *Stobo, Areskin, Carſtares, Goven* and *Glaſgow*; all which ſet their hands to the Sentence: and to give it the greater authority, whoſoever were of any eſtemation in the Univerſity were made to ſubſcrive the ſame, amongſt whom was the Earl of *Caſſels,* a child of thirteen years old.

The manner of his Execution, and Speech at his dying.

The ſame day (for the Execution was haſtened, leſt the King, who was gone at that time in Pilgrimage to S. *Duthak* in *Roſſe,* ſhould impede the proceeding) he was condemned by the ſecular Judge, and in the afternoon led to the place of his Suffering, which was appointed to be at the gate of S. *Salvator*'s College. Being come to the place, he put off his Gown, and gave it with his Bonnet, Coat and other apparel to his ſervant, ſaying, *This ſtuffe will not help in the fire, yet will do thee ſome good; I have no more to leave thee, but the enſample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind. For albeit the ſame be bitter and painful in mans judgement, yet is it the entrance to everlaſting life, which none can inherit that denieth Chriſt before this Congregation.* Then was he tied to the ſtake; about it a great quantity of coal,

An. 1527. wood, and other combuſtible matter was heaped, whereof he ſeemed to have no fear, but ſeriouſly commending his Soul into the hands of God, held his eyes fixed towards the Heavens. The Executioner firing the powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the ſide of his face was a little ſcorched therewith, yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon ſome were ſent to the Caſtle to bring more powder; whileſt this was bringing he uttered divers comfortable ſpeeches to them that ſtood by: the Friers all that time moleſting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and ſay, *Salve Regina.* Amongſt them none was more troubleſome then Frier *Alexander Campbell,* who, as we ſaid, kept company with him at his firſt coming to the City: often he beſought him to depart, and not to vex him; but when he would not ceaſe his crying, he ſaid, *Wicked man, thou knoweſt I am not an Heretick, and that it is the Truth of God; for which I now ſuffer; ſo much thou diddeſt confeſs unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to anſwer before the Judgement-ſeat of Chriſt.*

Hiſtory of the Church.

His appealing of Frier *Campbell.*

The powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to ſay, *How long, O Lord, ſhall darkneſs oppreſs this Realm? how long wilt thou ſuffer this tyranny of men?* and then cloſed his ſpeeches with theſe words, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.* His body was quickly conſumed, (for the fire was vehement) but the patience and conſtancy he ſhewed in his dying ſtirred up ſuch compaſſion in the beholders, as many of them doubted not to ſay that he ſuffered an innocent, and was indeed a true Martyr of Chriſt. This opinion was farther confirmed by the death of Frier *Campbell,* and the manner of it; for within a year and leſs he fell into a Phrenſie, and died as one deſperate.

Frier *Campbell* dieth of a Phrenſie.

Hiſtory of the Church. p. 23.

The rumor of this Execution ſtirred up ſome in all the quarters of the Kingdom to enquire of the reaſons of his ſuffering, and what the Articles were for which he was condemned; by the inquiſition whereof many were brought to underſtand and apprehend otherwiſe of the truth of things then formerly they did. In the Univerſity it ſelf was left ſo deep an impreſſion of his Doctrine, as could not afterwards be extinguiſhed; yea divers of the Friers fell after this time openly in their Sermons to condemn the Errours and Abuſes of the Clergy. Frier *Alexander Seaton,* one of the *Dominican* Order, a man reaſonably learned, and for the time Confeſſor to King *James* the Firſt, preached ordinarily at S. *Andrews* all the Lent following; where taking for his ſubject the Commandments of the Law, he did inſiſt much on theſe points: "That the Law of God is the only rule of Righteouſ-"neſs: That if God's Law be not violated, no ſin is committed: That it is not in "mans power to ſatisfie for ſin: and that the forgiveneſs of ſin is no otherwiſe "purchaſed then by unfeigned Repentance, and true Faith, apprehending the "mercy of God in Chriſt. Of Purgatory, Pilgrimage, prayer to Saints, Merits and Miracles, which was the uſual matter of Friers Sermons, not a word he ſpoke; whereupon he grew to be ſuſpected as one inclining to Hereſie. About the end of Lent, upon ſome occaſion he went to *Dundy,* and being there was advertiſed that another of his Order was ſet up to refute the points of Doctrine he had taught; which moved him to return to S. *Andrews,* and confirm the ſame Points which he had formerly delivered, adding ſomewhat beſide of the Vertues required by the Apoſtle in a good and faithful Biſhop.

Numbers brought to the knowledge of the Truth by his ſuffering.

*Buchan. l.*14.

Frier *Seaton* ſuſpected of Hereſie.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Thereupon he was called before the Biſhop, and charged to have affirmed in his Sermon, that a Biſhop ſhould be a Preacher, and that the Biſhop who preached not was a dumb Dog, and one that fed not the flock, but his own belly. The Frier anſwering, "That he had ſaid, indeed, that S. *Paul* required a Biſhop to "be a *Teacher,* and that *Eſay* called them *dumb Dogs* who did not preach, but "that he himſelf had affirmed nothing. I declared, ſaid he, what the Spirit of "God ſaid, with whom if men offend not, they cannot juſtly offend with me: and "thoſe that have reported my ſpeeches, ſeem to be unlearned Aſſes, who cannot "put a difference betwixt that which *Eſay* and S. *Paul* ſpeaks, and that which of "my ſelf I ſpeak. I never ſaid that you my Lord and the other Biſhops who preach "not are dumb Dogs, I only told what the Prophet and the Apoſtle ſaid in that "caſe.

Frier *Seaton* called before the Biſhop.

This

This anſwer galled the Archbiſhop exceedingly; yet knowing the man to be one of an audacious and bold ſpirit, he diſſembled his anger, minding to bring him in diſcredit with the King; which was eaſily wrought, becauſe of the liberty the Frier uſed in reproving the King's Licentiouſneſs. So perceiving the King's countenance altered towards him, and fearing ſome danger if he ſhould ſtay any more at Court, he fled to *Berwick*, and from thence wrote unto the King, ſhewing the cauſe of his ſudden departing to be the fear he conceived of the authority of the Biſhops, who had behaved themſelves as Kings, and would not admit any man, of what ſtate or degree ſoever he was, if once they did account him an Heretick, to ſpeak in his own defence. Not the leſs for himſelf, he offered to return, and juſtifie his cauſe, ſo as he might have audience. Withall he advertiſed the King, that it concerned him in duty to ſee that every one who is accuſed of his Life be permitted to uſe his lawful defences: for howſoever the Prelates held that ſuch matter belong not to the cognition of the Prince, he would make the contrary manifeſt by their own Laws, if he ſhould be once heard. Wherefore he beſought his Highneſs not to be led any more by their informations, but to uſe the authority committed unto him by God, and not to ſuffer theſe Tyrants to proceed againſt him till he was brought to his anſwer, which he would not refuſe to give, ſo as he might be aſſured to do it with the ſafety of his life.

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The Frier flieth to *Berwick*, and from thence writeth to the King.

This Letter receiving no anſwer, after he had ſtayed a while at *Berwick* he went to *London*, and became Chaplain to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, in whoſe ſervice he died. In the book of Martyrs I read that *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by his crafty and ſubtle perſuaſions, induced him to make a Recantation of ſundry Points at *Paul's Croſs:* but what his belief was of moſt of the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, it appeareth by the Treatiſes he left behind him. His Examination by *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (which he likewiſe publiſhed, diſcovering the policies they uſed to circumvene him) doth teſtifie his conſtancy in the Truth, and that he never denied any Point which formerly he had taught.

He becometh Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Acts of Martyrs.

Soon after his flight, one *Henry Forreſt* was delated for ſaying that Maſter *Patrick Hamilton* died a Martyr, and thereupon was brought to S. *Andrews:* but becauſe the probation was not clear enough, Frier *Walter Lainge* was appointed to confeſs him. The ſimple man, that feared no harm, being asked by the Frier what was his judgement of Maſter *Patrick*, anſwered, *That he eſteemed him to be a good man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned might well be defended.* This confeſſion revealed by the Frier was taken for a ſufficient evidence, and the poor man condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was leading out to be degraded, he complained grievouſly of the Frier who had betraied him, crying out, *Fie on falſhood, fie on falſe Friers, revealers of Confeſſion. Never let any man truſt them after me. They are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men.* And when they were taking from him his Orders, (for he was of the Order of the *Bennet* and *Collet* (as they uſed then to ſpeak) he cried aloud, *Take not only from me your Orders, but your Baptiſm alſo.* So being carried to a place of execution, (which was appointed to be at the North ſtile of the Abbey, to the end the Hereticks of *Angus* might ſee the fire) he ſuffered death moſt conſtantly. Whileſt they were conſulting upon the manner of his execution, one *John Lindſay*, a plain and ſimple man who attended the Biſhop, gave advice to burn him in ſome hollow Cellar: *for the ſmoke*, ſaith he, *of Maſter* Patrick Hamilton *hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew.*

Henry Forreſt Martyr.

Yet the perſecution ſtill proceeding, divers were cited to appear at *Halirudhouſe* by *James Hay* Biſhop of *Roſs*, who ſate as Commiſſioner for the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*; amongſt others *James Hamilton* of *Levingſton*, brother-german to Maſter *Patrick*, with *Katherine Hamilton* his ſiſter. The Gentleman was adviſed by the King ſecretly (for he loved the man) not to appear, and was for his contumacy condemned. His ſiſter appearing, and queſtioned upon the point of Juſtification by Works, anſwered ſimply, that ſhe believed no perſon could be ſaved by their Works. Maſter *John Spence* the Lawyer (whom we named before) held a long diſcourſe with her about that purpoſe, telling her that there were divers ſorts of works, Works of Congruity, and Works of Condignity; in the application whereof he

Divers cited to appear at *Halirudhouſe*.

An. 1534. consumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out; *Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no Works can save me, but the works of Christ my Saviour.* The King was present all the time, and laughed heartily at the answer; yet taking the Gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her Opinions; and by her ensample divers others at the same time abjured their Profession: of which number were Sir *William Kirk*, Priest, *Adam Daes*, *Henry Cairnes*, Master *William Johnston*, Advocate, Master *Henry Henryson*, Schoolmaster in *Edinburgh*, and *John Stewart*, In-dweller in *Leith*.

Normand Gourlay and *David Straiton* Martyrs. Acts of Martyrs.

These persons scarce dismissed, Master *Normand Gourlay* and *David Straiton* were brought to trial. Master *Normand* was charged for denying Purgatory, and saying that *the Pope had no jurisdiction within Scotland*. *David Straiton* was charged with the same Points, and farther was accused for maintaining that *Tithes were not due to Church-men*: which Point he denied, confessing that the Tithes of some Fishes which his servants had taken at sea being too rigorously exacted, he said, that if they would have the Tithes of the Fishes they should go and receive them where the stock was taken; and that he gave order to his servants to cast every tenth fish they took into the Sea, because he saw nothing but rigour would content the Church.

History of the Church.

This Gentleman had been in former times very quarrellous and turbulent, but was then become another man, through frequenting the company of *John Areskyn* of *Dun*, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his Truth, and to kindle in his heart such a love to the same, as usually he was heard to pray for strength and spiritual courage, that if he should be brought to suffer for Christ, no fear of death nor corporal pain might cause him shrink. And it clearly appeared, when he was brought to his answer, that his prayers were heard. For notwithstanding of the offers made him to recant and burn his Bill, (as they spoke at that time) he stood most constantly to the defence of the Truth, and gave great incouragement to Master *Normand Gourlay*, who suffered with him. These two were burnt at one stake the 27 of *August*, 1534.

An. 1534.

Alexander Alesse and others fly to *England*.

At the same time was Sentence pronounced against *Alexander Alesse*, Master *John Fife*, *John Mackbee*, and one *Macdongal*, who were summoned to the said Diet, and compeered not. These persons fled afterwards into *England*, where they remained a while well entertained. *Alexander Alesse* by the commendation of the Lord *Cromwel* came in favour with King *Henry* the Eighth, and was called commonly *the Kings Scholar*; as he was indeed a man of good learning, and gave thereof a notable proof in his dispute with *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, before the Convocation in the year 1537. After *Cromwel*'s death, taking with him Master *John Fife*, he went into *Saxony*, where they lived Professours together a long time in the University of *Lipsia*. *Macdongal* went also in their company, and came to good credit, being elected Burgomaster of one of their Towns. *John Macbee*, commonly called *Doctor Machabeus*, during his abode in *England* was liberally entertained by *Nicolas Shaxton*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, who made much accompt of him, but afterwards going to *Denmark* became Chaplain to King *Christian*, in whose service he died in the year 1550. Thus it pleased God to provide for these men after their exile.

Bal. cent. 14.

Divers accused of Heresie in a meeting at *Edinburgh*.

Some four years after the Bishops kept a meeting at *Edinburgh* in the moneth of *February*, 1538. where divers were accused of Heresie, and condemned to die. Frier *Killore*, Frier *Beverage*, Sir *Duncane Simpson*, Priest, *Robert Forrester*, a Gentleman, and Dean *Thomas Forrest*, a Canon of S. *Colinsinch*, called commonly *The Vicar of Dolour*. This poor man not long before had been called before the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, his Ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his Parishioners upon the Epistles and Gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him in suspicion of Heresie. If he could find a good Gospel, or a good Epistle that made for the liberty of the holy Church, the Bishop willed him to preach that to his people, and let the rest be. The honest man replying, that *he had read both the New Testament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill Epistle or an ill Gospel in any of them*; the Bishop said, *I thank God I have lived well these many years,*

An. 1538.

The Vicar of *Dolour* his conference with the Bishop of *Dunkeld*.

and

and never knew either the Old or New. I content me with my Portuiſe and Pontifical; and if you, Dean Thomas, *leave not theſe fantaſies, you will repent when you cannot mend it.* Dean *Thomas* anſwered, that *he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his accompt with any danger that might follow.* So at this time being brought in queſtion with the perſons above named, they were all together condemned, and burnt in the fire upon the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1538. History of the Church. *Ultimo Febr.* 1538.

This year in *Glaſgow Hieronymus Ruſſel*, of the Order of the Gray Friers, and one *Kennedy*, a young man of *Aire*, not paſt 18 years of age, were accuſed likewiſe of Hereſie: but becauſe the Archbiſhop Mr. *Gawine Dumbar*, was eſteemed ſomewhat cold in thoſe buſineſſes, Maſter *John Lawder*, Maſter *Andrew Oliphant* and Frier *Maltman* were ſent from *Edinburgh* to aſſiſt at their trial. *Kennedy* at his firſt appearing in judgement diſcovered ſome weakneſs, and would gladly have ſaved his life by denying the Points laid to his charge; but encouraged by *Hieronymus*, and by the anſwers he made to the Judges, he gathered his ſpirits, and falling down upon his knees, brake forth in theſe words, *Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me a miſerable wretch; for even now when I would have denied thee and thy Son the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my only Saviour, and ſo have thrown my ſelf into everlaſting condemnation, thou by thine own hand haſt pulled me back from the bottome of Hell, and given me to feel moſt heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppreſſed my mind. Now I deſie death; do what you pleaſe, I praiſe God, I am ready.* Frier *Ruſſel* and one *Kennedy* martyred at *Glaſgow*. History of the Church.

The Frier reaſoned long and learnedly againſt his accuſers, and being anſwered only with railings and bitter ſpeeches, ſaid, *This is your hour, and power of darkneſs; now you ſit as Judges, and we ſtand wrongfully condemned: but the day cometh which will ſhew our innocency, and you ſhall ſee your own blindneſs, to your everlaſting confuſion. Go on, and fulfil the meaſure of your iniquity.* At which words the Archbiſhop was greatly moved, affirming that theſe rigorous Executions did hurt the cauſe of the Church more then could well be thought of, and therefore declared, that in his opinion it ſhould be beſt to ſave the lives of the men, and take ſome other courſe with them. But theſe others who were ſent to aſſiſt told him expreſly, that if he followed any milder courſe then that which had been kept at *Edinburgh*, they could not eſteem him the Church's friend: whereupon he was compelled to give way to their Cruelty, and thus theſe Innocents were condemned to be burnt alive. The Archbiſhop diſſwadeth the Execution.

All the time they were preparing the fire, *Hieronymus* comforted mightily the young man, uſing theſe ſpeeches unto him, *Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us then he who is in the world. The pain which we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort and light, but our joy and conſolation ſhall never have an end; death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed already by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer. Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in by the ſame ſtreight way which our Saviour hath taken before us.* Many other comfortable ſpeeches he uttered, which moved the hearers wonderfully. When they were brought to the place of their ſuffering, they uſed not many words, but commending their Souls to God, after they were tied to the ſtake, endured the fire conſtantly, without expreſſing any token of fear or amazement. The courage of *Ruſſel* at his dying.

It was about the ſame time that Maſter *George Buchannan* (who for his rare Erudition was afterwards in great fame) for ſome biting verſes againſt the *Franciſcans* was committed to priſon; but he eſcaping by a window of the chamber, wherein he was detained priſoner, whileſt the Keepers were faſt aſleep, fled into *France*. *Buchan. l.* 14. Thus there paſſed few daies wherein ſome one or other was not called in queſtion for Religion. But the more hot the Perſecution was, the favourers of the Truth did every day the more increaſe. And now had the Archbiſhop *James Beaton* committed the charge of all Church-affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal, (who ſucceeded in his place) for he was aged and ſickly himſelf, and not ſeen often abroad. In his laſt days he began to erect the new College in S. *Andrews*, and ſet men a-work to build the ſame: but neither lived he to finiſh the work, nor were the moneys he left in ſtore to that uſe rightly beſtowed. Some conteſtings a few years before he and the Clergy had with the King, becauſe of the Impoſitions laid upon Mr. *George Buchannan* eſcapeth out of priſon. The Hiſtory of the Church. The Archbiſhop committeth the charge of all affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal.

An. 1539. upon the Prelates, for the entertainment of the Senators of the Colledge of Juſtice. So as the matter was drawn by an appeal to *Rome*, and *Gawine Dumbar* Biſhop of *Aberdene* appointed to proſecute the ſame. But this ceaſed upon an accord made, which was, that the Senate ſhould conſiſt of fourteen Ordinaries with a Preſident, ſeven of the Spiritualty and as many of the Temporalty; the Preſident alwaies being of the Spiritual eſtate, and a Prelate conſtitute in dignity. According to this appointment a ratification paſſed in Parliament *anno* 1537, and the Abbot of *Cambuskennoth* was elected Preſident of the new Senate in the year 1539. The Biſhop a little after he had aſſiſted as witneſs at the Chriſtening of the King's firſt ſon, who was born at S. *Andrews*, departed this life, having deſigned his ſucceſſours in all the Benefices he enjoyed, which were not a few; for beſides the Archbiſhoprick of S. *Andrews*, he poſſeſſed the Abbacies of *Aberbrothock*, *Dunfermlin*, and *Kilwining*. To his Nephew the Cardinal he left S. *Andrews* and *Aberbrothock*; to *George Dury* his kinſman the Abbacie of *Dunfermlin*; and to ..... *Hamilton*, of the houſe of *Roplock*, the Abbacy of *Kilwining*. All which the King, for the eſteem wherein he held this Biſhop whileſt he lived, confirmed to them according to his Will. He was buried in the Abbey-Church before the high Altar.

A conteſt for the Impoſition laid upon the Clergy for the Lords of Seſſion.

Buchan. l. 14. *Leſl. l.* 9.

Biſhop *Beaton* dieth.

The learned man that lived in this time, M. *John Major.*

In his time lived Maſter *John Major*, *Hector Boeth*, *Gilbert Crab*, and *William Gregory*, men of good learning, and worthy to be remembred. Maſter *John Major* was born at *Hadington*, within the Province of *Lothian*, and trained up from his youth in the ſtudy of Letters. A while at *Cambridge* he heard Philoſophy taught; but finding the place not ſo convenient, he went to *Paris*, and paſt his courſe in the College of *Montacute*. After that he gave himſelf to Theology, commencing Doctor amongſt the *Sorboniſts*, and in Scholaſtick Divinity was not much behind any of his time; which his *Deciſiones Sententiarum*, *Sophiſticalia Pariſienſia*, and that other Work intituled *Placita Theologica*, do ſufficiently witneſs, Returning afterwards unto his Countrey, he profeſſed Theologie in S. *Salvator*'s College at S. *Andrews*, whereof he was made Provoſt, and died there being of a good age: a man well inclined, ingenious, and according to theſe times not unlearned. He wrote the Story of his Countrey, howbeit in a *Sorbonick* and barbarous ſtyle, yet very truly, and with a great liberty of ſpirit, not ſparing the Uſurpation of *Rome*, and taxing in divers places the Lazineſs and Superfluity of the Clergy: which could hardly be done in thoſe times without danger.

Bal. cent. 14.

Leſl. l. 9.

Hector Boeth.

Hector Boethius was Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, a great Philoſopher, and much commended by *Eraſmus* for his eloquence and felicity of ingenie. *Buchannan*, who could well diſcern of learned men, ſpeaking in a certain place of him ſaith, *Quòd non ſolùm artium liberalium cognitione ſuprà quàm illa ferebant tempora inſignis erat, ſed etiam humanitate & comitate ſingulari præditus*, That he was not only notably learned in the liberal Sciences above the condition of thoſe times, but alſo of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination. Yet is he traduced by ſome of the *Engliſh* Writers for a fabulous and partial Hiſtorian. But they who like to peruſe his Hiſtory will perceive that this is ſpoken out of paſſion and malice, and not upon any juſt cauſe.

Bal. cent. 14.

Gilbert Crab.

Gilbert Crab lived in the Countrey of *France*, much eſteemed for his dexterity and diligence in the education of youth. He was ſent to *Paris* by his friends being yet very young, and having ſtudied his courſe there, was preferred to be Sub-dean of a Church near unto *Bordeaux*, yet ceaſed not to advance the knowledge of Letters at his uttermoſt; and was ſo reſpected, as the children of all the Noblemen in thoſe parts were committed to his inſtruction. He died young at *Bordeaux*, not having attained to the fourtieth year of his age, much lamented of thoſe that knew him.

Bal. cent. 15.

William Gregory.

William Gregory lived in *Tholouſe*, and was made General of the *Carmelites* in the Dioceſe of *Meaulx* and *Tholouſe*, which Order he is ſaid to have greatly reformed, *Baleus* writeth that he received much kindneſs of this *Gregory* at *Tholouſe* in the year 1527, and ſaith that he died in that City, having left divers monuments of his ingenie to poſterity, the Catalogue whereof you may ſee in the place.

Bal. ibidem.

With

With this I ſhall joyn another, not for any commendation of his Learning, for he had none, nor for his good qualities, which were as few, but for ſtrange and extraordinary things ſeen in him, which in the time miniſtred occaſion of great talk and wondring to many. This man named *John Scot* having ſuccumbed in a plea at Law, and knowing himſelf unable to pay that wherein he was adjudged, took ſanctuary in the Abbey of *Halirudhouſe*, where out of a deep diſpleaſure he abſtained from all meat and drink the ſpace of 30 or 40 days together. Publick rumour bringing this abroad, the King would have it put to trial, and to that effect ſhut him up in a private room within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, whereunto no man had acceſs: he cauſed a little bread and water to be ſet by him, which he was found not to have taſted in the ſpace of 32 days. This proof given of his Abſtinence, he was dimitted, and coming forth into the ſtreet half naked, made a ſpeech to the people that flocked about him, wherein he profeſſed to do all this by the help of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that he could faſt as long as he pleaſed. Many did take it for a Miracle, eſteeming him a perſon of wonderful Holineſs; others thought him to be phrentick and mad; ſo as in a ſhort time he came to be neglected, and thereupon leaving the Countrey went to *Rome*, where he gave the like proof of his faſting to Pope *Clement* the Seventh. *An.* 1539. *John Scot* his memorable faſting. *Buchan. l.* 14. *Leſl. l.* 9.

From *Rome* he came to *Venice* apparelled with holy Veſtures, ſuch as the Prieſts uſe when they ſay Maſſe, and carrying in his hand a Teſtimonial of his Abſtinence under the Pope's Seal, he gave there the like proof, and was allowed ſome five Ducats to make his expence towards the holy Sepulchre, which he pretended to viſit. This voyage he performed, and then returned home, bringing with him ſome palm-tree leaves and a ſcripful of ſtones, which he ſaid were a part of the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when he was ſcourged; and coming by *London*, went up into the Pulpit in *Paul*'s Church-yard, where he caſt forth many ſpeeches againſt the divorce of King *Henry* from *Katherine* his Queen, inveying bitterly againſt him for his defection from the *Roman* See, and thereupon was thruſt in priſon, where he continued 50 days faſting. He taketh his journey to the holy Sepulchre. He is impriſoned in *London*.

After that being dimitted (for they held him to be a mad man) he came directly into *Scotland*, and remained in company with one *Thomas Doughty*, who a little before was returned from *Italy*, and had built a little Chappel to the holy Virgin with the money he had begged in his travel. This man by his counterfeit Miracles made great advantage amongſt the ſimple people; and albeit he was known to be a couzening fellow, and in life extremely vicious, yet was he ſuffered by the Clergy to abuſe the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of Purgatory, Pardons and Prayers to Saints, which began then every where to be deſpiſed, was by this mean nouriſhed amongſt the people. *Tho. Doughty* ſuffered to abuſe the people.

Scot, grudging that *Doughty* did appropriate all the gain he made to himſelf, and not admit him a partner in the ſame, retired to a houſe in the ſuburbs of *Edinburgh*, at the Weſtern part of the Town, and therein erected a religious Altar, which he adorned in the beſt manner he could, ſetting up his Daughter, a young maid of reaſonable beauty, upon the Altar, and placing lights and torches round about her. The ſimple ſort for a long time believed her to be the Virgin *Mary*, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worſhip. but the Knavery coming to be detected, he forſook his Altar, and forgetting all his devotion, returned to his firſt trade and manner of life. *Leſley* in his Story ſaith, that he propheſied many things concerning the decay of the *Romiſh* Religion, and the reſtitution of it in a ſhort time. Of the decay he might ſpeak, having ſeen it begun; but for other things he was a Dreamer rather then a Prophet. *Scot*'s emulation of *Doughty*, and his couzenage.

40. The firſt act of the Cardinal after his promotion did ſhew what an enemy he would be to thoſe who in that time were called Hereticks; for he was not well warmed in his ſeat when, to make his greatneſs ſeen, he brought to S. *Andrews* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arran*, *Marſhall*, and *Montroſſe*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Lindſay*, *Erskene*, and *Seaton*, with divers other Barons and men of quality. There came thither alſo *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Chancellour, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *John* Biſhop of *Brichen*, and *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, the The hiſtory of Cardinal *Beaton*.

An. 1540. the Abbots of *Melroſs*, *Dunfermlin*, *Lindors*, and *Kinloſſe*, with a number of Priors, Deans and Doctors of Theologie. And they all having convened in the Cathedral Church, he, ſitting in a Chair ſomewhat erected above the reſt, (for that he was a Cardinal) began to expone the dangers wherein the Catholick Faith ſtood by the increaſe of Hereticks, and the boldneſs they took to profeſs their Opinions openly even in the King's Court, where he ſaid *they found too great countenance*. In ſpecial he named Sir *John Borthwick*, commonly called *Captain Borthwick*, whom he had cauſed cite to that Diet for diſperſing Heretical Books, and for maintaining divers Articles contrary to the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, deſiring their aſſiſtance in the procedure of Juſtice againſt him. The heads of the Accuſation were read.

Sir *John Borthwick* cited for Hereſie.

The heads of his Accuſation.

1. That he held the Pope to have no greater authority over Chriſtians then any other Biſhop or Prelat had.
2. That Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope were of no force nor effect, but deviſed to abuſe people, and deceive poor ignorant ſouls.
3. That Biſhops, Prieſts and other Clergy-men may lawfully marry.
4. That the Hereſies, commonly called *the Hereſies of England* and their new Liturgy was commendable, and to be embraced of all Chriſtians.
5. That the people of *Scotland* are blinded by their Clergy, and profeſſed not the true Faith.
6. That Church-men ought not to enjoy any Temporalties.
7. That the King ought to convert the Rents of the Church into other pious uſes.
8. That the Church of *Scotland* ought to be governed after the manner of the *Engliſh*.
9. That the Canons and Decrees of the Church were of no force, as being contrary to the Law of God.
10. That the Orders of Friers and Monks ſhould be aboliſhed, as had been done in *England*.
11. That he did openly call the Pope *Simoniack*, for that he ſold Spiritual things.
13. That he did read Heretical Books, and the new Teſtament in *Engliſh*, and ſome other Treatiſes written by *Melanchthon*, *Oecolampadius* and *Eraſmus*, which he gave likewiſe unto others.
13. The laſt and greateſt Point was, That he refuſed to acknowledge the Authority of the *Roman* See, or be ſubject thereunto.

Sir *John Borthwick* denounced Heretick.

Theſe Accuſations (he not appearing, nor any in his behalf) were taken as confeſſed, and he denounced an Heretick, yea an Hereſiarch, (for ſo the Sentence beareth) his goods ordained to be confiſcate, himſelf burnt *in effigie*, if he could not otherwiſe be apprehended, and all manner of perſons inhibited to relieve or entertain him under the pain of curſing or forfeiture.

An. 1540. This Sentence was given againſt him the 28 of *May*, *Anno* 1540, and the ſame day was his picture burnt in the open Market-place of S. *Andrews*, as likewiſe in *Edinburgh* ſome two days after. Sir *John Borthwick* hearing how they had proceeded againſt him, fled into *England*, where he was kindly received by *Henry* the Eighth then reigning, and by him imployed in a Commiſſion to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, for a Confederation betwixt him and them in defence of their common Profeſſion.

Acts of Mart.

The King invited to meet his Uncle King *Henry* at *York*.

Buchan. l. 14. *Leſl. l.* 9. *Holinſhed* hiſtory of *Scotland*.

King *Henry* had ſome years before ſent into *Scotland* the Biſhop of S. *Davids* to preſent the King his Nephew with ſome *Engliſh* Books, containing an Expoſition of the principal Heads of Chriſtian Religion, thinking to induce him to make the like Reformation which he had made in *England*. And at that time came Lord *William Howard*, to deſire the King to meet his Uncle King *Henry* at *York*, upon ſome occaſions tending to the common good of both Kingdoms. The King conſenting a Diet was appointed, and all things prepared for the journey. But the Cardinal and Clergy, fearing the effects of that Conference, laboured with the Courtiers to divert him, and before the King himſelf they laid divers terrours; as, That he would be detained priſoner in *England*, as King *James* the Firſt had been: That

The Cardinal and Clergy ſeek to impede the meeting.

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he ſhould make himſelf ſuſpected to the Emperour, and to his old Confederate the *French* King: And, which he was moſt to regard, incur the Pope's diſpleaſure, by treating too familiarly with him that was lying under the higheſt Cenſure of the Church. Yet ſtood the King reſolute for the journey, foreſeeing (as alſo it happened) that if he ſhould break the Diet, the ſame might breed the *Engliſh* King's diſlike, and be an occaſion of War, on which he would not hazard, unleſs he knew of means to entertain the ſame. The Clergy hereupon, beſides the repreſentation of ſome moneys in hand, made offer of an annuity of fifty thouſand Crowns, if War ſhould fall out; declaring withal, that by confiſcating the goods of Hereticks he might gain an hundred thouſand more. And with ſuch vain hopes they brought him to ſend a fair excuſe to King *Henry* by Sir *James Lermonth* his domeſtick. After this the King, being ruled wholly by the Cardinal, followed in all things the appetite of the Clergy, giving commiſſion to Sir *James Hamilton* his Treaſurer, to call and convene all perſons ſuſpected of Hereſie, and inflict the puniſhments which after trial they ſhould be found to merit. The King was alſo heard ſay, That *none of that ſort ſhould expect any favour at his hands, nay not his own ſons, if they ſhould prove guilty*; which put many in fear.

An. 1541.

The King excuſeth himſelf to King *Henry*.

But this continued not long, for Sir *James Hamilton* becoming ſuſpected, and accuſed of a practice againſt the King his life, was ſhortly after executed; and War breaking out with *England*, he found the Nobility averſe from the Incurſions he intended to make, which did greatly diſcontent him. Theſe thoughts, with ſome fearful Viſions he had by night that much terrified him, withdrew his mind wholly from the extremities on which the Clergy had ſet him: For at *Linlithgow* on a night as he ſlept, it ſeemed to him that *Thomas Scot* Juſtice Clerk came unto him with a company of Devils, crying, *Woe worth the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice! ſerving thee againſt God and againſt his Servants, I am adjudged to Hell torments.* Hereupon awaking, he called for lights, and cauſing his ſervants to ariſe, told what he had heard and ſeen. The next morrow, by the light of day, advertiſement was brought him of the Juſtice Clerk his death, which fell out juſt at the time that the King found himſelf ſo troubled, and in the ſame manner almoſt; for he died in great unquietneſs, iterating often theſe words, *Juſti Dei judicio condemnatus ſum*, By the righteous judgement of God I am condemned. The form of his death anſwering the Dream ſo juſtly, made it the more terrible.

Sir *James Hamilton* executed.

The King troubled with Viſions.

Hiſtory of the Church.

The Juſtice Clerk his fearful death.

Another Viſion he had in the ſame place, not many nights after, which did more affright him: Whileſt he lay a ſleeping, he imagined that Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he cauſed to be executed, came unto him with a ſword drawn in his hand, and therewith cut off both his Arms, threatning within a ſhort time to return and deprive him of his life. with this he awaked. and as he lay muſing what the Dream could import, news were brought him of the death of his two ſons, *James* and *Arthur*, who died at S. *Andrews* and *Striveling* at one and the very ſame hour. The next year, which was the year of our Lord 1542, being overwhelmed with grief and paſſion for the loſs of his Army received at *Solway*, he departed this life at *Falkland* in the 32 year of his age. Some few days before he died, he had advertiſement that his Queen was delivered of a daughter at *Linlithgow*; at which time it is ſaid he burſt forth in paſſion, ſaying, *It came with a laſs*, (meaning the Crown) *and will go with a laſs, fie upon it:* after which he was not heard to utter many words.

The King died at *Falkland*, *An.* 1542. the eighth of *December*.

The Cardinal hearing that the King was deceaſed, did ſubborn a Prieſt, called *Henry Balfour*, to form his laſt Will, whereby it was declared that he had committed to the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile* and *Murray*, the Government of the Realm during his daughters minority. This Will he cauſed publiſh in *Edinburgh* on the Monday after the King's death. But the Nobles giving it no credit, and eſteeming it a mere forgery, did chuſe the Earl of *Arran* Regent and Governour of the Realm. Never was a Governour received with greater love and opinion of all ſorts; for beſides the favour carried to himſelf, every one was glad to be freed of the Cardinal's Government; and by his firſt beginnings a ſtrong hope was conceived, that all things ſhould be reformed which were amiſſe both in Church and

The Cardinal forgeth the King's Teſtament.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Earl of *Arran* elected Governour.

An. 1542. and Kingdome. But this hope ſoon vaniſhed in the manner that ye ſhall hear.

The King of *England* ſeeketh to unite the Kingdoms by Marriage.

King *Henry* of *England* hearing that his Nephew the King of *Scots* was dead, and that he had left one only Daughter of ſeven days old, began to think of uniting the two Kingdoms, and reducing the whole Iſle under one Government, by the marriage of *Edward* his Son, a Prince of five years old, to the young Queen of *Scots* Hereupon he ſent for the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords of *Fleming*, *Maxwell*, and *Gray*, who were taken priſoners at *Solway*, and detained in *England*) to *Buchan. l.* 15. *Hampton* Court, where he then lay; and at their coming proponed the buſineſs unto them, with an offer to dimit them freely, ſo as they would promiſe to uſe their beſt means with the Governour, and others of the Nobility of *Scotland*, for obtaining their conſents to the Match. The Noblemen liking the motion, and eſteeming it a ready means to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace, gave their promiſe to deal faithfully in it, and ſo were ſent home with many liberal promiſes, if the Marriage ſhould take effect. In their company returned the Earl of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George*, (who had been exiled a long time in *England*) with Letters to the Governour from the King for their reſtitution.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

The matter being moved to the Governour and Councel, it was liked by all, the Queen-mother and the Cardinal only excepted: and for this a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh* the 13 of *March* following, whither came Sir *Ralph Sadler*, as *Leſl. l.* 10. Ambaſſadour from King *Henry*, to attend the ſucceſs. In the beginning a great The Cardinal committed. ſtir was made by the Cardinal and Clergy that adhered to him, ſo as the Eſtates could come to no concluſion; whereupon the Cardinal was committed in the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*. The day following, by an uniform conſent, the Match was agreed, Ambaſſadors ſent into *England* for concluding the Match. and the Earl of *Glencarne*, Sir *George Dowglas*, brother to the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *William Hamilton* of *Forne*, and Sir *James Lermonth* of *Derſay*, imployed by the E- *Buchan. l.* 15. ſtates to tranſact with King *Henry* upon all particulars.

The hiſtory of the Church.

In this Parliament, upon a Perition preſented to the Eſtates for reſtraining the power of the Prelates in purſuing thoſe they called Hereticks, and for liberty to read the Scripture in the *Engliſh* language, Commiſſion was granted to ſome ſelected perſons for conſidering the Petition, and preſcribing what was fit to be done therein. The Commiſſioners meeting after the parliament was broke up, declared, *That it ſhould be lawful for every one that could read to uſe the Engliſh Tranſlation of the Bible, until the Prelates ſhould publiſh one more correct.* Intimation of this liberty being ſent through all the Kingdom by the Governour's direction, the Clergy did

The Governour's Preachers ſuſpected by the Clergy.

declaim againſt him as a favourer of Hereticks, taking exception at two Preachers he entertained in his houſe, the one called Frier *William*, the other *John Rough*, who did openly in their Sermons inveigh againſt the Pope's Authority, the adoration of Images, invocation of Saints, and other ſuperſtitious inventions of *Rome*.

The Ambaſſadors return from *England*.

In the end of *July* the Ambaſſadours directed towards *England* returned with ſatisfaction in all particulars concerning the Marriage; and ſo the Contract betwixt the two Kingdoms was ſigned by the Governour and thoſe whom the States had deputed for the part of *Scotland*, and by Sir *Ralph Sadler* Ambaſſadour for the

Hiſtory of the Church.

part of *England*, and the Seals of the Kingdom interchanged, as uſe is. The Governour and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, for the greater aſſurance, did ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve the Contract in all Articles thereof, dividing the holy Sacrament amongſt them, as the cuſtom then was.

The eſtate of the Governor's Court.

And now all matters look'd fair, no man wiſhing them to go better; for in the Governour's Court was nothing ſeen that the ſevereſt eye could cenſure or reprove. In the publick Government ſuch a moderation was kept, as no man was heard to complain. The Governour was reverently obeyed, and held in as great reſpect as any Kings of preceding times. To be ſhort, every man did promiſe himſelf a bleſſed and happy time; which on ſuddain all was overturned, and the Realm caſt in greater troubles then before.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* and Abbot of *Paiſley* ſeek to divert the Governour from the Contract with *England*.

John Hamilton Abbot of *Paiſley*, baſe brother to the Governour, and *David Panter*, (afterwards removed to the Biſhoprick of *Roſs*) who had lived a long time in *France*, returning about this time into the Countrey, and being devoted to the *French*, dealt privately with the Governour, who was of an eaſie nature, and apt

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to be taken by thoſe he truſted, to break the contract with *England*. But having ſmall hope to prevail ſo long as the Preachers and Gentlemen, whoſe counſel he followed, remained with him, they uſed all means to be rid of them. Frier *Guilielm* fearing to be called in queſtion for his Doctrine, (at which the Abbot was ever excepting) withdrew himſelf and went into *England*: *John Rough* upon ſome colour was dimitted to preach in the parts of *Kile* and *Carrick*. The Laird of *Grainge*, Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, Maſter *Thomas Ballenden*, and Sir *David Lindſay* of the *Mont*, who had attended the Governour ever ſince the time of his promoving to the Regency, had ſuch diſcontents given them, as they were made too weary of their attendance; and the meaner ſort, ſuch as Mr. *Michael Durham*, Mr. *David Borthwick*, *David Forres*, and *David Bothwel*, men that had ſerved him faithfully and of a long time, were openly menaced, and forced to quit their ſervices. *An.* 1542. The Governour's Preachers and ſervants part from him. Hiſtory of the Church.

Neither was the Cardinal in this time idle, for being by the Queens interceſſion removed from *Dalkeith* to the place of *Seaton*, he went from thence without warrant to S. *Andrews*, none calling him therefore in queſtion; for the Governour's brother, who was then preferred to be Theaſurer, and ruled all things at Court, made up a ſecret friendſhip with him. Shortly after in a frequent meeting of the Clergy at S. *Andrews*, the Cardinal laying before them the dangers wherewith the Clergy was threatned by the Match with *England*, did earneſtly incite them to oppoſe it, and contribute moneys and imploy all their friendſhip to the contrary, ſeeing it concerned them no leſs then their lives or eſtates were worth. They making no difficulty, and offering to contribute all their means to that effect, appointed a preſent Collection to be made. which was truſted to his diſpoſing. The Friers were directed to inveigh in their Sermons againſt the Alliance, and the Prieſts ſet on to ſtir up the popular againſt the Ambaſſadour, who had many Indignities offered him, which he patiently digeſted, leſt he ſhould be thought to miniſter any occaſion of breach. The Cardinal ſet at liberty. A Convention of the Clergy at S. *Andrews*. *Buchan. l.* 15.

How ſoon the day appointed for delivering the Pledges was come, (for that was a condition in the Contract) the Ambaſſadour went unto the Governour, and put him in mind of the Pledges that by the contract he was obliged to enter: complaining withall of the Diſgraces that he and his Maſter the King of *England* received. The Governour anſwering firſt his complaint of the Inſolencies committed, ſaid, *He ſhould take trial, and puniſh the committers in ſuch ſort, as all might ſee what affection he bore to the King and Countrey of* England. *But for the Pledges*, he ſaid, *I can neither move them to enter willingly, nor force them if they be unwilling. For you ſee what a mutiny is raiſed in the countrey by the Cardinal, and how uncertain I am of mine own eſtate: Till this be quieted, I know not in that point what to anſwer.* The Ambaſſadour, who underſtood that to be truth which he ſpoke, forbare to urge the delivery of the Pledges any more, ſaying he would advertiſe his Maſter how the caſe ſtood, and attend his directions. Soon after the Ambaſſadour was recalled, the *Scots* ſhips and Merchants that were in *England* arreſted, and open War denounced. The Ambaſſadour of *England* complaineth of the indignity offered to him. The Governour's excuſe. *Buchan. l.* 15. War denounced by *England*.

The Countrey hereupon drew into Factions. The Governour and ſome few Noblemen that abode with him at *Halirudhouſe* profeſſing a willingneſs to keep the Contract with *England*, and the Queen-mother with the Cardinal and his followers directly oppoſing. They having the young Queen in their hands, whom they kept ſtill at *Linlithgow*, to ſtrengthen their party ſent to recal the Earl of *Lenox*, (who lived then in *France*:) for the old emulation between the two Houſes of *Lenox* and *Hamilton*, as alſo the ſlaughter of his Father in the field of *Linlithgow*, which he could not have forgotten, would eaſily (as they thought) move him to joyn with them. Beſides, they conſidered that his preſence and friendſhip, which was great in the Countrey, would aid and countenance their courſe not a little. Hereupon were meſſengers diſpatched in haſte with Letters to the *French* King, and to the Earl himſelf. The Letters written to himſelf were full of affection, and therein hopes given of his Match with the Queen-mother, & of the Regency of the Realm during her Daughters minority. And (as flatterers are never wanting to great men) there were ſome about him, when they underſtood that he was called home, put him in hope of the Crown it ſelf, if the young Queen ſhould happen to depart this The Coun. trey goeth into Factions. The Earl of *Lenox* recalled from *France*. *Buchan. l.* 15.

An. 1542. life. For the late King was known to have intended the ſame; and the Governour's Title, they ſaid, would trie nought, himſelf being illegitimate, and procreated in an unlawful marriage, upon a divorce led between his Father and Dame *Elizabeth Home* his wife, which made him uncapable not of the Crown only, but even of his private inheritance. With ſuch conceits they filled the young Nobleman's head; and (as men are made eaſily to believe what they earneſtly deſire) encouraged by theſe hopes, and the *French* King's promiſes, he returned home.

The Earl of *Lenox* welcomed by the Queen-mother and the Cardinal.

At his coming having ſaluted the Governour, with whom he diſſembled in the beſt ſort he could, and viſiting the Queen-mother and Cardinal at *Linlithgow*, who did very kindly receive him, he went to ſee his friends, and imparted to them the cauſes of his return, with the hopes that were given him, and the promiſe he had of aid and ſupply from the King of *France*. They, approving the courſe he had taken, adviſed him to follow his fortune, and promiſed their aſſiſtance to the uttermoſt. A few days after being advertiſed that the Governour was gathering forces to take the young Queen from her Mother, he came to the Queen-mother with four thouſand men, and abode with her till by a common conſent her Daughter was ſent to *Striveling*, and committed to the cuſtody of the Lords *Grahame*, *Areskin*, *Levingſton*, and *Lindſay*.

The young Queen removed to *Striveling*.

The Governour forſaketh his party, and receiveth Abſolution from the Cardinal.

Meanwhile the Governour's brother did earneſtly ply him to relinquiſh the *Engliſh* Alliance, laying before him the danger wherein he thruſt himſelf, in ſuffering the Pope's Authority to be weakned, on which he ſaid the ſecurity of his Title and Succeſſion to the Crown did ſtand, and giving him hopes of benefit and advancement from the *French* King: and ſo far in end prevailed, as the Governour, without imparting his mind to the Noblemen who kept Court with him at *Halirudhouſe*, went privately to *Striveling*, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Cardinal, receiving abſolution at his hands, and renouncing the profeſſion he made of the Truth, with the Alliance contracted with *England*. A deed that loſt him the favour of the Countrey, and brought him in great contempt; for after this fact, was he never in regard, the Cardinal from thenceforth carrying all the ſway, and leaving him only the ſhadow of Authority.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Cardinals care to be rid of the Earl of *Lenox*.

This done, the Cardinal's next care was, to rid the Court and the Councel of the Earl of *Lenox*; which was brought about in this ſort. The Queen-mother by her Letters to the *French* King did advertiſe what an alteration was made, how the Governour was brought by the Cardinal's means to break with *England*, and that for aſſuring the Peace of the Countrey there was nothing more required then the calling the Earl of *Lenox* back under ſome fair colour, for that his ſtay at home might prove dangerous, and a ſuſpicion there was already of his inclining to *England*, which might breed greater Troubles then yet had been ſeen; therefore intreated the King to recall him with ſpeed.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Nobleman ſuſpecting no ſuch dealing, (for all that time he was uſed with great demonſtrations of love and kindneſs by the Queen-mother) began to urge the performance of Promiſes, and had his hopes cunningly entertained, till the anſwer returned from *France*; at which time he was advertiſed by ſome friends in that Court, that the *French* King was hardly informed of him and ſome courſes he had taken, and howbeit he was invited to return, he ſhould not find the welcome he expected. This made him more inſtant with the Queen-mother then before, but it was not long ere he felt himſelf deluded; whereupon he retired home diſcontent, and laid many ways to repair himſelf, but all ſorted to no effect; ſo as he reſolved in end, having loſt the *French*, to offer his ſervice to the King of *England*, by whom he was kindly received, and afterwards honoured with the alliance of King *Henry* his Neece, Lady *Margaret Dowglas*.

The Earl of *Lenox*, finding himſelf abuſed goeth to *England*.

The Perſecution of the Profeſſors in *Perth*.

How ſoon the Cardinal was freed of the Earl of *Lenox*, he ſet himſelf to purſue thoſe that were called Hereticks, and leading the Governour along with him, went firſt to the Town of *Perth*, where by delation of one Frier *Spence*: *Robert Lamb*, *William Anderſon*, *James Rannald*, *James Hunter*, *James Finlaſon*, and *Hellene Stirk* his wife were apprehended.

Robert Lamb being accuſed for interrupting the ſaid Frier in a Sermon he made at *Perth*,

Perth, whileſt he was teaching that *a man could not be ſaved without praying to the Saints*, confeſſed that he had done it, ſaying, *It was the duty of every man that knoweth the Truth, to bear teſtimony unto it, and not to ſuffer people to be abuſed with falſe Doctrine, ſuch as that was.* An. 1542.

The Inditement of the perſons delated.

William Anderſon, *James Rannald* and *James Finlaſon*, were indited for nailing two Rams horns on S. *Francis* head, the putting of a Cow's rump to his tail, and for the eating of a Gooſe upon All-hallow evening.

James Hunter, a Fletcher by occupation, and a ſimple man without any learning, was charged to have kept company with the ſaid perſons.

The woman, *Helen Stirke*, was accuſed for her refuſing to pray unto the Virgin *Mary* when ſhe was in labour of her birth, and ſaying, ſhe would *only pray to God in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.*

They are found guilty, and their behaviour at their Suffering.

Theſe were the Inditements whereupon they were put to trial, and being found guilty by a Jury, were condemned to die. Great interceſſion was made for their lives to the Governour; but he was ſo ſubject to the Cardinal, as without his conſent he would give no pardon, Thus the poor Innocents were taken to the common place of Execution, and hanged. *Robert Lamb* at the foot of the Ladder made a pithy Exhortation to the people, beſeeching them to fear God, and forſake the Leven of Papiſtical Abominations. The woman deſired earneſtly to dy with her husband, but could not be permitted, ſentence being given againſt her that ſhe ſhould be drowned; yet ſhe followed him to the place of Execution, exhorting him by the way to patience and conſtancy for the cauſe of Chriſt: And as ſhe parted from him, ſaid, *Husband, be glad, we have lived together many joyful dayes, and this day which we muſt dy we ought to eſteem the moſt joyful of all, becauſe now we ſhall have joy for ever; Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we ſhall ſhortly meet in the Kingdome of Heaven.* How ſoon the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water not far off, where having commended her children to the charity of her neighbours, and giving a little babe who was ſucking upon her breaſt unto a nurſe, ſhe died with great courage and comfort.

Burgeſſes exiled, and the Lord *Ruthven* put from his Provoſtry.

Sir *Henry Elder*, *John Elder*, *Walter Piper* and *Laurence Puller*, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed, and the Lord *Ruthven* Provoſt of the Town diſcharged of his office, becauſe he was ſuſpected to favour the Hereticks. His place was given to *Jonn Charterhouſe* of *Kinfawnes*, and the Citizens commanded to accept him for their Provoſt; but they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, they could make no election before the ordinary time: yet the Governour out of his authority charged them to accept of *Kinfawnes*, threatning to puniſh thoſe that refuſed. And for that it was thought, after the Governour and Cardinal was gone, that the Townſmen ſhould withſtand their Provoſt, the Lord *Gray* and *Normand Leſley*, ſon to the Earl of *Rothes*, were deſired to give their aſſiſtance.

Kinfawns elected Provoſt, ſeeketh to force the Town to obedience.

It falling out as was expected, *Kinfawnes* convened his friends, to adviſe how the Townſmen might be forced to obey. The Lord *Gray* undertaking to enter the Town by the Bridge, *Normand Leſley* and his followers were appointed to enter at the South-gate, and S. *Magdalen's* day appointed for their meeting. The Lord *Gray* came early in the morning, but *Normand*, who brought his company by water, was hindred by the tide; yet all being quiet in the Town, and no appearance of ſtirre, the Lord *Gray* reſolved to enter, eſteeming his own forces ſufficient: but he was not far advanced, when in the ſtreet called *Fiſh-ſtreet*, the Maſter of *Ruthven*, with his company that lay cloſe in ſome houſes near by, iſſued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The diſorder in the fight was great, every one hindering another, ſo as many were trod to death, and ſome threeſcore perſons killed.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Lord *Gray* invading *Perth* is repulſed.

The Cardinal's proceeding againſt the Profeſſors in *Angus* and *Mernis*.

The Cardinal wiſhed rather the loſs had fallen on the Lord *Ruthven's* ſide, yet he was not ill pleaſed with the affront that *Gray* had received; for he loved none of them: and ſo making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the countrey of *Angus* calling many in queſtion for reading the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, which as then was accounted an hainous crime. And it is ſaid, "The ignorance of theſe times was ſo great, as even the Prieſts did think the New Teſtament

Buchan. l. 15.

An. 1544. Teſtament to have been compoſed by *Martin Luther*, and the Old to be the only Scripture that men ought to read.

Roger, a black Frier, impriſoned at S. *Andrews*.

John Roger, a Black Frier, with certain others, was brought to the Caſtle of *S. Andrews*, and within ſome few dayes found dead at the foot of the back wall: whether he fell ſeeking to eſcape, or that he was murthered (as the report went) in priſon, it is uncertain. From *Angus* the Cardinal leading the Governor with him

An. 1544. went to *Mernis*, uſing the like inquiſition, and ſtayed there till near Chriſtmas; at which time they returned to *S. Andrews*, and having paſt the Holy time in feaſting, took journey to *Edinburgh*, where a Convention of the Clergy was kept for cenſuring the lives of ſcandalous Prieſts.

The hiſtory of Mr. *George Wiſhart*.

Whileſt they were thus buſied, advertiſement was made to the Cardinal that Maſter *George Wiſhart*, for whom he had ſearched a long time, was in the houſe of *Ormeſton* in *Lothian*. This man being of all the witneſſes that God raiſed in that time to advance his Truth the moſt worthy, the Reader will not miſlike that I ſet down the Story at large. He was a brother of the houſe of *Pittarrow* in *Mernis*, a man of great knowledge and pleaſant utterance, indued alſo with many rare vertues; humble, modeſt, charitable, and patient even to admiration. Some time he had ſpent in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and, out of a deſire to promove the Truth in his own Countrey, came home in the year 1544. making his chief reſorts in the Towns of *Dundy* and *Montroſs*, where he taught publickly with great profit and applauſe.

Wiſhart diſcharged from preaching at *Dundy*.

The Cardinal, incenſed with the following he had among the people, diſcharged them of *Dundy* to receive him. Whereupon *Robert Mill*, a man of great authority in the Town, either corrupted by the Cardinal's gifts, or becauſe he feared ſome trouble might fall upon the Town for his occaſion, did one day as he had ended his

Hiſtory of the Church.

Sermon, openly prohibit him to come any more amongſt them, and not to trouble the Town with his Sermons. He, after a little ſilence, turning himſelf to the ſpeaker, ſaid, *God is my witneſs that I mind ever your comfort, and not your trouble, which to me is more grievous then to your ſelves. But ſure I am, to reject the Word of God, and drive away his meſſengers, is not the way to ſave you from Trouble. When I am gone, God will ſend you meſſengers, who will not be afraid either for burning or baniſhment. I have with the hazard of my life remained amongſt you preaching the word of Salvation; and now, ſince your ſelves refuſe me, I muſt leave my innocency to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led with the Spirit of Truth; and if Trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember this is the cauſe, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful.* The Earl *Marſhal* and ſome other Noblemen, who were preſent at the Sermon, deal earneſtly with him to go with them into the North; but he excuſing himſelf, took journey into the Weſt parts.

He goeth to the Weſt, where the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* ſeeketh to apprehend him.

He had not been long there, when the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, advertiſed of the great concourſe of people unto his Sermons, took purpoſe to apprehend him, and for that effect made a journey unto the Town of *Aire*. *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, hearing what the Biſhop intended, haſted to the Town, offering to place Maſter *George Wiſhart* in the Church were the Biſhop was preparing to preach: but he would not conſent, ſaying, that the Biſhop's Sermon would not do much hurt, and that he would teach, if they pleaſed at the Market-Croſs: which he did, divers of the hearers, which were enemies to the Truth, being converted at the ſame time. The Sunday following, being deſired to preach at the Church of *Machlin*, he went thither; but the Sheriffe of *Aire* had in the night-time put in a Gariſon of Souldiers in the Church to exclude him. *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingzeacleugh* with others of the Pariſh offending thereat, would have entered the Church by force; but he would not ſuffer it, ſaying, *It is the word of Peace that I preach unto you, the bloud of no man ſhall be ſhed for it this day: Chriſt is as mighty in the fields as in the Church; and he himſelf, when he lived in the fleſh, preached oftner in the Deſert and upon the Sea-ſide, then in the Temple of Jeruſalem.* So walking along to the edge of the Moor on the South-ſide of *Machlin*, he preached to the multitude that flocked about him three hours and above; and all the while he abode in thoſe parts taught daily with good ſucceſs.

After

After a moneths ſtay in theſe quarters, he was advertiſed of a great deſolation in the Town of *Dundy* by reaſon of the Peſtilence, which brake up in it the fourth day after he left the Town. This moved him to return; and on the next morrow after his coming he gave ſignification that he would preach: but becauſe the Sickneſs, which had conſumed a great many people, was ſtill raging in the Town, he chuſed to preach upon the head of the Eaſt-gate, the infected perſons ſtanding without the gate, and thoſe that were free within. His Theme was the 20 verſe of the 107 Pſalm; *He ſent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their deſtruction.* There upon taking occaſion to ſpeak of the dignity and excellency of the Word of God, and the puniſhments that follow the contempt of the ſame, as alſo of the mercies of God, and his readineſs to pardon thoſe that truly turn unto him, with the happy eſtate of ſuch as God taketh to himſelf out of this miſery; ſo he comforted the people, as they were inſtant to have him ſtay with them, judging themſelves happy if they ſhould die aſſiſted with ſuch a Preacher. Neither did he forſake them all the time the Plague continued, and not ſuffering the poor who were deſtitute of means to lack any neceſſary helps more then the rich.

An. 1544.

Wiſhart returneth to *Dundy*, the Peſtilence there raging.

It happened, whileſt he ſtayed there, that a Prieſt, called Sir *John Weighton*, having a purpoſe to kill him as he deſcended from the place where he uſed to preach, was apprehended with a weapon in his hand: a Tumult thereupon raiſed, the ſick without the Gate ruſhed in, crying to have the murtherer delivered to them. But he taking the Prieſt in his Arms beſought them to be quiet, ſaying, *He hath done no harm, only he hath ſhewed us what we have to fear in time coming:* and ſo ſaved the wicked man by his interceſſion.

A Prieſt apprehended that intended to kill him.

Hiſtory of the Church.

The Plague decreaſing he prepared to go to *Edinburgh*, where he had promiſed to meet the Gentlemen of the Weſt, that reſolved at his parting from them to keep the Convocation, and offer diſpute to the Clergy: yet becauſe he had not ſeen the people of *Montroſs* of a long time, and was doubtful if ever he ſhould return, he determined firſt to go thither. Whileſt he remained there, a Letter was directed to him from the Laird of *Kinneir* of *Fife*, advertiſing him that he had taken a ſudden ſickneſs, and requeſting him to come unto him with diligence. He preſently made to the journey, accompanied with ſome honeſt Citizens that would needs convey him part of the way, and was not paſt a quarter of a mile, when on a ſudden he made a ſtay, ſaying to the company, *I am forbidden of God to go this journey: will ſome of you be pleaſed to ride to yonder place* (pointing with his finger to a little hill) *and ſee what you find? for I apprehend there is a plot againſt my life.* So turning back to the Town, they who went forward to the place found ſome threeſcore horſemen laid to intercept them; whereby he underſtood the Letter to be counterfeited. They declaring at their return what they had ſeen, he ſaid, *I know I ſhall end my life in the hands of that man,* (meaning the Cardinal) *but it will not be after this manner.*

He viſiteth *Montroſſe*.

A plot of the Cardinal's for his intercepting, and his wonderful eſcape.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Some two or three days after he made to his journey, and would not be diſſuaded by the Laird of *Dun* and others who laboured to have him ſtay. The firſt night he lodged at *Inner-gowry*, two miles from *Dundy*, with an honeſt man called *James Watſon*; where being laid in bed, he was obſerved to riſe a little after midnight, and go forth into a garden. There, after he had walked a turn or two, he fell upon his knees, ſending forth many ſighs and groans; then proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, he lay in that ſort almoſt an hour, weeping and praying, and then returned to his reſt. *William Spalden* and *John Watſon*, who lay in the ſame chamber, and had followed to ſee whither he went, began to ask him, as if they had known nothing, where he had been: whereunto he made no anſwer. In the morning inquiring of new wherefore he roſe in the night, & what was the cauſe of his mourning, (for they told him all they had ſeen him do) he with a dejected countenance anſwered, *I wiſh you had been in your beds, which had been more for your eaſe, for I was ſcarce well occupied.* But they praying him to ſatisfie their minds farther, and to communicate ſome comfort unto them, he ſaid, *I will tell you that I aſſuredly know my travell is nigh at an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I ſhrink not when the battel waxeth moſt hot.* Hearing theſe words, they burſt forth in tears, and ſaid it was to them a

His journey to *Edinburgh*, and what befell him in the way.

Hiſtory of the Church.

An. 1545. ſmall comfort. Whereunto he replied, *God will ſend you comfort after me, this Realm ſhall be illuminated with the Light of Chriſt's Goſpel as clearly as ever was any Realm ſince the days of the Apoſtles. The Houſe of God ſhall be built in it; yea it ſhall not lack (whatſoever the enemies ſhall deviſe to the contrary) the very Capeſtone: neither ſhall this be long in doing, for there ſhall not many ſuffer after me. The glory of God ſhall appear, and Truth ſhall once triumph in deſpight of the Devil. But, alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and puniſhments which ſhall follow will be fearful and terrible.*

Wiſhart preacheth at *Leith.*

This ſaid, he addreſſed himſelf to the way, and went that night to *Perth:* the next day he came to *Leith*, where he kept himſelf cloſe, expecting ſome advertiſement from the Gentlemen of the Weſt. No advertiſement coming, he waxed heavy and ſorrowful; and being ask'd what made him ſo heavy, he ſaid, *I have laboured to bring people out of darkneſs, but now I lurk as a man aſhamed to ſhew himſelf before men.* They perceiving his deſire was to preach, anſwered that they would gladly hear him; but conſidering the danger he might fall into, they could not adviſe him to do it. He replied, *If you and others will hear me the next Sunday, I ſhall preach in* Leith; *(let God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him.)* Which he did, taking for his text the Parable of the Sower, out of the 13 Chapter of S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel.

He goeth to Eaſt *Lothian*, and preacheth at *Haddington.*

Having ended his Sermon, he was by the Gentlemen his Auditors counſelled to leave the Town, (for they held his abode in that place dangerous:) which advice he followed, remaining ſome time with the Laird of *Brunſton*, and ſometime with the Laird of *Longnedry* and *Ormeſton*; yet every Sunday in one Church or other he taught openly, unto the time of his apprehenſion. The laſt Sermon he made was at *Haddington*, where he received from the Gentlemen of the Weſt a Letter, declaring they could not keep the Diet appointed at *Edinburgh:* which grieved him ſo much, as calling *John Knox* (who then attended him) he ſaid, *I am weary of the world, ſince I ſee men too weary of God.* Yet he went to the Pulpit, and rebuking the people of that Town for the contempt of the Goſpel, told them, that *Strangers ſhould poſſeſs their houſes, and chaſe them from their habitations:* which came ſhortly to paſs. In that Sermon, as he had always done at his laſt coming into *Lothian*, he ſpake of the ſhort time he had to live, and told that his death was more nigh then they did believe. All that night he ſtayed in *Haddington*, and the next morning bidding thoſe of his acquaintance farewel, as it were for ever, he went on foot to *Ormeſton*, (for the froſt was vehement) accompanied with the Laird of the place, *John Sandelands* of *Caulder*, and *Chreichton* of *Brunſton*. *John Knox* was deſirous to have gone with him, but he willed him to go back, ſaying, *One is enough at this time for a ſacrifice.*

He goeth to *Ormeſton*, and dimitteth *John Knox.*

There he is apprehended and delivered to the Earl *Bothwell* upon promiſe.

When they had ſupped, he fell in a long diſcourſe of the happy eſtate of God's children, and having ended that purpoſe, ſaid he had a deſire to ſleep, but firſt appointed the 51 Pſalm to be ſung; which done he went to bed. About mid-night the houſe was belayed with horſemen that the Governour ſent to take him priſoner. The Laird refuſing to deliver him, and thinking to get him ſhifted, the Earl *Bothwell* Sheriffe of the County came, and he required he ſhould be put in his hand, upon promiſe that his life ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould not be in the Cardinals power to do him any hurt. The Laird reporting this to Mr. *George*, he requeſted him to open the gate, ſaying, *The bleſſed will of God be done.* So the Earl entred the houſe, to whom Mr. *George* ſaid, *My Lord, I praiſe God that ſo honourable a man as you are doth receive me this night, in the preſence of theſe Noblemen; for I am aſſured your Honour will not permit any thing to be done unto me againſt the order of the Law. I am not ignorant that all the Law which they who ſeek my life uſe is nothing but a corruption, and a Cloak to ſhed the bloud of God's Saints: yet I leſs fear to die openly, then to be murthered in ſecret.* The Earl anſwered, "I ſhall not only preſerve your body from "violence, if any be intended againſt you, but I will promiſe you on my honour, "in the preſence of theſe Gentlemen, that neither the Governour nor Cardinal "ſhall be able to harm you, and that I ſhall keep you in my own power till "either I make you free, or bring you back to the place where now I receive "you.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Upon

Upon this promiſe was he delivered and put in the Earl's hands, who departed with him to *Elphinſton*, where the Cardinal was attending the ſucceſs. It being told him that young *Caulder* and *Brunſton* were with the Laird of *Ormeſton*, he ſent to apprehend them; but *Brunſton* eſcaped to the wood: the other two were committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and thither was Mr. *George* firſt carried, and afterwards brought back to the houſe of *Hales*, the Earl's principal houſe in *Lothian*.) But the Queen-mother, at the Cardinal's deſire, being earneſt for the Earl to have ſent him again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, albeit in regard of his promiſe he refuſed a long time, yet overcome in end by her intreaty he yielded. So was Mr. *George* of new taken to the Caſtle, and after a ſhort ſtay there conveyed to S. *Andrews*, where he remained priſoner unto the day of his ſuffering. *An.* 1545.

The Lairds of *Caulder* and *Ormeſton* committed.

Wiſhart carried to S. *Andrews*.

The Cardinal, not thinking it expedient to delay his Trial, wrote to the Prelates to meet at S. *Andrews* the 27 of *February*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, at his coming, gave advice to ſeek a Commiſſion from the Governour to ſome man of quality, that might execute Juſtice, leſt all the burthen ſhould lie upon them; whereunto the Cardinal agreed, ſuppoſing the Governour would make no ſcruple in the matter: nor had he made any, if *David Hamilton* of *Preſton*, knowing what was ſought, had not ſeriouſly diſſuaded him, adviſing him rather to uſe his power in the defence of God's Servants, then to arm their adverſaries with his Authority. *For it is marvelled*, ſaid he, *that you ſhould give ſuch liberty to wicked and godleſs men thus to oppreſs poor Innocents, unto whoſe charge no crime is laid; only they are accuſed for preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt, which your ſelf not long ſince openly profeſſed, and exhorted others to profeſs, promiſing by your Authority to maintain the ſame. The opinion which men had of your affection to the Truth was that which chiefly procured your advancement to the place you now hold in the Realm: and now conſider what are mens thoughts and ſpeeches of your proceedings, or rather what a fearful unthankfulneſs it is on your part to Almighty God, who hath beſtowed upon you ſo many bleſſings. You are rid of your neighbours at home (who envied your honour) without bloud and ſlaughter; you have lately reported victory of the forein enemy that was ſtronger by much then your ſelf; and now will you perſecute Gods Servants for the pleaſure of flagitious men, who neither can hide their wickedneſs, nor have care to diſſemble it? Remember how ſuddenly the late King was taken away, when he followed theſe courſes which now you run. They who by their perverſe counſels wrought his undoing, are leading you on to the ſame deſtruction. At the firſt they were your open enemies, and reſiſted your promotion to the Government with all their might: but now I know not how they have ſnared you by their malicious devices. Think upon King* Saul, *who was exalted by God from a mean eſtate to be King of* Iſrael; *ſo long as he obeyed the word of God, he proſpered, but how ſoon he grew diſobedient, he became miſerable. Compare the ſucceſs you have had in your affairs with his proſperity, and you will find it not unlike: and of this you may be aſſured, that, except you take another courſe, your end ſhall be no better then his, perhaps worſe. Wherefore be wiſe, and ſuffer not your ſelf to be led any more by the counſels of wicked men, neither let poor innocents at their appetites be thus cruelly murthered.*

The Cardinal ſends to the Governour for a Commiſſion.

David Hamilton of *Preſton* diſſuadeth the Governour.

Buchan. *l.* 15.

The Governour, moved with theſe ſpeeches, did anſwer the Cardinal, "That "he ſhould do well not to precipitate the mans trial, but to delay it until his com- "ing; for as to himſelf he would not conſent to his death before the cauſe were well "examined; and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make proteſtation "that the mans bloud ſhould be required at his hands. This anſwer grieved the Cardinal not a little, for he knew that the delay would work the Priſoner's eſcape, and to commit the cauſe to examination he ſaw it was more dangerous. Therefore in a great paſſion he replied, "That he wrote not unto the Governour as "though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a deſire he had "that the Heretick's condemnation might proceed with a ſhew of publick conſent, "which ſince he could not obtain, he would be doing himſelf that which he held "moſt fitting.

The Governour deſires the Cardinal to defer the Trial.

Thus he made a Citation to be given forth, and Maſter *George* to be charged to appear the next morrow, to anſwer for his Seditious & Heretical Doctrine. Maſter *George* receiving the Summons ſaid, *The Cardinal hath no need to ſummon me, for I am in his*

A citation for his appearance.

An. 1545. *his hands, and kept faſt in irons, ſo as he may compell me to anſwer at what time he pleaſeth. But to manifeſt,* ſaith he, *what men you are, it is well done to keep your forms and conſtitutions.* The next day the Cardinal and Prelates being met in the Abbey-Church, the Priſoner was preſented by the Captain of the Caſtle, and then the Sub-prior, called Maſter *John Winrame,* a man of good learning, and one who ſecretly favoured the Truth, went up into the Pulpit, as he had been injoyned. He took for his Theme the words of our Saviour in the 13 of *Matthew*'s Goſpel, concerning *the good Seed,* which he interpreted to be *the Word of God*; *Hereſie* he ſaid was the *ill Seed,* and that he defined to be *A falſe opinion fighting directly againſt the Word, and defended with pertinacy.* Thereafter falling to ſpeak of the cauſes of Hereſie, he ſaid the *main cauſe* was *the ignorance and negligence of thoſe that had the cure of Souls, and neither underſtood the word of God, nor could uſe the ſame to the convincing of falſe Teachers, and the reducing of thoſe who were gone aſtray.* In the latter part of his Sermon, ſpeaking of the way how Hereſies ſhould be diſcerned, he ſaid, *That as the Goldſmith knoweth the fine gold from the counterfeit by the touchſtone, ſo is Hereſie diſcerned by the true, ſincere and undefiled Word of God.* And in the end concluded, *that Hereticks ought to be puniſhed, and might lawfully be put to death by the Magiſtrate.*

Hiſtory of the Church.

At his trial the Sub-prior preacheth.

He is accuſed by Mr. *John Lawder,* a Prieſt.

Now albeit that was ſaid made directly againſt themſelves, who were then met, not to confute Hereſie, but to bear down the Truth, and puniſh thoſe that found fault with their pride and licentiouſneſs; yet as all had been ſpoken for them they proceeded, and, after their wonted form, placed Mr. *George* in a ſeat erected for that purpoſe, and over againſt him, Maſter *John Lawder,* a Prieſt, in another; who having a Scroll of paper in his hand, containing the Articles laid unto Mr. *George* his charge, did uſe many bitter and reprochful words: all which he heard very patiently, not moving or changing once his countenance. Being required to anſwer, before he would utter a word, he bowed his knees, and made his prayer to God; then ſtanding up, intreated them in moſt humble manner to ſuffer him repeat the ſum of Doctrine which he had taught ſince his coming into *Scotland*; which, he ſaid, was nothing but what the ten Commandments of God, the 12 Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Lord's Prayer contained. In *Dundy* he ſaid that he had preached a part of the Epiſtle to the *Romans.* And as he was going on, to ſhew what form he kept in his preaching, he was interrupted by the accuſer, who with many opprobrious ſpeeches calling him an Heretick, a Runnegate, a Traitor and Thief, ſaid that it was not lawful for him to preach, and that he had uſurped the power at his own hand, without any lawful calling of the Church. The Prelates alſo prohibiting all diſcourſes willing him to anſwer ſimply, yea, or nay; fearing, if liberty was given him to ſpeak, he ſhould draw ſome of the hearers to his mind.

Buchan. l. 15.

His Anſwer.

Mr. *George Wiſhart* his appellation.

Mr. *George,* perceiving that he could not have audience, appealed to an equal and indifferent Judge. Whereunto *Lawder* replied, that the Cardinal was a more then ſufficient Judge for him: and then he reckoned out all his ſtyles, ſaying, that he was Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews,* Biſhop of *Meropois,* Chancellour of *Scotland,* Commendatory of *Aberbrothock, Legatus natus, Legatus à latere,* and the ſecond perſon within the Realm. Mr. *George* calmly anſwered, *I do not condemn my Lord Cardinal, but I deſire the word of God to be my Judge, and ſome of the Temporal eſtate, with certain of your Lordſhips here preſent, becauſe I am my Lord Governour's priſoner.* At which words ſome fooliſh people that ſtood by cried out, *ſuch man, ſuch Judge*; meaning that the Governour and others of the Temporal State were Hereticks like unto himſelf.

Sentence of death pronounced againſt him.

Then would the Cardinal have pronounced Sentence without any further proceſs; but being advertiſed to let the Accuſation be read, and hear what he would ſay, leſt people ſhould think him wrongfully condemned, he commanded the Prieſt to read the Points diſtinctly, and receive his Anſwer to every one of them ſeverally. The Articles laid to his charge were eighteen in number, which, with the Anſwers he made, the Reader may at his leiſure ſee in the Book of Martyrs. After they had ſpent ſome hours in this ſort, Sentence was pronounced againſt him, and he condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. Then was he led back to the Caſtle,

Caſtle, and lodged in the Captain's chamber that night, the greateſt part whereof he ſpent in prayer. *An.* 1545.

Early in the morning the Prelates ſent two Friers to advertiſe him that he muſt die, and ask if he would confeſs himſelf: He anſwered, That *he had no buſineſs with Friers, nor would he willingly confer with them; but if they were diſpoſed to gratify him in that ſort, he deſired to ſpeak with the learned man that preached the day before.* This being permitted, the Sub-prior came, and talked with him a good ſpace: At laſt he ask'd Mr. *George* if he would receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He anſwered, *Moſt willingly, ſo I may have it miniſtred according to Chriſt's inſtitution, under both kinds of Bread and Wine.* Hereupon the Sub-prior went to the Biſhops, and told that he had conferred with the priſoner, who did ſolemnly affirm that he was free of all the crimes, and that he did utter this not out of a deſire he had of life, but to manifeſt his Innocency (which was known to God) before men. The Cardinal offended with theſe ſpeeches of the Sub-prior, ſaid, It is a long time ſince we knew what a man thou art. The Sub-prior anſwering nothing, asked if they would permit the Sacrament to be given to the priſoner. The Cardinal conferring with the reſt of the Biſhops a while, anſwered in all their names, That it was not reaſonable to give any Spiritual benefit to an obſtinate Heretick condemned by the Church.

Two Friers ſent to confeſs him.

The Conference with the Sub-prior.

When Maſter *George* heard that the Sacrament was denied him, being asked by the Captain of the Caſtle, going then to breakfaſt, if he would take a part with him, he anſwered, *Very willingly, and ſo much the rather, becauſe I percieve you to be a good Chriſtian, and a man fearing God.* Then turning himſelf to the Captain, he ſaid, *I beſeech you in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to be ſilent a little while, till I have made a ſhort Exhortation, and bleſſed this Bread which we are to eat, ſo that I may bid you farewel.* The table being covered, and Bread according to the cuſtome ſet upon it, he ſpake about the ſpace of an half hour, of the inſtitution of the Supper, and of our Savior's Death and Paſſion, exhorting thoſe that were preſent to mutual love, and to the leading of an holy life, ſuch as becometh the members of Chriſt. Then giving thanks, he brake the Bread, diſtributing to every one that was preſent a portion: likewiſe having taſted the Wine, he delivered the Cup unto them, exhorting them to remember with thankfulneſs the death of our Lord *Jeſus* in this his Communion with them. *As to my ſelf,* he ſaid, *there is a more bitter potion prepared for me, only becauſe I have preached the true Doctrine of Chriſt, which bringeth Salvation: but pray you the Lord with me that I may take it patiently, as out of his hand.* And ſo concluding with a new thankſgiving, he withdrew himſelf to his chamber.

He communicateth with the Captain of the Caſtel.

Buchan. *l.* 15.

Within a little ſpace two Executioners came up unto him, one of whom apparelled him in a black coat of linen, the other faſtened ſome bags of powder upon all the parts of his body; and thus arrayed he was brought to an utter room, where he was commanded to ſtay till all things were prepared. A Scaffold in the mean time erecting on the Eaſt part of the Caſtle towards the Abbey, with a great Tree in the midſt in manner of a Gibbet, unto which the priſoner was to be tied; and right againſt it was all the munition of the Caſtle planted, if perhaps any ſhould preſs by violence to take him away. The fore-Tower was hanged with Tapeſtry and rich Cuſhions laid for eaſe of the Cardinal and Prelates, who were to behold that ſpectacle. And when all things were made ready, he was led forth with his hands being tied behind his back, and a number of Souldiers guarding him to the place of Execution. As he was going forth of the Caſtle-gate, ſome poor creatures, who were lying there, did ask of him ſome alms for God's ſake: to whom he ſaid, *I have not the uſe of any hands wherewith I ſhould give you alms, but our merciful God, who out of his abundance feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you the things which are neceſſary both for your bodies and for your Souls.* Afterwards two Friers met him, crying, *Maſter* George, *pray to our Lady, that ſhe may be mediatrix for you to her Son.* To whom he ſaid, *Geaſe, tempt me not, my brethren.*

Two Executioners lead him to the place of his ſuffering.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Being come to the place of Execution, and gone up upon the Scaffold, he turned himſelf towards the people, and beſought them not to offend with the good Word of God becauſe of the Torments they ſaw prepared for him; deſiring them withall

His death, and the manner of it. 2. *Martii* 1545.

to

An. 1546. to ſhew his brethren and ſiſters, who had often heard him, that the Doctrine he taught was no wives Fables, but the true Goſpel of Chriſt given him by the grace of God, which he was ſent to preach, and for which he was then with a moſt glad heart and mind to give his life. *Some have falſly ſpoken,* ſaid he, *that I ſhould hold the opinion that the Souls of men departed ſleep, after their death until the laſt day; but I know and believe the contrary, and am aſſured that my Soul ſhall this night be with my Saviour in the Heavens.* This ſaid, he bowed his knees, and having conceived a ſhort, but moſt pithy, prayer, he was tied to the ſtake, & then cried aloud, *O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me; Father of Heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thine holy hands.* The Executioners having kindled the fire, the powder that was faſtned to his body blew up. The Captain of the Caſtle, who ſtood near unto him, perceiving that he was yet alive, willed him to be of good courage, and commend his Soul unto God. *This flame* (ſaid he) *hath ſcorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my ſpirit: but he who from yonder high place beholdeth us with ſuch pride, ſhall within few dayes ly in the ſame as ignominiouſly, as now he is ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf.* After which words one of the Tormentors drawing the Cord that went about his neck, ſtopt his breath, ſo as he ſpake no more. The fire increaſing, his body was quickly conſumed unto aſhes.

His Propheſie of the Cardinals death.

Buchan. l. 15.

Prayers inhibited to be made for him after his death.

But the Cardinal's malice not yet ſatisfied, cauſed the ſame night a Proclamation to be made through the City, that none ſhould pray for the Heretick under pain of the heavieſt Cenſures that could be inflicted. And then the Prieſts triumphing did in all meetings extol the Cardinal above the skies, ſaying, *That he not regarding the Governor's Authority, had by himſelf cauſed juſtice to be executed upon that Heretick, and kithed a moſt worthy Patron of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate. If the Church,* ſaid they, *in former times had found ſuch a Protector, matters had not been reduced to the doubtful terms wherein now they ſtand; but long or this time by her own power and authority ſhe had been able to maintain her ſelf.* Such inſolent ſpeeches they were heard to utter in every place. The Cardinal himſelf alſo ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed with that which he had done, preſuming it ſhould keep all his enemies in fear; yet it proved the very rock on which he and all his fortunes periſhed: for the common ſort of people exclaimed mightily againſt his Cruelty, and ſome of good birth and quality did openly vow that the bloud of Maſter *George Wiſhart* ſhould be revenged, though they ſhould give life for life; of which number, *John Leſly,* brother to the Earl of *Rothes,* forbare not in all companies openly to avouch, that his hand and dagger ſhould be the Cardinals Prieſts.

The Prieſts extol the Cardinal.

He contracted his baſe daughter to the heir of *Craford.*

Nor was he ignorant of the general hatred carried unto him, and thereupon began to fortify himſelf with ſome ſtrong alliance, which he ſhortly after made, contracting one of his baſe daughters to the Earl of *Craford* his ſon and heir. The Nuptials were performed with an exceeding pomp and magnificence. But he did not long enjoy the content he took in his Match, for *Normand Leſley,* ſon to the Earl of *Rothes,* who had followed him a long time, and done him good ſervices, having moved him in the behalf of ſome friends that were intereſſed by the reſtitution of the Lairds of *Cleiſh, Eaſter Weimes,* and certain others who had been forfeited in the late King's time, was not anſwered as he expected; for which growing into a choler, and alledging the Cardinal's promiſe in the buſineſs, he ſaid, that he would not be deluded in that ſort. The Cardinal, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch ſpeeches, and thought he was not uſed with that reſpect which became, chafed mightily, ſo as after an unſeemly altercation they parted in wrath.

An. 1546.

Buchan. l. 15.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Cardinal.

This diſcord publickly rumoured, divers that hated the Cardinal (ſome for the cauſe of Religion, and ſome for other private reſpects) did repair to *Normand,* and, working upon his paſſion, incenſed him with their words, wondering how he could look for any good from him that was a man hated of God and all good people. And, as it falleth out in ſuch conferences, whileſt every man was recounting the injuries he had ſuffered in private, and talking of his violent courſes, one amongſt the reſt ſaid, that they ſhould do God good ſervice, and no ſmall benefit to the Countrey, to make an end of that vicious and ungodly Tyrant, whom all good men did hate: and with ſuch words inflaming one another, at laſt they agreed to cut him off.

The

The principal undertakers were *Normand Leſley*, *John Leſley* his Uncle, *William Kircaldy* of *Grange*, *Peter Carmicall* of *Fife*, and *James Melvile*, one of the houſe of *Garneby*. The plot was, to meet at S. *Andrews* in the moſt private manner they could, and ſurpriſe the Caſtle ſome morning before the ſervants were ſtirring. And that the enterpriſe ſhould not fail, they gave hands to be in the City the 28 of *May*, promiſing in the mean time ſo to carry themſelves as no ſuſpicion might be taken of their purpoſe. Thus at the day appointed *Normand*, accompanied with five only, came to the City, and went to his accuſtomed lodging; *William Kircaldy* was there a day before; *John Leſley*, who did profeſs enmity to the Cardinal, entered not till night was fallen. Upon Saturday morning the 29 of *May*, riſing about three of the clock, they met in the Abbey Church-yard, where they condeſcended that *William Kircaldy*, and ſix with him, (for they did not exceed twelve in all) ſhould attend the opening of the gate, and aſſure it for the reſt. All things ſucceeded to their wiſhes: *Grange* at his firſt coming found the gate open, and entering with his company, entertained the Keeper with ſome ſpeeches, asking if the Cardinal was ſtirring, and how ſoon he would riſe. *Normand* came ſhortly after, and ſome two with him: laſt of all came *John Leſley* with other two; whom as ſoon as the Keeper ſaw, ſuſpecting ſome bad practice, he made to draw the bridge; but they laying hands upon him, took the keys, and aſſured the gate.

An. 1545.

The proceeding of the Conſpirators.

Grange entereth into the Caſtle.

Then appointing four of the company to watch the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertiſement ſhould go unto him, they went to the ſeveral chambers in which the ſervants lay aſleep, and calling them by their names, (for they were all known unto them) they put fifty of his ordinary ſervants, beſides the workmen, Maſons and Wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred, (for he was then fortifying the Caſtle) to the gate, permitting none to ſtay within but the Earl of *Arran*, the Governour's eldeſt ſon, whom they thought beſt to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with ſo little noiſe, as the Cardinal did not hear till they knock'd at his chamber. Then he asked who was there. *John Leſley* anſwered, My name is *Leſley*. Which *Leſley*, ſaid the Cardinal, is that? *Normand?* It was anſwered, that he muſt open to thoſe that were there. The anſwer gave him notice that they were no friends; therefore making the door faſt, he refuſed to open. They calling to bring fire, whileſt it was in fetching, he began to commune with them; and after ſome ſpeeches, upon their promiſe to uſe no violence, he opened the door: but they ruſhing in with their ſwords drawn did moſt inhumanely kill him, he not making any reſiſtance.

The ſervants and workmen put to the gate.

The Cardinal killed.

The Tumult was great in the City, upon the rumour that the Caſtle was taken. The people armed, and ſuch as favoured the Cardinal made haſte, intending to ſcale the walls; but when it was told them that he was dead whom they ſought to help, their hearts cooled. The people ſtill crying for a ſight of the Cardinal, his corps was brought to the very ſame place where he ſate beholding Maſter *George Wiſhart*'s Execution. Upon the ſight whereof they diſſolved: many then calling to mind the Martyr his laſt words, were thereby confirmed in the opinion they had of his Piety and Holineſs.

A Tumult in the City. *Buchan. l.* 15.

Such was the end of this unfortunate man, who in his life was ambitious beyond meaſure, and in puniſhing of thoſe he eſteemed Hereticks more then inhumane. A barbarous part it was in him to ſit and behold the Martyring of Maſter *George Wiſhart*, taking pleaſure in that which no man could look on without pity. But the hatred he bare to the Truth, and the care he had to maintain his own Greatneſs, was ſuch and ſo exceſſive, as he did both forget himſelf and the place he held in the Church, and now doth remain a tragical enſample in Story, to admoniſh every man to keep within his bound, and hold that moderation which is fitting.

The Cardinal his Deſcription.

The rumour of this fact being quickly diſperſed through the Countrey, every man commended or condemned it as his paſſion led him. They who ſtood in awe of his power did highly commend the enterpriſe and praiſe the doers, and of that ſort divers came to congratulate the fact, offering to take one part with them. Others, who were more wiſe and moderate, though they diſliked not the fact, (as hoping to enjoy their profeſſion with greater liberty) did yet abhor the form and manner

How the fact was interpreted in the Countrey.

An. 1545. manner, judging it to be foully done, especially on the part of *Normand*, at whose hands he did not look for any harm. And indeed few or none of those who had an hand in that work escaped an extraordinary judgement; God thereby declaring, that howsoever it pleaseth him in the execution of his Judgments to use sometimes the ministery and service of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked disposition, and for most part faileth not to reward them with the same or the like that they do unto others.

A great stir in the Church by his occasion.

But in the Church a fearful uproar was raised upon this accident, the Priests and Friers exclaiming every where against the Murther, as the most odious, which in any memory had been committed. The Bishops running upon the Governour (who was no less troubled with the fact then themselves) desired some course might be taken for the speedy punishment of the Murtherers: but he following the course of Law, directed summons for their appearing to underlie trial, which they contemned, and were therefore denounced Rebels. The Ecclesiastick Judges, to be nothing behind for their parts, did solemnly curse the actors, and all that should receive or minister unto them any necessaries.

The Murtherers accursed.

The Governour's base brother elected Bishop.

41. Mean while the Governour did nominate his base brother for the place; who was elected by the Canons, and soon after confirmed by Pope *Paul* the Third. For he fearing the defection of the Realm from the obedience of the *Roman* See, as *England* had given the ensample, was glad to gratifie the Governour, and with the Bulls which were freely exped, wrote both to the Governour, and to the Bishop, that they should make their zeal appear in vindicating the injury done to the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Castle besieged, and supplied from *England*.

Upon the receipt of these Letters it was resolved to besiege the Castle, which beginning about the end of *August*, continued until the moneth of *January*; howbeit to small effect: for the passage by Sea, being open, they were supplied with all necessaries from *England* by King *Henry*, to whom they had obliged their faith by two several messages for defending the Castle, and maintaining the Contract with *England*: which the Governour fearing, he was induced to capitulate with the besieged, and yield unto the conditions following.

A Capitulation with the besieged.

1. That the Governour should procure unto them a sufficient Absolution from the Pope for the slaughter of the Cardinal, and till the same was returned, that they should retain the Castle, and not be pursued by force.

2. That they, their friends, servants and partakers, should simply be remitted by the Governour, and never be called in question for the said slaughter, but should enjoy all commodities spiritual and temporal which they possessed before the committing thereof.

3. That the besieged should give pledges for rendering the Castle how soon the Absolution was returned from *Rome*; and for surety of the pledges, but the Earl of *Arran*, eldest son to the Governour, should remain in their custody until the Absolution was returned, and they secured to their content.

The Governour sendeth to *France* for a supply.

The conditions were to the besieged more advantageous then honourable to the Governour, but neither the one nor the other intended performance: for the Governour at the same time sent a messenger to *France*, with Letters from the Queen *Dowager* and from himself, intreating a supply of Ships and Gallies, to batter the House on that part which looked towards the Sea, and debar the keepers of farther provision. They, on the other side, were resolved not to forsake King *Henry*'s protection, of whose assistance they were confident. The proceedings of the next Summer shall clear the intentions on either side; in the mean time let us hear how the affairs of Religion went the rest of this Winter.

Divers joyned with those within the Castle.

Divers, as we touched before, upon the news of the Cardinal's death, came and joyned with those that had killed him, especially Master *Henry Balnaves*, the *Melvils* of the house of *Raith*, and some Gentlemen of *Fife*, to the number of fevenscore persons, who all entered into the Castle the day after the slaughter, and abode there during the time of the first siege. *John Rough*, he that had attended the Governour as Chaplain in the beginning of his Regiment, came also thither, and became their Preacher.

John Rough and *John Knox* preach to the besieged.

After

After him came *John Knox*, but not till the ſiege was raiſed, and the appointment made whereof we have ſpoken. The adverſaries of Religion, taking advantage of this, did caſt in the teeth of both the Preachers and Profeſſors the murther committed, as though they did all approve the ſame; and Biſhop *Leſley* in his Chronicle ſpeaking of *John Knox* ſaith, that *He did think to attain to the top of Evangelical profeſſion, by triumphing that way upon the ſlaughter of a Prieſt and Cardinal.* I deny not but this his doing was ſcarce allowable, and that it had been a wiſer part in him not to have gone towards them at all; yet ſince he did neither accompany them at the fact, nor came unto them till the conditions of Peace were granted, his guiltineſs was not ſuch as they make it to be: neither will I ſay that he was grieved at the Cardinal's death, but rather glad that ſuch an enemy was taken out of the way; but that he did inſult upon his death, or allow the manner of it, cannot be truly affirmed. As to that which is objected, forth of the Narration made of this accident in the Book intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland*, where the Author ſeemeth indeed to commend the fact: though that Hiſtory be aſcribed to *John Knox*, it is ſure that he did not pen the ſame, as I ſhall make clear in another place. *An.* 1545.

John Rough preaching in the City is oppugned by the Clergy.

How ſoon the Governour was gone, *John Rough* did openly preach in the Pariſh Church, and was much haunted by the people; at which the Clergy offending, a great ſtir was raiſed. Dean *John Anand* oppugning his Doctrine both by word and writing, *John Knox* did take on him to maintain the ſame: and the matter being brought to a Diſpute, after long reaſoning upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, *John Knox* did offer to prove, "That the preſent Church of *Rome* was "more degenerate from the Purity which it had in the days of the Apoſtles, then "was the Church of the Jews from the Ordinances given by *Moſes* when they con- "ſented to the death of our Saviour.

John Knox maintained his Doctrine in a Sermon.

Such as were preſent at the reaſoning having requeſted *John Knox* to make good what he had ſpoken, he took occaſion the Sunday following to preach in the Pariſh-Church, chuſing for his Theme the 24 and 25 verſes of the ſeventh Chapter of *Daniel*. In the Sermon, after he had ſpoken of "the care that God had al- "ways of his Church, to forewarn her of the dangers that were to happen many "years before the ſame fel out; & illuſtrated that point by the Predictions of *Iſrael*'s "Captivity, the propheſie of the Four Empires, namely the *Babylonian*, *Perſian*, *Gre-* "*cian*, and *Roman*, and foretelling of the Beaſt that ſhould ariſe out of the deſtru- "ction of the Roman Empire; he ſaid that by that Beaſt the Church of *Rome* was to "be underſtood, in regard all the marks aſſigned by *Daniel* did pertain to that "Church, and to no other power which ever was in the world. Then falling to "ſpeak of Antichriſt, he ſhewed that there was not any one Perſon meant by that "title, but a Body and Multitude of people, having a wicked Head, that ſhould not "only be ſinful himſelf, but the occaſion alſo of ſin to all that ſhould be ſubject un- "to him. And that he was called Antichriſt, becauſe he was *contrary to Chriſt* in "life and doctrine, & in laws. The contrariety of Life he made clear by decypher- "ing the corrupt and beaſtly converſation both of the Popes themſelves and of "their Clergy. The contrariety of Doctrine he qualified by comparing the Do- "ctrine of the Juſtification by Faith, taught in the Scriptures, with the Doctrine of "Juſtification by Works, maintained by the Chucrh of *Rome*. And the contrariety "of Laws he proved by the obſervation of days, abſtaining from meats, and forbid- "ding of marriage, which Chriſt had made free. In end he came to ſpeak of the "Marks of the Beaſt. One he ſaid was in the Text, where it was ſaid, *He ſhall ſpeak* "*great words againſt the moſt High*; but what greater words ſaid he can be uttered "then to call the Pope the Vicar of Chriſt, the Succeſſour of *Peter*, the Head of the "univerſal Church, moſt Holy, moſt Bleſſed, one who cannot erre, that may make "right of wrong and wrong of right, that of nothing may make ſomewhat, that hath "all Verity incloſed in the ſhrine of his breaſt, that hath power over all men, no man "having power over him, and though he draw ten thouſand millions of Souls with "himſelf to Hell, that none may or ought to ſay that he doth wrong? which words "he ſhewed were expreſſed in the common Law, and could not be denied. Ano-

The ſubſtance of *John Knox* his Sermon.

An. 1545. "ther note more remarkable he adduced forth of S. *John* his Revelatinn, where it "is said that *the Babylonian Whore shall make merchandise of the Souls of men*; which "never any did of what profession soever they were, the Pope and his followers "excepted: for they (said he) take upon them to mitigate the pains of Souls in Pur- "gatory, and to release them by saying of Masses, selling of Pardons and Indul- "gences, which none besides them ever did: whereupon he inferred, that the "Church of *Rome* was quite degenerate from her first Purity, and that very Beast "foreshewed in the Scriptures, &c.

The Archbishop offended with the Sub-prior for permitting these Preachings.

At this Sermon Mr. *John Maior* the Sub-prior, a number of Canons and Friers of both Orders, with the whole University, were present; whom he appealed to answer his allegations, if they found any one of them not consonant to Truth. The Archbishop being advertised of this, wrote to the Sub-prior, saying, that he wondered how he could suffer such heretical and schismatical Doctrines to be taught, and not oppose himself thereto. Whereupon *John Rough* and *John Knox* were cited to answer unto certain Heads collected out of their Sermons, and set down as followeth.

The two Preachers convened before the Sub-prior.

1. That no mortal man can be the head of Christ's Church.
2. That the Pope is Antichrist, and so not a member of Christ's mystical Body.
3. That no man may make or devise a Religion that is acceptable to God, but that he is bound to observe and keep the Religion received from God, without chopping or changing the same.
4. That the Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministred as they were instituted by Christ *Jesus*, and practised by his Apostles, nor ought there any thing to be added unto them, nor diminished from them.
5. That the Masse is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of *Jesus* Christ, and a profanation to the Lord's Supper.
6. That there is no Purgatory, in the which the Souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life, Heaven being appointed for the faithful, and Hell for the reprobate and unfaithful.
7. That Prayer for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.
8. That Bishops are no Bishops, except they preach themselves without a Substitute.
9. That Tithes by God's Law do not appertain necessarily to Church-men.

John Knox his judgement of Tithes.

This last Article I would not omit, because it is alledged by those that penned the Story. Whether it was a point of *John Rough*'s preaching or not, I cannot say; but for *John Knox*, it is clear by his Sermons and writings still extant, that he held it a point of *high Sacrilege to rob and spoil the Church of Tithes*. It is true that many in these times, offending with the Extortion of Church-men, did hold that *Tithes belonged not to the Church by any Divine right*; and knowing that this Opinion would find easie passage among the people, as also serve to abridge the means and power of Church-men, they were the more ready to deliver such Doctrines: but this was done rather out of passion then judgement; for he that will not wilfully shut his eyes against the Truth, cannot but know that Tithes are the Lords, and the portion that he hath reserved for the maintenance of his worship and service. But to leave this.

John Knox his answer to the Sub-prior and Clergy.

The Sub-prior and others of the Clergy that convened with him having laid these Articles to their charge, *John Knox* answered, that for himself he was glad to declare his mind in those Points before so modest and judicious an Auditory; and turning to the Sub-prior, *It is a long time*, said he, *since I have heard that you are not ignorant of the Truth: Therefore I do appeal your Conscience before the Supreme Judge, that if you think the Articles wherewith we are charged contrarious to the Truth of God, that you plainly open your self, and suffer not the people to be deceived; but if in your Conscience you know them to be true and sound, then I will crave your patrocinie, that by your authority the people may be moved to embrace the Truth, whereof now many doubt because of your indifferency.* The Sub-prior answered, "That he came not there "to judge, but to confer of these Points, and would, if he pleased, reason a little "of the Power of the Church, which in my opinion (said he) may very lawfully

devise

"deviſe Rites and Ceremonies for decoring the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine ſervice. *John Knox* replying, *That no man in the worſhip of God might appoint any Ceremony, giving it a ſignification to his pleaſure;* One *Arbuthnet*, a gray Frier, reaſoned ſo hotly in the contrary, that, forgetting himſelf, he denied the Apoſtles to have received the Holy Ghoſt when they penned their Epiſtles. The Sub-prior checking the Frier, did after a little ſpace dimit the Preachers with a brotherly admonition, to take heed what Doctrine they delivered in publick. *An.* 1547.

When they were gone, ſuch of the Clergy as were preſent entred in conſultation what was fitteſt to be done for ſtaying the defection of the people; and in end reſolved, that every learned man of the Abbey and Univerſity ſhould preach in the Pariſh-Churches on Sundays, the Sub-prior beginning, the Officials following, and the reſt according to their ſeniority; eſchewing all of them to ſpeak of any controverted Point which might breed queſtion, and miniſter unto people occaſion of talk. *John Knox*, who by this mean was excluded from the Pulpit on the Sunday, preached on the week-days ſometimes, none daring to offer him any wrong, becauſe of the fear they ſtood in of them within the Caſtle. A conſultation of the Clergy, how to ſtay the defection of the people.

But *John Rough*, being grieved with the wicked & licentious living of the Souldiers and others in the Caſtle, took his leave of them and departed into *England*: preaching ſome years in the Towns of *Carlile*, *Berwick*, and *Newcaſtle*, he was afterwards provided to a Benefice by the Archbiſhop of *York*, nor far from the Town of *Hull*, and reſided upon it until the death of King *Edward* the Sixth. In the time of Queene *Marie's* Perſecution he fled with the wife that he had married into *Frieſland*, and won his living with the knitting of Caps, Hoſe, and ſuch like wares; and in *November* 1557. coming to *London* for providing ſome neceſſaries to maintain his trade, was apprehended by the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain at the *Saracen's* Head in *Iſlington*, where they who profeſſed Religion uſed quietly to meet. *John Rough*, forſaking thoſe in the Caſtle, goeth into *England*.

Being brought before *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and queſtioned if at any time ſince his laſt coming into *England* he had preached; he anſwered, *That he had not preached, but in ſome places where godly people were aſſembled; he did read the Prayers of the Communion-Book ſet forth in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth.* And being asked what his judgement was of the ſaid Book, he confeſſed, *That he did approve the ſame, as agreeing in all points with the Word of God.* The Biſhop uſed many perſwaſions to make him recant, and detained him ſome weeks in priſon, to try what he would do: but finding him reſolute and conſtant in his profeſſion, he brought him forth to be judged. Where (one *Morgan* a Biſhop of S. *Davids* aſſiſting) he was charged, firſt, *That being a Prieſt, and in Orders, he had married a Wife;* next, *That he refuſed to uſe the Latine Service;* and thirdly, *That he would not go to the Maſs.* To the firſt point he anſwered, *That Orders were not an impediment to Marriage, and that he had done lawfully in taking a Wife.* To the ſecond and third he ſaid, *If he were to live* Methuſelah's *days, he would neither uſe the Latine Service, nor be preſent at Maſs, which he counted abominable.* Upon theſe anſwers he was condemned, degraded, and put in the hands of the Secular Magiſtrate, who the next morning, being the 21. of *November*, cauſed him to be burnt in *Smithfield.* Thus ended that worthy Miniſter and Martyr of Chriſt, of whom I thought fit in this place to ſay ſo much, though his ſufferings fell out ſome years after. He is brought in queſtion, and examined by *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*. He ſuffered Martyrdom, and is burnt in *Smithfield*.

The Summer following, about the beginning of *June*, the Abſolution promiſed to thoſe of the Caſtle returned from *Rome*; whereupon the Keepers were required to render the Houſe, according to the Capitulation made. But they alledging the Abſolution not to be ſufficient, becauſe of ſome words contained in the Bull, wherein it was ſaid, *remittimus crimen irremiſſibile*, we remit a crime which cannot be remitted, refuſed to accept the ſame. It was anſwered that ſuch a clauſe was inſert only for aggravating the crime, and that the Abſolution was in it ſelf valid enough. But they would not be ſatisfied; and ſo complaining that promiſe was not kept with them, reſolved to ſtand to their defence. *An.* 1547. The Abſolution returned from *Rome*, doth not ſatisfy them.

In the end of the ſame moneth there arrived twenty one Gallies ſent from *France*, under the command of *Leon Strozius*, within ſight of the Caſtle. The Governor was at that time in the borders, and upon advertiſement of the Gallies arriving, The Caſtle of S. *Andrews* again beſieged at the coming of the *French* Gallies.

An. 1547. arriving, came with such diligence, as divers who belonged to Castle being in the City had no leisure to re-enter, and some who were gone thither for private business were forced to stay within. Shortly after his coming the siege was confirmed by sea and land, trenches cast, and the Cannons planted, some in the Abbey steeple, some in *S. Salvator's*, and some in the street that leads to the Castle.

The Castle besieged and battered by land and sea.

Then began the battery both by sea and land, but that of the sea did no great harm. The siege continuing all the moneth of *July*, upon the twenty nineth day in the South-quarter (on which the Cannon had played furiously that morning) a great breach was made: this terrifying the defendants, who to that time shewed great courage, expecting relief from *England*, (and indeed a naval Army was prepared to come, but King *Henry* dying about the same time it was stayed) beside the danger they apprehended of the breach, the Plague within the house was hot, & thereof every day a number died. So perceiving no help, and the sickness increasing, they came to a Capitulation, where it was agreed, that the lives of all within the Castle should be saved, the Principals transported unto *France*, and if they liked not to remain there, be conveighed upon the *French* King's charges to what countrey they pleased, *Scotland* excepted. Immediately the Castle was rendered to the *French* Captain, who sent his men to receive the prisoners, and make spoil of all that was in the House. They found of victuals great store, wherewith they furnished the Gallies. But the Cardinal's treasure and household-stuff, which was very pretious, pleased them better. All this with the wealth the defendants had (for they had brought all their substance thither) fell into the hands of the *French*. The fourth or fifth day after the Gallies put to sea, and about the midst of *August* arrived safe at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where some of the prisoners were incarcerated; others detained all the winter in the Gallies, especially *John Knox*, Mr. *James Balfour*, with his brothers *David* and *Gilbert*. The Castle, after the *French* were gone, was by act of Councel demolished: which some said was done to satisfie the Pope's law, that ordains *the places where Cardinals are slain to be ruinated*: but the true cause was, the fear the Governor had that *England* should take the House and fortifie it; as they did some others a short while after.

The Castle reduced upon capitulation.

The Castle demolished.

The Duke of *Somerset* invadeth *Scotland*.

This revenge taken of the Cardinal's death gave the Priests some satisfaction, who reckoned it a part of their happiness to be rid in this sort of *John Knox*, and others that they knew to be their enemies. But the Duke of *Somerset* entring with a strong Army into *Scotland*, in *September* next, put all in a new fear. The Governor sent Proclamations through the Countrey, charging all that could bear Arms to meet at *Edinburgh* for the defence of the Realm. Many of all sorts assembled, and with greater diligence then was expected, which made the Duke of *Somerset*, who was a Nobleman well inclined, and hated the shedding of bloud, to write unto the Governor and Nobility, intreating them to consider, "That both the "Armies consisted of Christian men, who above all things (if they were not for- "getful of their profession) ought to wish peace and quietness, and have in detesta- "tion war and unjust force; as likewise to remember that the cause of the pre- "sent Invasion did not proceed from covetousness or malice, but from the desire "of a perpetual Peace, which could not be so firmly made up by any mean as by "Marriage, which they knew was promised, and by the publick consent of the "whole Estates ratified, upon conditions more beneficial to the *Scots* then to "the *English*; insomuch that they were called not unto a servitude, but unto a "common fellowship, and a liberal communication of all their fortunes, which "could not but be more commodious to the *Scots* then to the *English*; the hope "of advantage and the fear of injuries being always greater then the party that is "more strong, to that which is the weaker. And for the business in hand, he de- "sired them to consider this especially, that seeing there was a necessity of giving "their Queen in marriage to some man, if they did either respect their profit or ho- "nor, they could not make a better choice then of a King their neighbor, born "in the same Isle, joyned in propinquity of bloud, instructed in the same Laws, "educated in the same manners and langurge, superior in riches and in all exter- "nal commodities and ornaments, and such a one as would bring with him a per-

His Letter to the Governor and Nobility.

petual

"petual Peace, together with the oblivion of ancient grudges and hatreds. For "ſhould they take a ſtranger to be their King, differing from themſelves in lan- "guage, manners and laws, great evils and diſcommodities could not but ariſe; "as they might know by that which had fallen out in the like caſe to other nations, "by whoſe enſample he wiſhed they ſhould be made wiſe. As for the part of *Eng-* "*land*, he ſaid, if they did find the minds of the *Scots* not eſtranged from Peace, they "would remit ſomewhat of their right, and be contented that the young Queen "ſhould be kept amongſt themſelves until ſhe were fit for Marriage, and might "chuſe a Husband to her ſelf bp advice of the Nobility; during which time all ho- "ſtility ſhould ceaſe betwixt the two Kingdoms; it being provided that the Queen "ſhould not be ſent to any forein Countrey, nor contracted in marriage with the "*French* King, nor any other Prince: which if the *Scots* would faithfully promiſe, "he would preſently return with his Army, and recompence all injuries done "ſince his coming into *Scotland*, at the ſight and eſtimation of honeſt men. *An.* 1548.

The Duke of *Somerſet's* Letters ſuppreſſed.

This Letter the Governour communicated to his brother, and to a few others on whoſe counſel he depended, ſuch as *George Dury* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Mr. *Archibald Beaton*, and Mr. *Hugh Rig* a Lawyer, who gave him advice to ſuppreſs the Letter: for they feared, if the offers were publiſhed, the greater part of the Nobility would embrace the ſame: and inſtead thereof they made a rumour to be diſperſed through the Army, that the *Engliſh* were come to take away the Queen by force, and bring the Kingdom into ſubjection. The Nobles and whole Army believing this to be the effect of the Letter, became mightily incenſed. Nor did any kithe ſo fooliſh as the Prieſts and Clergy-men, who, dreaming of nothing but Victory, cried out, that the *Engliſh* Hereticks had no ſpirits, and durſt not come to Battail. But they found themſelves deceived; for upon Saturday, the tenth of *September*, 1547. the Armies joyning, the *Scots* were put to the worſe, and many thouſands ſlain, few in the fight, (which laſted not long) but exceeding many in the chaſe. The *Engliſh* purſuing the Victory came forwards to *Leith*, where they remained eight days, dividing the ſpoil and priſoners; and in that time ſurpriſed the Iſles of *Inchkeith* and *Inchcolm* in the river of *Forth*, with *Broughtie* Caſtle in the mouth of *Tay*, which places they ſtrongly fortified. In their return homewards they took the Caſtle of *Home*, with the houſe of *Faſcaſtle*, and placed Garriſons in the Towns of *Haddington*, *Lawder*, and *Roxborough*. The Governour, the Biſhop his brother, and ſuch of the Nobles as eſcaped in the flight, went to *Striveling*, and there taking counſel what ſhould be done with the young Queen, concluded to ſend her to the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, under the cuſtody of the Lords *Areskin* and *Levingſton*, and to advertiſe the King of *France* how matters went, intreating of him a ſupply both of men and money.

The Battel of *Pinkie*.

The young Queen conveyed to *Dunbritton*.

Hereupon the next Summer arrived at *Leith* three thouſand *Germans* under the charge of Count *Rhingrave*, with as many *French* commanded by *Monſieur de Andelot*, *Monſieur de Mallery*, and *Monſieur d' Oſſel*, *Monſieur d' Eſſe* being General of the whole. This ſupply did ſo hearten the Governour, as gathering together an Army he beleaguered the Town of *Hadington*, which the *Engliſh* had at that time made very ſtrong. The Nobility being there convened entered of new into a conſultation touching the young Queen, and the courſe that ſhould be taken with her. The *French* General deſired ſhe ſhould be ſent into *France*, and eſpouſed to the *Daulphin*; which the Queen her Mother longed to have done. The Noblemen were not of one mind: for ſuch as favoured the Reformation were of opinion that the conditions offered by *England* (which were then come to light) ſhould be embraced, becauſe that would bring with it ten years of Peace at leaſt; in which time if either King *Edward* of *England* or the young Queen ſhould depart this life, all things would return to their firſt eſtate; and if no ſuch things happened, yet the Kingdom being at reſt, and freed of the preſent Troubles, would grow to ſome better eaſe within it ſelf, and they might more maturely adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be taken. "Delay, they ſaid, in matters of ſuch conſequence was ſafeſt, and that "precipitation might bring with it a ſuddain, but untimely, repentance. The reſt ſtood all for the *French*, moſt of them being corrupted with gold, and others with

An. 1548. The ſiege of *Haddington*.

A counſel taken for ſending the young Queen to *France*.

An. 1550. large promiſes. The Governour himſelf had an annuity promiſed of twelve thouſand francks, and a company of men at Arms to the Earl of *Arran* his ſon. All theſe pretending the ſafety of the young Queen, did reaſon that there was no other way to be rid of the *Engliſh* Wars but that one: For as long as the *Engliſh* have any hope, ſaid he, to ſpeed, they will ſtill be troubling; but when they ſhall ſee the Queen gone, and that there is no remedy, they will ceaſe from their purſuit. The greateſt number inclining that way, it was concluded that the young Queen ſhould be conveyed to *France*. Shortly after the *French* Navy that lay at *Leith*, giving out that they were to return home, compaſſing the North Iſles, received her at *Dunbritton*, and after much toſſing at ſea did ſafely land her in *France*.

An. 1550. The Wars with *England* in the mean time went on, and continued full two years, till by the Treaty of *Bulloign*, in the year 1550, a Peace was made, the Lord *Chaſtilion* being Commiſſioner for the *French*, the Earl of *Bedford* for the *Engliſh*, and *David Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs* for the *Scots*. At that time were *Normand Leſley*, M. *Henry Balnaves*, *John Knox* and others, who had been kept partly in priſon and partly in the Gallies ſince the taking of S. *Andrews* Caſtle, put to liberty. Mr. *James Balfour* had freed himſelf long before by abjuring his Profeſſion, and was become Official to the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*; *James Melvil* died in the Tower of *Breſt* in *Britain*; *William Kircaldie*, *Peter Carmichal*, with *Robert* and *William Leſley*'s, who were impriſoned in *Mont S. Michael*, found means to eſcape before the Treaty, and went into *England*. *Normand* after he was freed returned into *Scotland*, but fearing the Governour he went into *Denmark*; where not finding that kind reception he expected, he betook himſelf to *England*, and had an houourable penſion allowed him, which was thankfully anſwered during the life of King *Edward* the Sixth. Queen *Mary* ſucceeding, he found not the like favour, and thereupon went to *France*, where he had a company of men of Arms given him, with which he ſerved the *French* King in his Wars againſt the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and in purſuing the enemy whom he had in chaſe was wounded with the ſhot of a Piſtoll, whereof he died the day after at *Montreul*. He was a man of noble qualities, and full of courage, but falling unfortunately in the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, which he is ſaid at his dying to have ſore repented, he loſt himſelf and the expectation which was generally held of his worth.

Peace made with *England*.

The priſoners taken in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* put at liberty.

Normand Leſley his fortune and death.

The Countrey vexed with Juſtice Courts.

The Countrey, notwithſtanding the Peace made with *England*, was not in much better caſe; for the Governour, who was altogether ruled by the Biſhop his brother, going through the Countrey with Juſtice Courts, (as they call them) vexed the people mightily: and whereas during the War men enjoyed the liberty of their profeſſion, a new Perſecution was raiſed, which took the beginning at one *Adam Wallace*, a ſimple man, but very zealous in his Religion. He was taken at *Winton* in *Lothian* by the Biſhop's direction, and brought to his trial in the Church of Black Friers in *Edinburgh*; where, in preſence of the Governour, the Earl of *Argile*, great Juſtice of the Realm, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Glaincarne*, and divers others of the Nobility, he was accuſed, firſt, *of Uſuping the office of a Preacher, having no lawful calling thereto*; next, *of Baptizing one of his own children*; thirdly, *for denying Purgatory*; fourthly, *for maintaining that Prayers made to the Saints and for the dead were merely ſuperſtitious*; and fifthly, *for calling the Maſſe an idolatrous ſervice, and affirming that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, remained Bread and Wine.*

Adam Wallace accuſed of Hereſie.

His Anſwer.

To the firſt he anſwered, *That he never judged himſelf worthy of ſo excellent a vocation as is the calling of a Preacher, nor did he ever preſume to preach; only he confeſſed, that in ſome private places he did read a part of the Scripture at times, and make a ſhort exhortation thereupon to thoſe that would hear him.* It being replied that he ought not to have medled with the Scriptures; he ſaid, *That he eſteemed it the duty of every Chriſtian to ſeek the knowledge of God's Word, and the aſſurance of his own Salvation, which was not to be found but in the Scriptures.* One that ſtood by ſaying, What then ſhall be left to the Biſhops and Church-men to do, if every man ſhould be a babler upon the Bible? he anſwered, *It becomes you to ſpeak more reverently of God and of his bleſſed Word; and if the Judge did right, he would puniſh you for your Blaſphemy. But to*

Hiſtory of the Church.

your

your queſtion. I ſay, that albeit you and I and five thouſand mo would read the Bible, and confer together upon it, yet we leave more to the Biſhops to do then either they will do or can; for we leave to them the preaching of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and the feeding of the Flock which he hath redeemed by his own bloud, which is a burthen heavy enough; neither do we them any wrong in working out our own Salvation ſo far as we may. An. 1550.

To the ſecond he anſwered, *That it was as lawful for him to baptize his own childe, ſince he could not have a true Miniſter, as it was to* Abraham *to circumciſe* Iſmael *and his family.*

To the third and fourth heads more generally he ſaid, *That he never believed nor maintained any thing but that he found in the book hanging at his girdle;* which was the Bible in *French, Dutch,* and *Engliſh.* And being urged to be more particular, he anſwered, *That if he were diſpoſed to ſpeak of theſe matters, he would require a more upright and indifferent Judge.* The Earl of *Huntley* upon that ſaying he was a fool to deſire another Judge then the Governour and the Biſhops there preſent; he replied, *That the Biſhops could not be his Judges, becauſe they were open enemies to the Doctrine he profeſſed. And for the Governour, he doubted if he had the knowledge to diſcern lies from truth, and the inventions of men from the true worſhip of God. The Judge that he deſired,* he ſaid, *was the Book of God, by which if he ſhould be convinced to have taught, ſpoken, or done in matters of Religion any thing that was repugnant to the will of God, he would not refuſe to die; but if he tried innocent, and was found not to have ſpoken or done any thing contrary thereto, then he deſired the protection of the Governour and Nobility againſt the Tyranny of malicious men.*

Being enquired what he did think of the Maſſe, he ſaid, *That he had read the Bible in three languages, and had never found the word* Maſſe *in them all; and that the thing which was in greateſt eſtimation with men was nothing but abomination in the ſight of God.* Then did all the company cry out, *Hereſie, Hereſie, let him be condemned.* So the poor man was ſentenced to be an Heretick, and put in the hands of Sir *John Campbel* of *Lundie,* Juſtice-deputy, who having adjudged him to die, ſent him back to priſon, becauſe the night was coming on. All that night he ſpent in ſinging of Pſalms, which he had learned by heart, and the next day was led forth to the fire, which was prepared on the Caſtle-hill, being inhibited to ſpeak unto the people; yet when he came to the place of execution he intreated the beholders, *Not to offend with the Truth becauſe of his ſufferings,* ſaying, *The diſciple is not above his Maſter:* and as he was proceeding, the Provoſt of the Town, who had the overſight of the execution, did interrupt him, ſaying, that he would not be permitted to ſpeak to the people; whereupon having in ſome few words commended his Soul to God, he took his death moſt patiently. Acts of Martyrs.

The ſame year there aroſe a great contention amongſt the Churchmen for ſaying the *Pater noſter,* upon this occaſion. One *Richard Marſhal,* Prior of the Black Friers at *Newcaſtle* in *England,* had been in S. *Andrews,* and in one of his Sermons taught, that the *Pater noſter ſhould be ſaid unto God only, and not unto the Saints.* Some Doctors of the Univerſity taking exception againſt his Doctrine, ſtirred up a Gray Frier called Frier *Tottis* to confute him, and prove that the *Pater noſter* might be ſaid unto the Saints. The Frier, an audacious and ignorant fellow, took the matter in hand, and reading his Text out of the 5. of S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for unto them belongeth the kingdom of Heaven,* gathered upon it, "that the "*Pater noſter* might be ſaid to *Saints,* becauſe all the Petitions in the Prayer, ſaid he, "appertain to the Saints. For if we meet an old man in the ſtreet, we will ſay, *Good* "*morrow, Father*; much more in our prayers may we call the Saints *our Fathers.* "And ſeeing we grant they are *in Heaven,* we may ſay to every one of them, *Our Fa-* "*ther, which art in Heaven.* Then we know, ſaid he, God hath made their *names holy*; "ſo we may ſay to any of the Saints, *Hallowed be thy name.* And as they are in the "*Kingdom* of Heaven, ſo that *Kingdom* is theirs by poſſeſſion; therefore when we "pray for the *Kingdom* of Heaven, we may ſay to any of them, *Thy kingdome come.* In "like manner, except their *will* had been the *will* of God, they had never come to "that Kingdom; therefore ſeeing their *will* is God's *will,* we may ſay to every one of "them, *Thy will be done.* But when he came to the fourth Petition, he was much troubled

A contention among Church-men for ſaying of *Pater noſter.*

The fooliſh preaching of a Frier in S. *Andrews* upon this ſubject.

An. 1553. troubled to find a colour for it, confeſſing "it was not in the Saints power to *give* "*us daily bread*; yet they may pray, ſaid he, to God for us, that he will *give us our dai-* "*bread.* The like gloſs he made upon the reſt of the Petitions, but with ſo little ſatisfaction of the hearers, as they all fell a-laughing, and the children meeting him in the ſtreets did cry and call him *Frier Pater noſter*; whereof he grew ſo aſhamed, that he left the City.

Acts of Martyrs, p. 1274. Yet in the Univerſity the contention ceaſed not; whereupon the Doctors did aſſemble to diſpute, and decide the queſtion. In that meeting ſome held that the *Pater noſter* was ſaid to God *Formaliter*, and to Saints *Materialiter*; others, not liking the diſtinction, ſaid that the *Pater noſter* ought to be ſaid to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minùs Principaliter*; others would have it *Ultimatè & non Ultimatè*; others *Primariò, & Secundariò*; and ſome (wherewith the moſt voices went) ſaid that the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God, *capiendo Strictè*, and to Saints, *capiendo Largè*. Yet did they not ſettle upon the diſtinction; and after divers meetings, when they could not agree by common conſent, the deciſion was remitted to the Provincial Synod, which was to meet at *Edinburgh* in *January* following. A ſimple fellow that ſerved the Sub-prior in his chamber for the time, thinking there was ſome great matter in hand that made the Doctors to convene ſo often, asked him one night as he went to bed, what the matter was. The Sub-prior merrily anſwering, *Tom*, (that was the fellow's name) *we cannot agree whom to the Pater noſter ſhould be ſaid.* He ſuddainly replied, *Sir, whom to ſhould it be ſaid but unto God?* Then ſaid the Sub-prior, *What ſhall we do with the Saints?* He anſwered, *Give them Ave's and Creeds enow in the Devil's name, for that may ſuffice them.* This anſwer going abroad, many ſaid, *He hath given a wiſer deciſion then all the Doctors had done with their diſtinctions.*

A pleaſant diſcourſe and jeſt of the Sub-prior's ſervant.

The Deciſion of the Provincial Synod. When the Synod convened, the queſtion was again agitated, and after much reaſoning, the ſame being put to voices, it was found that the *Pater noſter might be ſaid unto the Saints.* But the Biſhops and ſuch as had any judgement would not ſuffer the concluſion to be enacted, ordaining the Sub-prior at his return to S. *Andrews*, for ſetling the minds of people, to ſhew that the *Pater noſter ought to be ſaid to God, yet ſo that the Saints ought alſo to be invocated.* And thus ended that contention.

The Catechiſm called The two-penny Faith. In this meeting order was taken for publiſhing an *Engliſh* Catechiſm, containing a ſhort explanation of the Commandments, Belief, and Lord's Prayer; and the Curates enjoyned to read a part thereof every Sunday and Holy-day to the people, when there was no Sermon. This being imprinted, was ſold for two pence, and therefore called by the vulgar *The two-penny Faith.*

A Provincial Synod kept at *Linlithgow*. The year following another Provincial Council was kept at *Linlithgow*, in which the maintainers of any Opinions contrary to the Church of *Rome* were accuſed, and the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* made in the time of Pope *Paul* the Third received. Some Acts were made for reforming corrupt lives of the Clergy, but little or no execution followed; they to whom the correction belonged being themſelves in the higheſt meaſure faulty and culpable.

An. 1553. King *Edward* the Sixth of *England* dieth. But the next year brought with it an alteration in both Kingdoms, to the Clergie's great content: For in *England* King *Edward* the Sixth departed this life, a Prince of rare Piety, and the ſpecial comfort of thoſe who profeſſed the Reformed Religion; in whoſe place Queen *Mary* ſucceeded, one wholly devoted to the Pope and his faction: And at home the Governour was induced by *Robert Carnegie* (on whom he relied much) and by *Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs* to dimit the Regencie to the Queen-mother, of whom the Clergy held themſelves more aſſured. She following the directions of her brother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſet her ſelf to maintain Popiſh Superſtition at the uttermoſt, uſing leſs cruelty then did Queen *Mary*, but more policy, and to the ſame end. So as now the fear of change in Religion was gone, and the hopes quite daſht of thoſe that ſought Reformation: yet the Lord by his Providence did otherwiſe diſpoſe things, and made that a mean to advance Religion amongſt us which men thought ſhould be utterly extinguiſhed; for ſome of thoſe that fled from Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution taking their refuge unto this Kingdom, did not only help to keep in the Light which was begun

Queen-Regent admitted to rule by dimiſſion of the Governour.

to

to ſhine, but made the Sun break up more clear then before. *An.* 1554.

William Harlow, a man of ſimple and mean condition, came firſt into the Countrey. He had ſerved ſome years in the *Engliſh* Church with good approbation; and was at this time very comfortable to the faithful. *William Harlow* a Miniſter.

After him came *John Willock* a *Franciſcan* ſometime in the Town of *Aire*, who for love of Religion had left the countrey, and lived in *England*. When the Perſecution aroſe there, he fled into *Embden* in *Frieſland*, where he profeſſed Medicine, and by that occaſion was made known to *Anna* Counteſs of *Frieſland*, then a widow, who imployed him in a Commiſſion to the Queen-Regent in the year 1554. His Commiſſion giving him ſome liberty, he kept moſt company with thoſe he ſaw well-affected in Religion; and during the time of his aboad was a great encourager of the Profeſſors. Returning the next year with commendatory Letters from the ſame Counteſs to the Queen-Regent, he made his ſtay in *Edinburgh*, where, notwithſtanding he was viſited with an heavy ſickneſs for divers moneths, he ceaſed not daily to inſtruct and exhort ſuch as came unto him, who were neither few, nor of meaner ſort. *John Willock* a Convert. *An.* 1554.

In the end of the year *John Knox* came into *Scotland*, to whom many of good note repaired; for he taught dayly in the houſe of one *James Sim* at *Edinburgh*, where he was ſecretly kept. In his teaching he laboured chiefly to inform his hearers, that in no caſe it was lawful to be preſent at the Maſs, or to partake of the Papiſtical Sacraments. *William Maitland* younger of *Lethington*, a man of good learning and utterance reſorting often to his Sermons, and perceiving his vehemency in that Point, took occaſion one day in the preſence of his Auditors to ſay, "That he did "not think his Doctrine well-grounded, and that wiſe men ought to ſerve the time, "and not expoſe their lives to unneceſſary dangers, and ſo make themſelves un- "profitable to the Church. For even the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, ſaid he, to eſchew the "tumult of the people at *Jeruſalem*, went into the Temple, and purified himſelf "with four men that had a vow upon them, which otherwiſe then for eſchewing "the preſent danger he would not have done. To this *John Knox* anſwered, *That men ought ſo to ſerve the time, as they neglect not their obedience unto God, whoſe Commandment, how great ſoever the danger be, may not be tranſgreſſed. For the enſample alledged*, he ſaid, *the diſſimilitude was great, ſeeing to go into the Temple to purifie and pay vows was ſometimes commanded by God himſelf, whereas the Maſs from the firſt invention of it was abominable Idolatry, and never allowed of God.* Farther he ſaid, *that it might juſtly be doubted if either* S. Paul's *fact, or the advice that* S. James *and the Elders of* Jeruſalem *gave him, had any good warrant, ſeeing the event proved not ſuch as they did promiſe to themſelves;* for S. Paul *was ſo far from purchaſing thereby the favour of the* Jews, *as to the contrary they riſing in a tumult threw him forth of the Temple, and had almoſt killed him; ſo as it ſeemed God did not allow his doing, for that it ſerved to confirm the obſtinate* Jews *in their ſuperſtition.* By theſe and the like anſwers to the reſt of the allegations propounded, the hearers were ſo ſatisfied, as they reſolved to go no more to Maſs, but to make an open ſeparation, whoſe enſample divers others both of the Town and Countrey followed. *John Knox* returneth into *Scotland*. *John Knox* his conference with young *Lethington*, touching the preſence at the Maſs.

This being obſerved by the Prieſts and others of the inferior Clergy, they complained to the Biſhops, and ſhewed how the Church-ſervice was contemned, and people drawn away to private Conventicles. The Biſhops meaning the caſe to the Queen-Regent, ſhe was much commoved; yet adviſed them to uſe their own authority, and ſpare her for a little time, leſt the Articles of the Marriage which was then treating betwixt her daughter and the *Daulphin* of *France* might receive ſome croſs at the Convention of the Eſtates. Hereupon they took counſel to call *John Knox*, and ſummoned him to appear in the Church of Black Friers at *Edinburgh* the fifteenth of *May*. But when the day came, they took a new device, and deſerted the Diet, pretending ſome informality in the Summons; howbeit the true cauſe was, that a number of Barons and Gentlemen were come to the Town to aſſiſt him. After that time his Preaching grew publick, and was more frequented then before. The Earls of *Glencarn* and *Marſhall* repaired daily thereto, and were ſo taken with his Sermons, as they did counſel him to write unto the Queen-Regent, The Prieſts offended at the diſhant of the Maſs. *John Knox* cited, and the Diet deſerted.

and

An. 1556. and intreat her to make a Reformation of the Church; which he did. The Letter was delivered by the Earl of *Glencarne*; but she calling it a Pasquil, gave the same to the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and made no more accompt thereof. This is that Letter which was afterwards published in Print, and intituled, *A Letter to Queen Dowager.*

He goeth to *Geneva.*

Letters about the same time were brought to *John Knox* from the *English* Church at *Geneva*, declaring that they had elected him to be their Preacher, and requesting him to come and accept the Charge. This Letter he communicated with those that were his ordinary auditors; and when he saw them exceedingly grieved for his departing, gave his promise to return, how soon they should find it fit to recal him.

He is condemned as an Heretick, and burnt *in effigie.*

Soon after he took leave of them and went to his journey; but was not well gone, when upon a new Citation directed by the Clergy (because he appeared not) he was condemned for an Heretick, and burnt *in effigie* at the Mercat-cross of *Edinburgh.* This was done in the moneth of *July*, 1556. The copy of the Sentence being sent unto him, he published an Apology, intituling it *An Appellation from the Clergy to the Nobility and Commons of* Scotland.

An. 1556. Divers prodigious signes.

This year many prodigious signs were observed: A Comet of that kind which the Astronomers call πωγωνίαι, the vulgars a firie Bissome, shined the whole moneths of *November*, *December*, and *January*; great Rivers in the middest of Winter dried up, and in the Summer swelled so high as divers Villages were therewith drowned, and numbers of Cattel feeding in the valley-grounds carried to the sea; Whales of a huge greatness were cast out into sundry parts of the River of *Forth*; Hailstones of the bigness of a Dove's egge falling in many parts destroyed abundance of Cornes; and, which was most terrible, a firie Dragon was seen to flie low upon the earth, vomiting forth fire both in the day and night season, which lasted a long time, and put the people to a necessity of watching their houses and corn-yards. These direful signes (as every man is led by his fancy to presage) were taken by some to be prognosticks of great Troubles that should ensue upon the Match with *France*; others said that thereby was signified some great change in the estate of the Church.

The esteem of the Clergy decayeth.

And indeed after this the estimation of the Clergy dayly diminished, and divers of that number relinquishing their Order, made open profession of the Truth. Mr. *John Dowglas*, a *Carmelite* Frier, forsaking his Order, became a Chaplain to the Earl of *Argile*, who resided then at Court, and spoke openly in his Sermons against Popish Superstitions. In *Dundy*, *Paul Methven* did publickly exhort the people to renounce the Doctrine of *Rome*, and submit themselves to the Doctrine of Christ. And in all the parts of the Countrey some were daily breaking forth, especially from the Cloisters, and declaiming against the Corruptions of the Church. The Bishops perceiving it would be to no purpose to convene the Preachers before themselves for Heresie, moved the Queen-Regent to call them before the Council for raising Mutinies, and stiring up people to Sedition, hoping that way at least to restrain their publick teaching: but at the day appointed for their appearance, such numbers of people did accompany them, as it was held safest not to call them till the multitude was dispersed; and for that effect a Proclamation was given out, charging all persons that were come to the Town without licence of the Authority to repair immediately to the Borders, and attend the Lieutenant in the service against *England* for the space of 15. dayes.

Mr. *John Dowglas* a *Carmelite* forsaketh his Order.

The Preachers cited before the Council.

A Proclamation for the Borders.

The Gentlemen of the West complain of their oppression.

The Gentlemen of the West-countrey, who were but lately returned from the same service, esteeming this a sort of oppression, went in a tumult to the Palace, and entering the Queen's Privy-chamber, complained of the unreasonable Proclamation that was sent forth. The Queen began to excuse the matter, and shew the necessity of their attendance for some short time; but they would not be satisfied. And one *James Chalmers* of *Gaitgirth*, a froward and furious man, steping forward, said, *We know, Madam, that this is the device of the Bishops who stand by you; we avow to God it shall not go so: they oppress us and our poor tenants for feeding their idle bellies, they trouble our Preachers, and seek to undo them and us all; we will not suffer it any*

longer.

longer. And with thoſe words every man made to his weapon. The Queen being extremely feared gave him many good words, praying them to uſe no violence, and ſaying that ſhe meant no ill to their Preachers; that ſhe would hear the controverſie betwixt the Biſhops and them; and that the preſent Diet with the Proclamation given out ſhould be diſcharged. So the force ceaſed, and all was quiet for that time. *An.* 1558.

Not long after there arrived a meſſenger from the *French* King with Letters to the Nobility, deſiring that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated betwixt the young Queen and the *Daulphin* his Son, and that certain Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to aſſiſt the ſolemnity. A Convention of Eſtates being called to this purpoſe in *December* following, choice was made of eight perſons to go in that journey. For the Spiritual Eſtate were named *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and *James Stewart* Prior of S. *Andrews*, baſe brother to the young Queen; For the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, *George Leſley* Earl of *Rothes*, and *James* Lord *Fleming*; for the Burrows, *George* Lord *Seaton* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* Provoſt of *Montroſſe*. Commiſſioners choſen for the young Queens marriage with the *Daulphin*.

The great Diſaſters that happened both in their going and returning brought many to think the Marriage would not prove happy and proſperous. For having ſhipped to *Leith* in the moneth of *February*, they were diſperſed by a mighty tempeſt, and one of their veſſels that carried their horſes caſt away at S. *Ebbes* head, before they left the *Scottiſh* ſhore; another, wherein the Earl of *Rothes* and Biſhop of *Orkney* ſailed, with all the furniture for the Marriage, (which was very rich and coſtly) periſhed upon the coaſt of *France*, nigh unto *Bulloign*, the Earl and Biſhop hardly eſcaping by the ſhip-boat, which carried them to land. Neither had they any better fortune in their return homewards; for at *Diep* divers of the chief perſons fell ſick and died. The Biſhop of *Orkney*, a man of ſingular wiſdom and experience, (who in his time had performed many honourable Ambaſſages to the credit and benefit of his Countrey) ended there his life the 14 of *September*, 1558. The Earl of *Rothes* died two days after him, and the Earl of *Caſſils*, Theſaurer of the Realm, a vertuous Nobleman, went the ſame way. The Lord *Fleming*, a brave young Nobleman, returned to *Paris*, ſuſpecting ſome contagion, and deceaſed in *December* following. Theſe deaths falling out ſo ſuddenly together, bred a ſuſpicion in many that they were made away by poyſon: which was the rather believed, becauſe the *French* King was known to be diſpleaſed for their refuſe of the matrimonial Crown to his Son. However it was, the apprehenſion taken therefore begat a great hatred of the *French* among the people of this Realm. The Misfortunes that happened in that voyage. *An.* 1558.

In the moneth of *April*, *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Prieſt, having ceaſed from ſaying of Maſſe, became ſuſpected, and was upon the ſame apprehended in *Dyſert* by Sir *George Strachen* and Sir *Hugh Torry*, two of the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* Prieſts: He was kept in the Caſtle, and earneſtly laboured to recant and acknowledge his Errors; but continuing firm and conſtant in his Opinions, his trial at laſt made, he was accuſed in preſence of the Biſhops of S. *Andrews*, *Murray*, *Brichen*, *Cathnes*, and *Athens*; the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Lundors*, *Balmerinoth*, and *Couper*; Dean *John Winrame*, Sub-prior, *John Griſon*, a black Frier, Mr. *William Cranſton*, Provoſt of the old Colledge, and divers other Doctors of the Univerſity. When he came into the Church, and was led to the place where they had appointed him to ſtand, he looked ſo feeble, partly by age and travel, partly by ill entertainment, as it was feared none ſhould hear what he anſwered. Yet how ſoon he began to ſpeak, he delivered his mind with ſuch quietneſs and courage as amazed his very enemies. The Hiſtory of *Walter Mill* Martyr.

Sir *Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Archbiſhop's Prieſts, commanding him to ariſe (for he was upon his knees) and anſwer to the Articles, ſaid, *Sir* Walter Mill, *get up and anſwer, for you keep my Lord here too long.* He nottheleſs continued his devotion, and that done he aroſe, and ſaid, *he ought to obey God more then man; I ſerve a mightier Lord then your Lord is. And where you call me* Sir Walter, *they call me* Walter, *and not* Sir Walter: *I have been too long one of the* Pope's Knights. *Now ſay what you have to ſay.* His Examination.

Oliphant

An. 1558. *Oliphant* then began with this queſtion, *What thinkeſt thou of Prieſts Marriage?* He anſwered, *I eſteem it a bleſſed bond, ordained by God, approved by Chriſt, and made free to all ſorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens wives and daughters; you vow Chaſtity, and keep it not.*

Oliphant proceeding ſaid, *Thou ſayeſt that there is not ſeven Sacraments.* He anſwered, *Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, and take you the reſt and part them amongſt you.*

Oliph. *Thou ſayeſt that the Maſſe is Idolatry.* He anſwered, *A Lord ſendeth and calleth many to his Dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the Bell, and they come into the Hall, but he turning his back upon the gueſts eateth all himſelf, giving them no part; and ſo do you.*

Oliph. *Thou denieſt the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Chriſt really in fleſh and bloud.* He anſwered, *The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but ſpiritually; and your Maſſe is wrong: for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſs for mans ſin, and will never be again, for then he put end to all ſacrifices.*

Oliph. *Thou denieſt the office of the Biſhop.* He anſwered, *I affirm they whom you call Biſhops do not Biſhops works, nor uſe the Offices of Biſhops, but live after their own ſenſual pleaſures, taking no care for the Flock, nor yet regarding the word of God.*

Oliph. *Thou ſpeakeſt againſt Pilgrimage, and calleſt it a Pilgrimage to Whoredome.* He anſwered, *I ſay that Pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater Whoredom in any place then at your Pilgrimages, except it be in the common Brothels.*

Oliph. *Thou preacheſt privately in houſes, and ſometimes in the fields.* He anſwered, *Yea man, and upon the ſea too, when I am ſailing.*

Oliph. *If thou wilt not recant thy Opinions, I will pronounce Sentence againſt thee.* He anſwered, *I know I muſt die once, therefore, as Chriſt ſaid to* Judas, Quod facis fac citò; *you ſhall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am corn, and no chaffe; I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burſt with the flail, but will abide both.*

Theſe anſwers he gave with a great boldneſs, to the admiration of all that were preſent.

Sentence pronounced againſt *Walter Mill.*

Then did *Oliphant* pronounce Sentence, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal Judge, and burnt as an Heretick. But becauſe no man could be found to ſupply the place of a Judge, (for *Patrick Lermonth* Bailiffe of the Regalty did abſolutely refuſe) nor in the whole City ſo much as a cord to be had for money to tye him after he ſhould be condemned, his life for one day was prolonged. The next morning one of the Archbiſhops's domeſticks, called *Alexander Somervaile*, a wicked and flagitious man, ſupplying the place of the temporal Judge, condemned him to the fire; and becauſe no cords could be had, the ropes of the Archbiſhops Pavilion were taken to ſerve the purpoſe.

The Bailiffe of the Regality refuſeth to be Judge.

His conſtancy at his Suffering.

As the time of his ſuffering drew near, his conſtancy and courage ſtill encreaſed; for being conveyed to the fire with a number of armed men, when he was come to the place, and the Prieſt *Oliphant* did command him to go to the ſtake, he ſaid, *No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand; for by the Law of God I am forbidden to put hands in my ſelf; but wilt thou put to thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me go up gladly.* Then *Oliphant* putting him forward, he went up with a chearful countenance, ſaying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*; and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak to the people. *Oliphant* and the Executioners ſaid, that he had ſpoken too much, and that the Biſhops were offended with the delay. Yet ſome youths that ſtood by willed him to ſpeak what he pleaſed, giving the Executioners and Biſhops both to the Devil. So after he had made his Prayer upon his knees he aroſe, and ſtanding upon the coals, ſpake to the people a few words to this effect. "Dear "friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, "though I acknowledge my ſelf a miſerable ſinner before God; but only for the "defence of *Jeſus* Chriſt, ſet forth in the Old and New Teſtaments: for which as "many faithful Martyrs have offered their lives moſt gladly, being aſſured after "their death to enjoy endleſs felicity; ſo this day I praiſe God that he hath called "me of his mercy amongſt the reſt of his Servants, to ſeal up his Truth with my "life,

"life, which as I have received of him, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. There- *An.* 1558.
"fore, as you would eſcape eternal death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of the
"Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the ſect of An-
"tichriſt; but depend only upon *Jeſus* Chriſt and his mercy, that you may be de-
"livered from condemnation.

The multitude that look'd on made a great lamentation, for they were exceedingly moved with his words. When the fire was kindled and began to flame, he cried, *Lord, have mercy on me; pray, good people, whileſt there is time*; and thus departed, ſhewing a wonderful courage and reſolution of ſpirit. The Citizens took his death ſo grievouſly, that, leſt it ſhould be forgotten, they made up a great Heap of ſtones in the place where his body was burnt; and when the Prieſts had cauſed the Heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing ſuch as ſhould bring any ſtones thither accurſed, ſtill it was renewed, until watches were appointed to ſee who they were that brought any ſtones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them. The Epitaph made upon him is worthy the inſerting. The people exceedingly moved at his ſpeeches.

Non noſtra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armârunt hoſtes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Chriſti, ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, & mihi cauſa necis. His Epitaph.

This man was the laſt Martyr that died in *Scotland* for Religion, and his death the very death of Popery in this Realm; for thereby the minds of men were ſo greatly enraged, as reſolving thereafter openly to profeſs the Truth, they did bind themſelves by promiſe and ſubſcription to oaths, if any ſhould be called in queſtion for matters of Religion at any time after, they ſhould take up Arms, and join in defence of their brethren againſt the tyrannous Perſecution of the Biſhops. His death, the death of Popery in this Kingdom.

The work of Reformation did hereupon take a beginning, the Story whereof before I ſet down, (after I have remembred ſome worthy perſons that lived in thoſe times) I will add the Catalogue of our Biſhops in the reſt of the Sees of this Kingdom, ſo far as I have been enformed or learned by diligent ſearch. The worthy men that lived in this time.

Sir *David Lindeſay* of *Mont* ſhall firſt be named, a man honourably deſcended, and greatly favoured by King *James* the Fifth. Beſides his knowledge and deep judgement in Heraldry, (whereof he was the chief) and in other publick affairs, he was moſt religiouſly inclined; but much hated by the Clergy, for the liberty he uſed in condemning the Superſtition of the Time, and rebuking their looſe and diſſolute lives. Nottheleſs he went unchallenged, and was not brought in queſtion; which ſhewed the good account wherein he was held. Divers Poeſies he wrote in his mother tongue, which gave evidence of his quickneſs of wit, and the knowledge he had in Hiſtories. In the beginning of the Governour's Regency he did attend him, till the Governour miſled by ill counſel made his authority ſubject to the Cardinal. After that time he lived for the moſt part private, and died in a good age, the Queen Regent having the adminiſtration of affairs. Sir *David Lindeſay* of the *Mont*.

Next to him ſhall be remembred Mr. *Patrick Cockburn*, a Gentleman of the houſe of *Langton* in the *Merſs*. This man having attained by his ſtudies to great learning, lived a long time in the Univerſity of *Paris* well eſteemed. What courſe he took afterwards I know not, nor where he died; but by the Treatiſes yet extant that he wrote, it appeareth that he was a man of good Learning, and a favourer of the Truth. Mr. *Patrick Cockburn*.

The third ſhall be *John Mackbrair*, a Gentleman of *Galloway*, who forſaking the Countrey for Religion, became a Preacher in the *Engliſh* Church: in the time of Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution he fled to *Frankford*, and ſerved the *Engliſh* Congregation as Miniſter. Afterwards called by ſome occaſion to the charge of a Church in the lower *Germany*, he continued there the reſt of his days. Some Homilies he left upon the Prophecie of *Hoſea*, and an Hiſtory of the beginning and progreſs of the *Engliſh* Church. *John Mackbrair*.

To theſe I ſhall add our Countreyman *Robert Wachop*, though he lived and died *Robert Wachop* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*.

An. 1130. an adverſary to the Truth, ſeeing by his vertue and learning he purchaſed both credit and dignity in forein parts; and, which almoſt exceedeth belief, being blind from his very birth, only by learning the leſſons and conferences of learned men; he grew to ſuch knowledge, as in the Univerſity of *Paris* none of the Doctors was held more learned, nor had a more frequent auditory. Being afterward promoved to the Archbiſhoprick of *Armach* in *Ireland*, he was employed in divers Legations to the Emperour and King of *France* by Pope *Paul* the Third, which he diſcharged with ſuch prudence, as he came to be greatly eſteemed with all the Princes to whom he was known. At laſt in his return homewards from *Rome*, in the year 1551, he died at *Paris*, much lamented of all that Univerſity.

Coming now to ſet down the Catalogue of Biſhops in the reſt of the Sees, I ſhall keep the order of the Provinces, and begin with *Dunkeld*, the Biſhop whereof hath hitherto been reckoned in the firſt place.

The Biſhops of DUNKELD.

Dunkeld erected to be a Biſhoprick.

In the City of *Dunkeld* there was of old an Abbey founded by *Conſtantine* the Third King of *Picts*, about the year 729, to the memory of S. *Columbe*, in which the *Culdees* were placed. King *David*, in the year 1130, did erect it to be a Biſhop's See; and recommending one *Gregorius* to the place, obtained Pope *Alexander* the Third his confirmation thereof. He ſate 42 years, and was much favoured by that good King. The lands of *Anchtertaile*, with divers others appertaining to that See, were of King *David* his gift. This Biſhop died at *Dunkeld* in the year 1169.

The ſucceſſion of Biſhops in that See.

2. *Richard*, Chaplain to King *William*, was elected in his place, and conſecrated in S. *Andrews* upon the Vigils of S. *Laurence* by *Richard* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*. This Biſhop was commended for vindicating the Church of *Abercorne* forth of the hands of a laick perſon named *John Avonele*, who claimed the Patronage thereof. He ſate four years, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in S. *Colmes Inche* in the year 1173.

3. *Cormacus* ſucceeded in his place, to whom King *William* gave the lands of *Dalgathy*. He died in the year 1177.

4. In his place was choſen *Walter de Bidden*, who was Chancellour to King *William*; but he lived not many years.

5. *John Scot*, an *Engliſh-man* born, being Arch-deacon of S. *Andrews*, had been elected Biſhop of that See, but that his Election being withſtood by the King, as we ſhewed before, he was after *Bidden*'s death promoved by the Pope's conſent to *Dunkeld*; a man that made conſcience of his Charge, and was painful in his Office. The countrey of *Argile* was at that time of the Dioces of *Dunkeld*, the people whereof did only ſpeak *Iriſh*, and neither underſtood the Biſhop, nor he them. Upon this he travelled to have the Dioces divided, and *Argile* erected into an Epiſcopal See; and to that effect ſent a Letter to Pope *Clement* the Third, intreating that one *Evaldus* his Chaplain, who could ſpeak *Iriſh*, a wiſe and godly perſon, might have the charge of that part committed to him: For, *How*, ſaid he, *can I make an accompt to the Judge of the world in the laſt day, when I cannot be underſtood of them whom I teach? The maintenance is ſufficient for two Biſhops, if we be not prodigal of the Patrimony of Chriſt, and will live with that moderation which becometh his ſervants: it ſhall therefore be much better to diminiſh the charge, and increaſe the number of able workmen in the Lord's field.* The Pope reading the Letter, and conſidering how earneſt he was to be eaſed of his Charge, though to his own temporal loſs, ſaid, *It is the ſtudy of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requeſteth his Benefice may be parted in two. O how few Biſhops are now in the Chriſtian world ſo diſpoſed!* And ſo commending greatly the Biſhop's diſpoſition, granted his requeſt, ſending back *Evaldus* (for he was the meſſenger) conſecrated Biſhop as was deſired. The Biſhop glad to have obtained his deſire, entered *Evaldus* to the Charge, and followed diligently his own in that part which remained. Some few days before his death he rendred himſelf a Monk in *Newbotle*, and there departed this life in the year 1203. His body was interred in the Quire of that Church upon the

the North ſide of the Altar. *William Bining*, afterwards Abbot of *Comper*, did write his Life, but the ſtory is periſhed. *An.* 1210.

6. After his death *Richard Provand*, King *William*'s Chaplain, was conſecrated Biſhop, and lived a few years only in the See, for he departed this world in the year 1210, and was buried in *Inchcolme*.

7. *John Leiceſter*, couſen to King *William*, and elected ſucceſſour, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme* with his predeceſſour in the year 1214.

8. *Hugo*, called *Hugo de ſigillo*, a Monk of *Aberbrothock*, ſucceeded unto *Leiceſter*; a man of ſweet and amiable diſpoſition. He was called *The poor mans Biſhop*, and lived not a year after his Conſecration.

9. *Matthew* Chancellour of *Scotland* was then elected, but he died the ſame year before he was conſecrated.

10. To him ſucceeded *Gilbert*, Chaplain to Biſhop *Hugo*. He ſate 22 years, and died in the year 1236.

11. *Galfrid Liverance* was elected in his ſtead. This Biſhop was a zealous man; he reformed the Service of the Church *ad uſum Sarum*, and ordained the Canons to make reſidence at *Dunkeld*, giving them the Commons of the Church for their entertainment. He died at *Tibbermoore* in the year 1249, and was buried at *Dunkeld*.

12. After *Galfrid*'s death *Richard* Chancellour to the King ſucceeded, and dying the ſame year at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme*.

13. After him Mr. *Richard* of *Innerkething*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, was elected, who ſate 22 years. He built the great Quire of the Abbey-Church in *Incholme* upon his own charges, and died very old in the year 1272. He is much commended for his faithful ſervice done to King *Alexander*. His body was interred at *Dunkeld*, and his heart laid in the North wall of the Quire which he built in *Inchcolme*.

14. *Robert Sutevile*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, debarred at firſt from the Biſhoprick of S. *Andrews* by the ambitious ſuite of *Abel* the Archdeacon, was at this time preferred to be Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. He died in the year 1300, and governed the See 28 years, *Moribus, ſcientiâ & vitâ præclarus*.

15. After him *Matthew*, by recommendation of *Edward* the firſt of *England*, who kept *Scotland* then under ſubjection, was advanced to the Biſhoprick, and ſate 12 years.

16. *William Sinclare*, a brother of the houſe of *Roſlin*, and Uncle to *William* Lord *Biſſet*, ſucceeded. This is he that King *Robert* the *Bruce* uſed to call *his own Biſhop*; for the King being in *Ireland* with an Army for the ſupply of his brother *Edward*, the *Engliſh* taking advantage of his abſence, ſent two Armies to invade the Kingdom; the one by land, the other by ſea. The Sea-Army landed in *Fife*, near to *Anchtertaile*, (where the Biſhop had his reſidence) which the Sheriffe of the Countrey, for hindering their depredations, went to encounter, but at the ſight of their numbers he gave back and fled. The Biſhop hearing of their flight, brought forth his ordinary train, and caſting himſelf in the Sheriffs way, asked why he fled; and having checkt him bitterly for his cowardiſe, called for a lance, crying aloud, *You that love the honour of* Scotland, *follow me*. By this forwardneſs he put ſuch courage in the reſt, as they returning upon the *Engliſh*, did chaſe them all back to their ſhips. One of the ſhip-boats overcharged with the company that leapt into it was ſunk, and in that conflict were drowned and ſlain 500 *Engliſh* and above. The honour of this Victory was wholly aſcribed to the Biſhop's courage, for which he was greatly favoured by the King. He built in his time the Quire of *Dunkeld* from the ground, which the Army of *England* had demoliſhed; redeemed the lands of *Green-oke* from one *Simon Cader*, and gave to his Archdeacon the Church of *Logia Leguhy*, with the Vicarage penſionary of little *Dunkeld*. Afterwards dying the 27 day of *June*, *Anno* 1338, he was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*, in a marble Tomb by himſelf erected.

17. The ſame year one *Duncan*, an *Engliſh-man* born, was conſecrated Biſhop. He ſet in feu the lands of *Fordel* to *Walter Fotheringham*, at the deſire of *Edward Baliol*, and died in the year 1364, after he had ſate 26 years.

An. 1376. 18. To him ſucceeded *Michael* of *Monimuske*, Chamberlain of *Scotland*. He died the firſt of *March* 1376, and was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*.

19. After him Mr. *John Peblis*, Chancellour to King *David Bruce*, came to the place; a man learned, and of great authority. He ſate 20 years in the See.

20. In the year 1396, *Robert Carden*, ſon to *John Carden* of that ilk, was conſecrated Biſhop, and governed the See the ſpace of 40 years. He did many good things in his time to his Church, building and inlarging it at his own charge, and acquired thereunto divers lands, as the town of *Crawmond* with the lands adjoyning, for which he gave in excambion the lands of *Cambo* in the ſame Pariſh, and the lands of *Muchler* beſides *Dunkeld*. He died the 16 of *January* 1436, and was buried honourably in S. *Ninian*'s Chappel of *Dunkeld*, which himſelf had built.

21. To him ſucceeded *Donald Macknachton*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, Doctor of the Common Law, and Nephew to Biſhop *Robert* his predeceſſour. He was elected by the Chapter: but King *James* the Firſt miſliking the choice, oppoſed his entry; whereupon he took journey to *Rome* to obtain his Election confirmed, and died by the way as he was travelling thither.

22. *James Kennedy*, Nephew to King *James* the Firſt by his ſiſter, was then preferred to the See. Two years he ſate Biſhop in *Dunkeld*, and was afterwards tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, as before we have ſhewed.

23. Upon his Tranſlation Mr. *Alexander Lawder*, Parſon of *Rothow*, and brother-german to the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, then Chancellour of the Kingdom, was elected Biſhop: but he died the ſame year (which was the year 1440) at *Edinburgh*, and was buried with his Anceſtors in the Church of *Lawder*.

24. Mr. *James Bruce*, Parſon of *Killmeny*, was after him conſecrated Biſhop of *Dunkeld* at *Dunfermlin*, the fourth of *February* in the year of Chriſt 1441, and ſate Biſhop the ſpace of 6 years. In the ſeventh year he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, and made Chancellour of the Kingdom.

25. To him ſucceeded Mr. *John Ralſton*. He was Secretary to King *James* the Second, and ſate Biſhop little above three years, dying in *Dunkeld* in the year 1450, where he was buried.

26. Maſter *Thomas Lawder*, Preceptor or Maſter of *Lowtrey*, who had been Tutour to King *James* the Second in his youth, at the age of 60 years was elected Biſhop after *Ralſton* by the King's recommendation. He took great pains in preaching, and by his continual exhortations and exemplary life won that unruly people to the obedience of God and the King. Having finiſhed the building of the Church, he dedicated the ſame in the year 1454, and adorned it in moſt magnificent manner. He obtained of the King an erection of the Biſhop's Lands on the North ſide of *Forth* into a Barony called *the Barony of Dunkeld*, as likewiſe the Lands in the South into another which was called *the Barony of Aberlady*; built a Bridge upon the River of *Tay*, nigh to his own Palace; founded a number of Chaplanries and Prebends, partly in *Edinburgh*, partly in *Dunkeld*; made purchaſe of two lodgings, one in *Edinburgh*, and another at *Perth*, for the receipt of his Succeſſours: and having done many good works, reſigned his Biſhoprick, becauſe of his great age, to Maſter *James Levingſton*, Dean of *Dunkeld*.

27. This Reſignation was croſſed awhile by *Thomas Spence*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, whoſe credit in the Court was great at that time: but upon tranſaction amongſt themſelves, the King's conſent was obtained, and he conſecrated at *Dunkeld* by *John Hepburn* Biſhop of *Dumblain*, *John Balfour* Biſhop of *Brichen*, and the ſaid *Thomas Spence*, in the year 1476. He ſate ſeven years two moneths and five daies, and dying at *Edinburgh*, was buried in the Iſle of *Inchcolme*.

28. The Chapter after *Levingſton*'s deceaſe made choice of *Alexander Inglis*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, and Keeper of the Rolls in the time of King *James* the Third: but Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, caſſing his Election, gave the Biſhoprick to *George Brown* Chancellour of *Aberdene*, (who was then at *Rome*) and conſecrated him Biſhop in Saint *James* Church, *Anno* 1484. The King diſpleaſed with this promotion declared him rebel, and complained thereof to the Pope and Cardinals; but the Pope maintaining his own gift, the King was afterwards reconciled to him, and he peaceably

ably poſſeſſed in the Biſhoprick. This Biſhop was a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, and by his auſtere and rigorous forms wrought a great Reformation in all the parts of his Dioces, which he diſtributed in four Deanries, placing one in the Borders of *Athol* and *Drumalbane*, another in *Fife*, *Fothrick* and *Strathern*, the third in *Angus*, and the fourth in the parts beſouth *Forth*. The penalties of offenders he gave to the uſe of the Church where they reſided, ſaying commonly, *Oleum peccatorum non impinguet caput meum*. He was a man given much to Hoſpitality, and withal very careful of the Church; for he recovered to the See the lands of *Fordel* and *Muckarſie*, with the Foreſt of *Birnan*, that had been alienated before his time, founded divers Prebends and Chaplanries, and gave many ornaments the Cathedral Church. Before his death he was tormented with the Felt gravel, which he bare moſt patiently, profeſſing that *he was glad to endure thoſe pains, as ſerving to wean his heart and affection from the love of this world*; and ſo departed this life moſt happily the twelfth of *January*, 1514. *An.* 1010.

29. *Andrew Stewart*, brother to *John* Earl of *Athol*, was upon his death poſtulated Biſhop; but it took no effect, Maſter *Gawan Douglas*, brother to the Earl of *Angus*, and Provoſt of Saint *Giles* in *Edinburgh*, being preferred thereto by Pope *Leo* the Tenth. This gift was quarrelled by the Duke of *Albany* Governor, and the Biſhop called in queſtion for his trafficking with *Rome* without licence; whereupon he was committed, and continued priſoner a whole year. Afterwards compounding with *Andrew Stewart*, to whom he gave the Churches of *Alight* and *Cargil*, he got peaceable poſſeſſion of the See; yet the troubles that followed in the countrey made him forſake the ſame, and undertake a journey to *Rome*. In his way thither he died of the Plague at *London* in *Savoy* houſe, in the year 1522. A man learned, wiſe, and given to all vertue and goodneſs. Some monuments of his ingenie he left in *Scottiſh* metre which are greatly eſteemed, eſpecially his tranſlation of *Virgil* his Books of *Æneids*.

30. *George Creighton* ſucceeded, a man nobly diſpoſed, and a great houſ-keeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled. In the queſtion of Religion (which was in his time ſeverely agitated) he loved to have things calmly carried, but his councel took little place. It was he that ſaid to one of his Vicars, whom he was perſuading to leave his Opinions, *That he thanked God that he knew neither the Old nor the New Teſtaments, and yet had proſpered well enough all his days.*

31. *Robert Creighton* his Nephew was preferred upon his death to the Sea, in whoſe time fell out the Reformation of the Church.

The Biſhops of ABERDENE.

1. *Malcolme* the Second, in memory of the defeat he gave the *Danes* at *Murthlack*, founded there a Biſhop's Seat in the year 1010, and preferred one *Beanus* thereto, a man of ſingular vertue and godlineſs, gifting to him and his ſucceſſors the lands of *Murthlack*, *Cloveth* and *Dummeth*. This Biſhop ſate 32 years, and dying in *Murthlack* was buried at the Poſtern-door of the Church, which himſelf had built. The Succeſſion of Biſhops in the See of *Aberdene*.

2. *Donortius*, who ſucceeded him, lived Biſhop 42. years, and was interred with his predeceſſor.

3. *Cormachus*, the third Biſhop of this See, governed the ſame 39. years, and was buried likewiſe with his Predeceſſors.

4. *Nectanus* ſucceeded. In his time King *David* did tranſlate the See from *Murthlack* to *Aberdene*, and gave to him and his ſucceſſors the lands of old *Aberdene*, *Sclaty*, *Goull*, *Moorecroft*, *Kurmundy*, *Mowmenlach*, *Clat*, *Talynſtine*, *Rayne*, *Dawyot*, and their Churches, with divers others lands, whereby the See was greatly enriched. This Biſhop died in the year 1154. having ſate 14. years at *Murthlack*, and 17. at *Aberdene*.

5. After the death of *Nectanus* one *Edward* was promoved, who was greatly favoured by *Malcolme* the Fourth, called the Maiden, and was thought to have perſwaded the King to continue in his ſingle life. He was the firſt Biſhop that brought the Canons to do ordinary ſervice in the Church of

An. 1247. *Aberdene,* and died in the eleventh year after his Conſecration.

6. *Matthew Kinninmouth,* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews,* ſucceeded; a man famous for learning, and other excellent vertues. In his time began the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene* to be built unto the memory of S. *Machar,* to whom King *Malcome* gave the lands of *Tuligreg, Fetternew, Invercrowden, Banchordeneif, Balhelvy,* and the Patronages of the Churches. He ſate Biſhop 34. years.

7. *John* Prior of *Kelſo* was next elected Biſhop. This man is greatly commended for liberality to the poor, and magnificence in the buildings and ornaments of the Church: he died the next year after his Conſecration.

8. One *Adam* was aſſumed in his place, rather for ſatisfying King *William*'s pleaſure, then for any good affection born to the man by the reſt of the Clergy. At firſt he ſhewed no great care in his Charge, giving himſelf wholly to temporal affairs; yet after King *William*'s death he grew quite another man, ſetting himſelf to amend his former negligences. He ſate 21. years.

9. Upon his death the Clergy and people of *Aberdene* poſtulated *Matthew* Chancellor of the Kingdom, who was willing to accept the place; but *Dunkeld* falling void in the mean ſeaſon, King *Alexander* the Second preferred him to that See.

10. And *Gilbert Striveling,* a man well born, and much eſteemed for his integrity of life, obtained the place: but he lived not many years, departing this world in the eleventh year after his Election.

11. *Radolph* Abbot of *Aberbrothock* ſucceeded, being with an uniform conſent of the Clergy and people elected Biſhop. He was brought with great difficulty to accept the charge; a man of great prudence, and painful in his calling: for he travelled through all his Dioces on foot, preaching and viſiting the Churches, that he might know their true eſtate; and is ſaid never to have changed his form of living that he uſed in the Cloiſter, and to have been more abſtinent and ſparing both in diet and apparel then he was before. He died ſome eight years after his Conſecration, which was about the year of Chriſt, 1247.

12. *Peter Ramſey,* a man of good learning, was next choſen Biſhop; he was a man very kind to the Canons, and parted many of his rents amongſt them. He ſate Biſhop ten years, and deceaſed about the ſeventh or eighth year of King *Alexander* the Third his reign.

13. Preſently after his death *Richard Pottock* an *Engliſh*-man was elected, who ſate Biſhop 13. years.

14. *Hugh Benham,* elected by the Monks, went to *Rome,* and was there conſecrated by Pope *Martin* the Fourth. After he had remained there the ſpace of a year, he returned to *Scotland,* at which time there was a great contention between the Church-men and the people of the Countrey for certain Tithes, that the Prieſts did exact too rigorouſly. The difference being ſubmitted to him, he compoſed the ſame in a Convention of the Clergy at *Perth,* wherein the King and many of the Nobles were preſent, and died of a Catarrhe, being very old, in the Iſle of *Louchgoull,* about the year 1280.

15. *Henry Cheyn,* Nephew to the Lord *Cummyn,* was preferred to the See. The Troubles which in his time brake forth in the Kingdom between *Bruce* and *Baliol* wrought him great vexation; for whileſt he took part with his Uncle againſt *Bruce,* he was baniſhed into *England,* where he lived untill the end of theſe Wars, and then licenced by King *Robert* to return, he gave himſelf to repair the Church, and reſtore all things which the licentiouſneſs of War had diſordered. He died the ſame year in which King *Robert* the *Bruce* ended his life, that is, in the year of Chriſt 1329, which was the 48 year after his Conſecration.

16. *Alexander Kinninmouth* Doctor of Divinity ſucceeded in his place, a great lover of learning and learned men, whom out of all parts he drew to make reſidence with himſelf. In the Winter ſeaſon he dwelt at *Murthlack,* and when the Spring opened at *Aberdene,* becauſe of the confluence of people all that time of the year: all the Summer and Harveſt time he remained at *Fetterneir* and *Rain,* that he might the more commodiouſly diſcharge his office in every part of his Dioces.

The

The *Engliſh* in his time ſet on fire the Town of *Aberdene*, which burnt ſix days together, and did much harm; his own Palace with the whole houſes of the Canons were thereby conſumed, which was thought to have haſtned his death. He departed this life in the eleventh year of his Conſecration. *An.* 1247.

17. *William Deyn* was made Biſhop in his ſtead. The moſt of his time the Realm was infeſted with Wars, whereby he was impeded in many good purpoſes that he intended, and had much ado to keep the Clergy in obedience, for every man during the War took liberty to do what they thought good. He ſate Biſhop the ſpace of ten years.

18. After him *John Raith* Doctor in Divinity was choſen Biſhop by the Monks. He lived only ſix years Biſhop, and was buried in the Quire of *Aberdene*.

16 King *David Bruce* returning from *France* about this time had brought with him in company one *Nicholaus*, a corrupt and ambitious man, who procured the King's recommendation to the Chapter of *Aberdene* for his Election. The Canons excuſed themſelves, ſaying, *The Church of* Aberdene *was not ſo ſcant of men as to admit an unworthy perſon into the place. And howſoever the King in his Kingdom might do what he pleaſed, they were by their oaths aſtricted to admit none but learned men, and ſuch as were approved for integrity of life: wherefore intreated the King in humble manner to ſuffer them, as they had been accuſtomed, to elect ſome wiſe and grave perſon, that could diſcharge the place with credit:* which after ſome moneths they obtained, making choice of one *Alexander Kinninmouth*, who was conſecrated in the Town of *Perth*, the King himſelf being preſent. This man anſwered fully the hopes conceived of him, and took great pains in his calling; for on the ferial dayes he taught the Civil and Canon Law, and the Holy dayes he ſpent in preaching and prayer. Thrice every week he faſted, contenting himſelf in the holy Eves with bread & water. He cauſed demoliſh the old Church of *Aberdene*, which he eſteemed not ſo beautiful as was fitting for a Cathedral Church, and laid the foundation of another more magnificent. But ere the work was advanced ſix cubits high he was employed by King *Robert* the Second in an Ambaſſage to *France*, for renewing the old League, which he worthily performed. Shortly after his return he died, having ſate Biſhop 24 years.

20. *Adam Conningham*, a man well deſcended, and of great authority, was after him elected. This Biſhop is ſaid to have been in ſuch accompt for his wiſdom and ſincerity, that in all matters of importance propounded in Councel his opinion did ever prevail. His frequent imployments with the *French* King, as well before as after his preferment to the *See*, and the happy ſucceſs he had therein, manifeſted his prudence and dexterity of wit: yet, as it falleth out often in Courts, upon ſome envious delations the King became jealous of him, as if he had practiſed with ſome Noblemen againſt the Royal Succeſſion, and preſſed to reduce the old form of Election of Kings. Finding that the King had taken ſome impreſſion of the report, albeit nothing was more falſe, he took counſel to retire himſelf, and attend his Charge at home: where he had not long ſtay'd, but he fell in a new trouble with a baſe ſon of the King's, named *Alexander*, a man extremely vicious, and for his opreſſions hated of all good men. To the Biſhop he bare a ſpecial grudge, becauſe of the liberty he had uſed in reproving his wickedneſs; and hearing in what diſlike the Biſhop was with the King, he violently poſſeſſed himſelf in the Biſhop's lands, thruſt forth his tenants, and behaved himſelf as Maſter and Lord of all. The Biſhop complained to the King, but finding no redreſs, he pronounced him excommunicate; wherewith the wicked man incenſed, aſſociating a number as wickedly diſpoſed as himſelf, did ſwear to take the Biſhop's life, and came to *Aberdene* of that intention. Whereof the Biſhop getting advertiſement, he went forth to meet him on the way, and how ſoon he ſaw him, diſcovering his head, which was all white, (for he was a man of great age) ſaid, *If this be it that thou ſeekeſt, I have brought it unto thee, take thee head, life, and all.* The company admiring the old mans courage, and moved with ſome compaſſion of his white hairs, perſuaded *Alexander* not to meddle with his bloud. The report of this inſolencie going to the King, he ſent for his ſon, and committing him to priſon, cauſed ſatisfaction to be given for all the

An. 1390. the injuries the Biſhop had ſuſtained, and ſurety for his indemnity thereafter. After which he enjoyed reaſonable quietneſs untill his death, which happened in the year of Chriſt 1390. having ſate Biſhop ten years.

21. *Gilbert Grimlaw*, a man learned, wiſe, and of great eſteem with the Nobles of the Kingdom, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Aberdene* the ſame year. He had been Chancellor to King *Robert* the Third a long time, which office he diſcharged with great credit, and to the contentment of all the ſubjects. After the King's death (the Earl of *Fife* brother to the deceaſed King then governing the Realm) he was employed in an Ambaſſage to *Charles* the Seventh of *France*, and went thither in the company of the Earls of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, who with divers other Noblemen were afterward unfortunately killed at the battel of *Vernoil*. The Biſhop at his return found all things out of frame, the Governor dead, his ſon *Mordach* placed in his room, and the whole eſtate miſerable by the riots and oppreſſions which were uſed every where without puniſhment. This made the Biſhop retire himſelf and live private at home, where ſoon after he died of a Conſumption in the year 1424. His body was interred in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

22. After his death *Henry Leighton* Biſhop of *Murray* was tranſlated to *Aberdene*, a man learned both in the Civil and Canon Law, of great experience, and in that reagrd poſtulated Biſhop by the Canons. He ſtood doubtful a while whether he ſhould condeſcend to the Charge or not, yet was induced to conſent at laſt, and ſo came to *Aberdene*, where he applied himſelf carefully to do the Charge of a Biſhop. But the eſtates of the Realm meeting in a ſolemn Convention for putting ſome order to the preſent Confuſions, he was ſent with ſome others in Commiſſion to *England*, to treat for redemption of King *James* the Firſt, who was there detained captive. This buſineſs happily performed, he returned with the King, to whom he gave great content by his ſervices and forwardneſs in reforming publick abuſes. He advanced greatly the fabrick of the Church of *Aberdene*, and beſtowed large ſums for perfecting that work; he built alſo the Chappel called S. *John's Chappel* within the Cathedral, and was therein buried himſelf in the year 1441. 17. years after his Tranſlation.

23. *Ingram Lindeſay*, Doctor of the Canon Law, was upon his death with the great applauſe of all good men received Biſhop. He was at that time very old, and by the policie of one *Alexander*, who aimed at his place, moved to take journey to *Rome*; the man imagining that he ſhould die in the voyage, whereof yet he was deceived. For the Biſhop ſailing to *Marſeilles* in *France*, went from thence by ſea to *Rome*, and after ſome moneths ſtay returned more healthful then before. Seventeen years he continued Biſhop, and ruled the affairs of the Church very wiſely. A man conſtant in his promiſes, of a ſpare diet, but very hoſpitable, for he entertained great numbers both of learned men and others, eſpecially the eldeſt ſons of Noblemen and Barons in the North parts; and notwithſtanding of his age and publick employments, was ever at ſtudy when he could find any free time from thoſe cares. A little before his death he fell in the King's diſpleaſure, for denying admiſſion to ſome whom the King had preſented to certain Benefices, for that they were either mere ignorants, or for their years incapable. But this did not much trouble his mind, as being no way conſcious to himſelf of any juſt offence offered. He died at *Aberdene*, much lamented of the Citizens, who loved him dearly, and buried him in the Cathedral Church with great ſolemnity.

24. Then was *Thomas Spence*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, tranſlated to the See, a man of active ſpirit, and fitted for great buſineſs. Whileſt he was yet very young he went to *France*, truſted with a Commiſſion by King *James* the Second, and by his wiſe behaviour won ſuch favour with *Charles* the Seventh then reigning, as after divers great ſervices performed to that King, he returned honoured with the place of a Chancellor, and a yearly penſion of 3000. *French* Crowns: about which time the Biſhoprick of *Galloway* falling void, he was held moſt worthy to be preferred thereto, and from thence, by the occaſion of Biſhop *Lindeſay* his death, at the earneſt entreaty of the Canons, was tranſlated hither. Moſt of his time after he was tranſlated he ſpent in Legations from the King and Eſtate, ſometimes to the

Duke

Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſometimes to *Edward* the Fourth of *England*. Nottheleſſe mindful of his Church, he adorned the ſame in a moſt rich and ſumptuous manner; and built of new the Biſhop's palace, which ſince the burning by the *Engliſh* had been waſt and ruinous. Amongſt other charitable works, he erected an Hoſpital at *Ediuburgh*, acquiring thereto divers lands, and ended his life by ſickneſs the fifteenth of *April* 1480. His body was interred in the *Trinity* College of *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1480.

25. *Robert Blaicater*, being for the time at *Rome*, was by the proviſion of Pope *Xiſtus* the Fourth made Biſhop, at whoſe hands alſo he received Conſecration; a Gentleman well deſcended, and of good knowledge both in divine and humane learning. Soon after he was tranſlated to *Glaſgow*, where he died.

26. *William Elphinſton* ſucceeded to *Blaicater*, a famous and memorable perſon. He was born in the City of *Glaſgow*, and trained up in the Pedagogie of that City; where he made ſuch profit in his ſtudies, that all who knew him conceived even in his younger years great hopes of his advancement. By the advice of his Uncle *Laurence Elphinſton* he went to *France*, being 29 years of age, and there abode ſome nine years, having purchaſed good reputation in the Univerſity of *Paris* for his skill in the Laws, which ſix years together he profeſſed, reading daily the Lectures thereof in a moſt frequent Auditory. Then returning into his Countrey, was preferred firſt to be Official of *Glaſgow*, afterwards made Official of S. *Andrews*, & promoved to be of the King's Councel. Some jars falling out at that time betwixt King *James* the Third and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, which was like to have diſſolved the ancient friendſhip betwixt the two Nations, he was joyned in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* and Earl of *Buchan* for pacifying the ſame, and by a wiſe and moſt eloquent oration brought matters ſo about, that the old League and Amity was renewed, and all occaſions of diſcord quite removed: whereupon the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe* was at his return caſt upon him, which he accepted with great difficulty. The See of *Aberdene* afterwards falling void, he was tranſlated thither, and at that time was made Chancellour of the Kingdom; in which charge he carried himſelf with that moderation and equity, as he was both loved and reverenced of all perſons. But the unhappy Troubles that fell out betwixt the King and ſome of his Nobility, which by no means (though he did uſe his uttermoſt diligence that way) could be pacified, made him retire to his Charge at *Aberdene*, where he gave himſelf to reform ſuch things as he found diſordered in the Church, and had doubtleſs effected the ſame, if he had not been called back to Court, and employed much againſt his will in publick affairs.

King *James* the Fourth then entring his reign, he was by the conſent of the whole eſtate ſent Ambaſſadour to *Maximillian* the Emperour, to ſuit his daughter *Margaret* in marriage for the King: but ſhe before his coming being promiſed to the Prince of *Spain*, the buſineſs took no effect: yet that his travel ſhould not be altogether unprofitable, in his return from the Emperour's Court he reconciled the Variance which long had continued betwixt this Nation and the people of *Holland*; and thereby grew in ſuch favour with the King, that whatſoever buſineſs he had, either within or without the Kingdom, the ſame was wholly committed to his truſt.

Neither did he in the mean while neglect to uſe his beſt means for the advancement of Learning, having built a ſtately College in *Aberdene*, which for the beauty of the edifice and rich foundation was one of the rareſt monuments this Kingdom had ſeen. The expence he beſtowed partly on that work, partly for providing materials for building of the Bridge upon *Dey*, with the large alms he gave daily to the poor and religious of all ſorts, (not to ſpeak of the help and relief he made to others of his kindred) exceeding almoſt all credit and belief: for he was ever obſerved to keep a good table, and had no Benefices in *Commendam*, (which was then grown into a cuſtome amongſt Church-men) yet upon the Rents of his own Biſhoprick he did both maintain his eſtate, do all thoſe great and magnificent works, and dying left in treaſure ten thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, which he bequeathed to the College and the finiſhing of the bridge at *Dey*: that in him we may truly ſee how it is not the abundance of worldly goods, but the bleſſing of God, that maketh rich.

What

An. 1514. What time he could ſpare from the publick ſervice he ſpent in writing the Hiſtory of his Nation, and gathered in one Volume all the Antiquities that could be found thereof. The memories alſo of thoſe holy men who lived in former times in this Kingdom he ſtudied to preſerve, committing to writing their worthy and memorable acts, and giving order that on ſolemn days the Religious ſhould read ſome part thereof in their common meetings; neither was he ſeen to be idle, but always in labour and ſtriving how to benefit the publick. Nor was there any man known to have been of more integrity of life and manners, ſweet and pleaſant converſation, of a chearful countenance, and exceeding delightful. The conſtitution of his body was healthful and ſtrong: Old age, which to others is of it ſelf a Diſeaſe, wrought in him no alteration either of mind or body; for being 83 years old, his judgement in the weightieſt matters of State was obſerved to be as quick, and his memory as ripe, as when he was in the middle of his youth.

That which is ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death was the unfortunate death of the King at *Flowden*; for after the report of that loſs he was never perceived to laugh, nor willingly did he hear any thing that ſounded unto mirth or gladneſs, and thereupon had reſolved to live the reſt of his time obſcure and retired: yet being called by the Councel to aſſiſt ſome great buſineſs which for the time was in hand, he ſickned in his journey towards *Edinburgh*, and the ſixth day after his coming thither died moſt Chriſtianly. His body embalmed was carried afterwards to *Aberdene*, and entombed in his own College before the high Altar. They write that the day his Corps was brought forth to the burial, the Paſtoral ſtaffe, which was all of ſilver, and carried by *Alexander Lawder* a Juriſt, broak in two pieces, one part thereof falling in the grave where his body was to be laid, and that a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, Gulielme, Mitra ſepelienda*, With thee the Mitre and glory thereof is buried. Thirty years he ſate Biſhop, and ended his courſe being very old in the year 1514.

27. The Canons aſſembling according to their cuſtome to elect a Biſhop in his place, the Earl of *Huntley*, a man of great power in the North, came upon them unexpected, deſiring that *Alexander Gordon* his Couſen, then Chanter of *Murray*, might be choſen. The Canons not daring refuſe, did all give their conſents. In the mean time was one *James Ogilvy* preſented thereto by the Duke of *Albany*, and at *Rome Robert Forman* Dean of *Glaſgow* took a proviſion thereof from Pope *Leo* the Tenth: yet both theſe did reſign their titles afterwards at the Duke of *Albany* his perſuaſion; *Ogilvy* having received in recompence the Abbacy of *Driburgh*, and *Forman* yielding at the deſire of *Andrew Forman* his brother, then Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, upon promiſe of the next place that ſhould fall void. Thus after ſome moneths delay *Gordon* was received, and conſecrated Biſhop: but he enjoyed the place a ſhort time, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene*.

28. *Gawan Dumbar*, Archdeacon of S. *Andrews* and Maſter of the Rolls, a man of many excellent parts, was after him elected Biſhop. He ſet himſelf to perfect all thoſe works which Biſhop *Elphinſton* had begun, and were not as yet finiſhed; eſpecially the building of the Bridge upon *Dey*, with the houſes that he had appointed for the ſeveral profeſſions of Sciences in the College. The Executors of Biſhop *Elphinſton* he called to an accompt, and made them render the moneys left by him in Legacy; adding thereto his own liberality, wherewith he accompliſhed all theſe works. He founded likewiſe an Hoſpital for twelve poor men, and a Preceptor to attend them; and all the time he lived Biſhop, which was 13 years, whatſoever profit or commodity he made by the Church, he beſtowed wholly upon the poor and ſuch publick works, without applying a farthing either to his own uſe, or the enriching of any of his kinſmen. He departed this life at S. *Andrews* the ninth of *March*, 1531.

29. To him ſucceeded *William Stewart*, ſon to the Laird of *Minto*, a man given to vertue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work. He built the Conſiſtory-houſe in old *Aberdene*, enlarged the territory of the College, and beſtowed upon it a part of the rent it now poſſeſſeth: he built likewiſe the Library, with two Schools, and founded therein four Chaplains: the office of the Chancellary in the State, conferred

ferred upon him by the King, he diſcharged with good credit, and dying at *Aberdene* in the moneth of *April*, in the year 1545, was buried in the Cathedral Church. *An.* 1160.

30. *William Gordon*, ſon to the Earl of *Huntley*, ſucceeded in the place. This man brought up in Letters at *Aberdene*, followed his ſtudies a long time in *Paris*, and returning thence, was firſt Parſon of *Clat*, and afterwards promoved to the See. Some hopes he gave at firſt of a vertuous man, but afterwards turned a very Epicure, ſpending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapidated the whole Rents by feuing the Lands, and converting the victual-duties in money, a great part whereof he waſted upon his baſe children, and the whores their mothers; a man not worthy to be placed in this Catalogue. He died in the year 1577.

The Biſhops of MURRAY.

This Biſhoprick was founded by King *Malcolme* the Third, a worthy and religious King: but who were the firſt Biſhops in this See, I find not. The firſt that is named is one *William*, who did conſecrate *Arnold* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* about the year 1160. The ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Dioces of *Murray*.

2. To him ſucceeded *Simon*, a Monk of the Abby of *Melroſe*, elected Biſhop in the time of *William* King of *Scots*, who governed the See 13 years. He died in the year of our Lord 1184, and was buried at *Birnay*.

3. *Richard*, a Chaplain of King *William*, ſate Biſhop 19 years, and was buried in *Spinie*, where he died.

4. *Bricius*, Prior of *Leſmahagow*, ſucceeded him. He continued Biſhop 24 years, and was the firſt that founded the College of Canons. He died in the year of our Lord 1227, and was buried with his predeceſſor.

5. After him *Andrew* Dean of *Murray* was conſecrated Biſhop. He founded the Cathedral-Church of *Elgin*, and added ten Canons more to the College. He died in the year 1274, and was buried in the Quire of the Church which he had founded towards the South.

6. *Simon*, Dean of the ſame Church, was preferred next unto this See, and lived Biſhop 9 years only. He was buried in the Quire of *Elgin*.

7. *Archebald*, Dean of *Murray*, was after his death made Biſhop, and ſate 47 years. He built the Palace of *Kinneddore*, and departed this life in the year 1303 at *Elgin*, where his corps was alſo interred.

8. *David Murray* after his death elected, was conſecrated at *Avignon* by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth. He lived Biſhop 27 years, and died in *January*, 1330.

9. *John Pilmore*, who then ſtood elected to the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe*, was by the proviſion of Pope *John* the 22, conſecrated Biſhop of *Murray*. He continued Biſhop 27 years, and departed this life in the Caſtle of *Spinie*.

10. *Alexander Barre*, Licenciator in the Laws, ſucceeded. He was conſecrated by Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and died in the Caſtle of *Spinie* the fifteenth of *May*, 1397.

11. *William Spinie*, Chanter of *Murray*, and Doctor of the Canon Law, was after his death conſecrated Biſhop by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and lived Biſhop nine years only. He died in the Chanory of *Elgin* the ſecond of *Auguſt*, 1406, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

12. *John Innes*, Parſon of *Duffus*, and Batchelor both in the Canon and Civil Law, ſate after him ſeven years, and died in the Chanory the fifteenth of *April*, 1414.

13. *Henry Lichton*, Parſon of *Duffus*, a Doctor in both Laws, after he had ſate Biſhop in this See 10 years, was tranſlated to *Aberdene*.

14. *Columba Dumbar* ſucceeded living Biſhop 10 years, and departing this life in the Caſtle of *Spinie*, was buried in the Iſle of S. *Thomas* the Martyr.

15. After him *John Wincheſter*, Chaplain to King *James* the Second, was preferred to the See; a man of good parts. He continued Biſhop 13 years, and was buried in S. *Mary* Iſle, within the Cathedral-Church.

16. *James Stewart* Dean of *Murray* ſate two years Biſhop.

17. To him ſucceeded *David Stewart*, his brother, Parſon of *Spinie*, who governed the See 14 years, and was buried in S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*'s Iſle upon the South of the Cathedral-Church.

18. After

An. 1140. 18. After his death *William Tulloch*, Bishop of *Orkney*, was translated to *Murray*, and lived five years only after his Consecration.

19. *Andrew Stewart* Dean of *Murray* succeeded. He sate Bishop 19 years, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

20. *Andrew Forman* sate after him Bishop 15 years, and was then translated to S. *Andrews*.

21. Next after him *James Hepburn* governed the See 9 years, and was buried in our *Lady* Isle, nigh unto the Tomb of *Alexander* the first, Earl of *Huntley*.

22. *Robert Shaw* Abbot of *Paisley*, a man of great vertue and exceedingly beloved, was next made Bishop; but he lived not above two years in the place.

23. *Alexander Stewart*, Brother-german to the Duke of *Albany*, sate after him seven years, and was buried in the Monastery of *Scone*.

24. To him succeeded *Patrick Hepburn*, who was Commendatory of *Scone*. In his time the Reformation of Religion was made. He lived Bishop 36 years, and died in the Castle of *Spinie* the 20 of *June*, 1573.

The Bishops of BRICHEN.

In this See, since it was founded by King *David*, which was about the year 1140, there have been many worthy Bishops; yet most of them are buried in oblivion. These few that follow I have gathered out of old Records.

Since the writing of this Catalogue, I have found four Bishops succeeding *Edwardus* one after another; *Turpinus*, *Rodolphus*, *Hugo* and *Gregorius*. But how long they sate Bishops, I cannot say.

1. *Urwardus* or *Edwardus* lived about the year 1260, a Monk at first at *Couper* in *Angus*, a man very zealous in his calling, for it is testified of him that he went on foot through the whole Kingdom (with one *Eustathius* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*) preaching the Gospel whersoever he came.

2. *Albinus* after him was Bishop some few years.

3. *William* Dean of *Brichen*, elected successor, died at *Rome* in the year 1275, whilest he was attending to have his Election confirmed.

4. The fourth Bishop I find mentioned is one *John*, who governed the See in the year of God 1318, and got a new confirmation from King *David Bruce* of all the lands, possessions and privileges injoyed by his Predecessors in former times, because of their rights lost in the time of the last War. This Confirmation is dated in the year 1359.

5. To him succeeded *Adam* Chancellor of the Kingdom, but it seemed he sate few years.

6. Then *Patrick*, who was his successor both in the Bishoprick and in the office of Chancellary in the year 1372.

7. *Steven*, in the year 1384.

8. *Walter*, surnamed *Forrester*, in the year 1413.

9. *John*, who was likewise Chancellor, *anno* 1434. In his time was the Church of *Cortoguhy* annexed to the Bishoprick by *Walter Palatine* of *Strathern*, Earl of *Athol*, Lord *Brichen* and *Cortoguhy*.

10. *George Shoreswood* succeeded him in both charges, *anno* 1483. In his time was the Church of *Funeven* made one of the Chapter.

11. Another called *John* was made Bishop in the year 1483.

12. *William Meldrum* succeeded in the year 1500.

13. And after his death *John Hepburn*, *anno* 1552.

14. To him succeeded ..... *Sinclare*, Dean of *Restalrig*, a little before the Reformation.

The Bishops of DUMBLANE.

The succession of the Bishops of *Dumblane*.

The See of *Dumblane* was founded likewise by King *David*.

1. *Jonathius* was the first Bishop. He died in the year 1200, or thereabout, and was buried at *Inchaffray*.

2. *Simon*

2. *Simon*, who ſucceeded him, lived not a year. *An.* 1210.

3. *Abraham*, Chaplain to *Gilbert* Earl of *Stratherne*, was conſecrated in the year 1210. This was the Earl who gave a third part of his lands to the ſee of *Dumblane*, and another third part to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

4. *William* called *Gulielmus de Boſco* was next preferred to the See, and ſhortly after created Chancellor.

5. *Osbert*, Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, ſucceeded. He died in the year 1231.

6. The ſixth Biſhop was *Clemens*, a Frier of the *Dominican* Order, conſecrated in the *Stowe* Church of *Weddal*, in the year 1233. This man was an excellent Preacher, learned above many of that time, and of ſingular integrity of converſation: he gave divers lands and rents to the Church of *Culroſs*, and reſtored the Cathedral Church of *Dumblane*, which was decayed. *Leander Bononienſis*, in his third Book *De viris illuſtribus Prædicatorum*, remembreth him with a ſpecial commendation. The like doth *Philippus Wolphius*, in his third Book *De vitis peritorum virorum*. He died in the year 1256.

7. *Robert* was after him elected. This is he who was ſent with *Richard* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* by the reſt of the Prelates in the year 1268, to proteſt againſt the proceedings of *Ottobon* the Pope's Legate for the contribution impoſed by him upon the *Scottiſh* Clergy towards the charge of the Holy War.

8. *Alpin* after him governed the ſee ſome few years.

9. Then one *Nicolaus* was made Biſhop. He gave the half of the Church of *Strowan* to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

10. After him ſucceeded *Maurice* Abbot of *Inchaffray*, a Prelate of great ſpirit, who gave great encouragement to his countreymen in that famous Battel of *Bonnockburn*, and was therefore choſen by King *Robert Bruce* to be his Confeſſor after that Battel. The See falling void, he was preferred to the ſame.

11. One *William* ſucceeded to him.

12. Then *Walter Cambuſlang* in the year 1363.

13. And after him was *Finlaw*, commonly called *Dermoch*, who built the Bridge of *Dumblane*, and died in the year 1419.

14. *William Stephen*, one of the firſt Profeſſors in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, was after him preferred.

15. Upon his death *Michael Ochiltrie* ſucceeded, a wealthy Prelate and well eſteemed. He purchaſed to his See a great part of the forfeited lands of *Stratherne*, adorned the Cathedral-Church with many rich ornaments, built the Bridge of *Knaig* at *Machant*, with the Church of *Muthill*, and did in his time divers other good works.

16. After him ſucceeded *Robert Lawder*, who founded divers Prebendaries and Canonries in the Church of *Dumblane*.

17. *John Hepburn* ſucceeded in the year 1471. This Biſhop had a long contention with the Abbot of *Inchaffray* for certain Churches claimed by the Abbot, but the matter was afterwards pacified. He died in the year 1508, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

18. *James Chiſholme* obtained the Biſhoprick after his death by the Pope's proviſion, and carried himſelf in his Charge very commendably: a ſevere cenſour he was of the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and recovered many lands and poſſeſſions which were ſacrilegiouſly taken from the Church before his time. He died in the year 1534.

19. To whom ſucceeded *William Chiſholme* his brother, a wicked and vicious man, who, for hatred he bare to true Religion, made away all the lands of the Biſhoprick, and utterly ſpoiled the Benefice.

The Biſhops of Ross.

1. This See was alſo one of King *David*'s Foundations. The firſt Biſhop I find was one *Gregorius*. The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Roſs*.

An. 1066. 2. *Reynaldus*, a member of *Melroſs*, who died in the year 1213.

3. *Andrew Murray* was choſen in his place, but he ſhortly after reſigned the ſame to

4. *Robert*, Chaplain to *Alexander* the Second.

5. After him one *Matthew* was elected and conſecrated by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth at *Viterbium*, in the year 1274.

Then ſucceed theſe in order:

6. *Thomas Dundie.*
7. *Roger.*
8. *Alexander.*
9. *Thomas Urwhart.*
10. *Alexander Kilbuines.*
11. *William Bullock.*
12. *Thomas Tullich.*
13. *Henry Cokborne.*
14. *James Woodmand.*
15. *Thomas Hay.*
16. *John Guthrye.*
17. *John Fraſer.*
18. *Robert Cokburn.*

19. *William Elphinſtone*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Aberdene.*

20. *James Hay.*

21. *Robert Carncroſſe*, Abbot of *Halirudhouſe*, a man of great wealth, and preferred by King *James* the Fifth to this See about the 1534 year, and lived ten years Biſhop.

22. *David Panter*, Secretary to the Governour, was after his death elected in the year 1544, and immediately after imployed in a Legation to *France*, where he remained ſeven years. At his return he was ſolemnly conſecrated, the Governour and many of the Nobility being preſent. He was a man learned, and of great experience in publick affairs, and died about the year 1550.

23. To him ſucceeded *Henry Sinclar*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, and Vice-preſident in the College of Juſtice; a man of ſingular wiſdom and learning, eſpecially in the Laws; which place he diſcharged with good credit. By his advice many things were bettered in the form of Juſtice, and divers abuſes in the forms of proceſs amended. His death fell out ſhortly after the Reformation, and in his place Mr. *John Leſley* (of whom we ſhall have often occaſion to ſpeak) was preferred.

The Biſhops of CATHNES.

The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Cathnes.*

1. This Biſhoprick was founded by *Malcolme* the Third, about the year 1066, who preferred thereto one *Darrus*, whom he favoured greatly. This man lived long and in a good reputation, and after his death was honoured for a Saint.

2. There ſucceeded to him one *Andrew*, of whom *Roger Hoveden* makes mention, ſaying, that he came into *England* with *William* King of *Scots* in the year 1176, and ſhortly after his return home departed this life.

3. To him ſucceeded *John*, the Biſhop that *Harold* the Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes* uſed moſt cruelly, cutting forth his tongue, and pulling out his eyes: which King *William* (in whoſe Reign it happened) puniſhed exemplarly; for he cauſed the Earl his eyes firſt to be pulled out, then made him to be executed by the hands of the hangman, and all his male children to be gelded, to extinguiſh their ſucceſſion.

4. *Adam*, another Biſhop, whether his immediate ſucceſſour or not, I cannot ſay, was no leſs barbarouſly uſed; for in the year 1222, or much thereabout, ſome wicked people ſuborned by the Earl of *Cathnes* aſſailed him being private at home, and killing his chamber-boy, with a Monk of *Melroſs* that did ordinarily attend him, (for he had been Abbot of that Monaſtery) drew him by force into his kitchen, and when they had ſcourged him with rods, ſet the kitchen on fire, and burnt him therein. King *Alexander* the Second was at that time upon his journey towards *England*, and upon notice of this cruel fact turned back, & went in haſte to *Cathnes*, where

where he put the offenders and their partakers to trial: 400 by publick ſentence were executed, and all their male-children gelded, that no ſucceſſion ſhould ſpring from ſo wicked a ſeed. The place where their Stones were caſt in a heap together is to this day known by the name of *Stony-hill*. The Earl for withholding his help, and becauſe he did not reſcue the Biſhop, was forfeited. And howbeit after ſome little time he found means to be reſtored, yet did he not eſcape the judgement of God, being murthered by ſome of his own ſervants who conſpired to kill him, and, to conceal the fact, ſet the houſe on fire, and burnt his body therein: ſo was he paid home in the ſame meaſure he had uſed the Biſhop. *An.* 1245.

5. To this *Adam* ſucceeded *Gilbert* the Canon, ſurnamed *Murray*, and ſon to the Lord of *Duffus*, who was in great eſteem for the bold & couragious anſwer he made to the Pope's Legate at *Northampton*. He built the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes* upon his own charges, & lived to ſee the ſame finiſhed, & ſhortly after the dedication died at *Scraviſter* in the year 1245. The *poſteri* gave him the reputation of a Saint.

6. *William*, who ſucceeded, followed his ſteps, and did much good in his time. He died in the year 1261.

7. Then *Walter*, Doctor in the Canon Law, who lived ten years, and ended his daies in the year 1271.

8. *Archibald*, a man much commended for his meek and tractable diſpoſition, ſucceeding, died in the year 1288.

9. *Andrew*, a man skilled in the Laws, was preferred after his death, and lived Biſhop 13 years.

10. *Ferquhard* ſucceeded to him. This Biſhop was a ſtrong defender of the Liberties of the Church, and died in the year 1328.

11. *David* that followed lived 20 years Biſhop, and departed this life *an.* 1348.

12. *Thomas Fingask* was next Biſhop. He died in the Canonry of *Elgin an.* 1360, and lieth buried in S. *Maries* Iſle in a Tomb erected by *William* Earl of *Sutherland*, whom he left his Executor.

13. To him ſucceeded Biſhop *Alexander*, who lived many years in that See, and died in the year 1409.

Then theſe in order.

14. *Malcolm*, a zealous and devout man, who died *anno* 1421.

15. *Robert Strackbock* died *anno* 1440.

16. *John Innes*, Dean of *Roſſe*, in the year 1448.

17. *William Mudie* died *anno* 1460.

18. After whom one *Proſper* was elected, but he reſigned the place in favours of *John Sinclar*, ſon to the Earl of *Cathnes*, who was never conſecrated, and ſo the See remained void the ſpace of 24 years; during which time Mr. *Adam Gordon* governed the affairs of that See.

After *Sinclar*'s death ſucceeded *Andrew Stewart* Commendatory of *Kelſo* and *Ferne*. He died in the year 1517, and was buried in the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes*.

Andrew Stewart, ſon to the Earl of *Athol*, was preferred after him, and died in the year 1542.

Then *Robert Stewart*, brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, was made Biſhop. He was afterwards made Prior of S. *Andrews*, and created Earl of *March*, upon his reſignation of the Earldom of *Lenox* to Duke *Eſme*. A man of noble diſpoſition, but much addicted to his ſervants, whom he rewarded with dilapidation of the Church-rents, whereto he was provided. He died at S. *Andrews* very old, in the year 1586.

The Biſhops of ORKNEY.

The Iſlands of *Orkney* lying over againſt *Cathnes* have alwaies ſince they were made Chriſtians been governed by Biſhops; but being poſſeſſed by the ..... whileſt that Kingdom ſtood, and for a long time in the hands of the *Norvegians*, from whom *Alexander* the Third King of *Scots* recovered the ſame by compoſition, The Biſhops of Orkney.

An. 1137. the firſt Biſhops and their ſucceſſours are utterly unknown: of the latter I have no intelligence, nor in the Records that remain is there any mention of them, only I read of four or five that ſate in this See before the Reformation.

1. One *William*, that lived in the time of King *Robert* the Third.

2. *William Tullock*, who was tranſlated to *Murray* in the reign of King *James* the Third.

3. To whom ſucceeded one *Andrew*.

4. After *Andrew*, *Edward*.

5. And after *Edward Robert Reid*, a man of excellent wit and great experience, employed in divers Legations, and ſelected amongſt others by the Eſtates to aſſiſt the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with the *Daulphin* of *France*. He died in his return at *Diep* much regretted, for he was a man of great integrity, and careful in the adminiſtration of Juſtice.

The Biſhops of Glasgow.

The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Glaſgow*.

This City at firſt was made famous by *Kentigern*, commonly called S. *Mungho*, who is eſteemed the firſt Biſhop thereof. I ſpake of him before, and ſhewed how he was begotten by *Eugenius* the Third upon *Thametis* Daughter to the King of *Picts*. His Mother finding her ſelf with childe, out of ſhame and fear of her fathers wrath ſtole privately away, and entring into a little veſſel that ſhe found at the neareſt coaſt, was by the wind and waves caſt on land where the Town of *Culroſs* is now ſituated; there was delivered of her birth, and leaving the child with a nurſe, returned home. His Parents being unknown, he was brought to *Servanus*, and baptized and bred up by him; yet it ſeems by the Hymn they did ordinarily ſing in the Feſtivals, that his Father came afterwards to be known, for thus it begins. .....

They report of him, that a Lady of good place in the countrey having loſt a Ring which her Husband gave her, as ſhe croſſed the River of *Clwyd*, and her Husband waxing jealous, as if ſhe had beſtowed the ſame upon one of her Lovers, ſhe did mean her ſelf unto him, intreating his help for the ſafety of her honour; and that he going to the River, after he had uſed his Devotion, willed one who was making to fiſh, to bring him the firſt that he caught; which was done: in the mouth of that Fiſh he found the Ring, and ſending it to the Lady, ſhe was thereby freed of her Husband's ſuſpicion. The credit of this I believe upon the reporters; but howſoever it be, the See and City do both of them wear in their Arms a Fiſh with a Ring in the mouth even to this day. He was certainly a man of rare Piety, and to the poor exceeding bountiful, lived to a great age, beyond the ordinary courſe of men, as in the concluſion of the Hymn is ſaid.

Cùm octogenos centum quoque quinque vir annos
Complêrat, ſanctus eſt Glaſgow *funere functus.*

After his death for many ages the See was in a manner deſolate, upon the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, who reſtored the ſame to ſome integrity. The firſt Biſhop I find named after the reſtitution was.

1. *John Achaian*, who took great pains in building the Cathedral, and having brought it to a reaſonable perfection, did dedicate the ſame in the year 1137. King *David* being there in perſon, and beſtowing upon the See the lands of *Patrick*, which the Biſhops do yet enjoy. It was in his time that *Thurſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*, encroaching upon his Juriſdiction, (which at that time comprehended the Countrey of *Cumberland*) placed a new Biſhop at *Carliſle*, by the inſtigation of *Henry* King of *England*. This the Biſhop took ſo heavily, as, when he perceived his complaints not much regarded, he forſook his Charge, and went into *France*, incloſing himſelf in the Monaſtery of *Tours*, where he abode until the Pope, at the requeſt of King *Malcolm* the Fourth, compelled him to return; after which time he lived not long, for he died at *Glaſgow* in the year 1146, the twenty eighth of *May*.

2. To

2. To him ſucceeded another called *John*, who was greatly favoured by King *Alexander* the Firſt, and did counſel *Eadmerus*, becauſe of the King's diſlike, to leave S. *Andrews*, and return unto *England*. *An.* 1207.

3. *Herbert* was his ſucceſſour, and in his time the controverſie with *York* was great, for the Superiority claimed by one *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York* over the Biſhops of *Scotland*. This contention drew *Angelramus* Archdeacon of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellour of the Kingdom for the time, to travel unto *Rome*, as was touched before; and *Herbert* dying whileſt he was there.

4. *Angelramus* by an uniform conſent of the Clergy and Laiety was elected in his place, and, upon notice given of the Election, conſecrated by Pope *Alexander* at *Rome*, from whom he obtained an exemption to the Church of *Scotland* from the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh* and all others, the Apoſtolick See only excepted. Shortly after his return he died.

5. *Jocelin* Abbot of *Melroſſe* was his ſucceſſour. In his time the City of *Glaſgow* was erected into a Burgh Royal. He died at *Melroſſe*, and was interred in that Monaſtery.

6. *Eugenius* was choſen after his death, but how long he lived, I read not.

7. *Hugo* Chancellour of the Kingdom ſucceeded, and lived but a few years.

8. After him *William Malvoiſin* a *French*-man was elected, and conſecrated in *France* by the Pope's direction. He was afterward tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, and preferred to the office of Chancellary.

9. *Florentius*, ſon to the Count of *Holland*, was aſſumed in his place; and ſhortly after, upon licence obtained of the Pope, he reſigned the Office, and died at *Rome* in the year 1207.

10. And then *Walter*, Chaplain to King *William*, was conſecrated Biſhop. He lived in the place 27 years.

11. *William Babington*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was after his death elected Biſhop. In his time, as *Boeth.* writeth, the fabrick of the Church of *Glaſgow* was fully accompliſhed: his words are, *Abſolutum eſt eâ tempeſtate templum Cathedrale Glaſguenſe, ſedes profectò magnifica, cujus haud exiguam partem Gulielmus ibidem Epiſcopus liberalitate ſuâ extruxerat, nec diu operi perfecto ſuperfuit.* He died the 25 of *January* 1261.

12. The Canons meeting to chuſe a Succeſſor, condeſcended upon *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Teviotdale*; yet ſhortly after forethinking their Election, they procured the ſame to be caſſed at *Rome*, whither he was gone to obtain Confirmation. Thereupon *John de Chyan* an *Engliſh*-man was by the Pope provided to the See, whom King *Alexander* the Third admitted with great difficulty. This man is ſaid to have been learned, but very troubleſome to the Canons, upon whom he laid grievous impoſitions. The diſcord betwixt him and them waxing hot, he left the Countrey, and going to *France*, died there in the year 1268.

13. *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Teviotdale* was upon his death provided to the See, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Canons: but he lived a ſhort time, and died at *Tannigham* of the Apoplexie. He was no leſs hated of his Clergy, whom he is ſaid to vex with many injuries.

14. *William Wiſhart*, Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was choſen of the Canons in the year 1270. But S. *Andrews* falling void by the death of *Gamelinus*, before his conſecration he was poſtulated thereto, and ſo returned to S. *Andrews*.

15. *Robert Wiſhart*, Archdeacon of *Lothian*, and Couſen to the ſaid *William*, was upon his change by the Kings recommendation admitted to the place. This is he who made that reply to King *Edward*, in the Conſultation held at *Norham* for the right of the Crown, whereof he ſpake in the life of *William Fraſer* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*: a worthy man, and a great lover of his Countrey, for which he ſuffered much trouble, being made priſoner and ſent unto *London*, where he was kept ſome years; afterwards obtaining liberty, he returned to his See, and therein performed many good works. He died the 26 of *November*, 1316, and was buried in the Church of *Glaſgow* betwixt the altars of S. *Peter* and S. *Andrew*.

An. 1325. 16. *John Lindesay* succeeded, a man given much to the adorning of his Church. He died the ninth of *April* 1325, and was buried in the Cathedral, nigh to the Altar of the Blessed Virgin.

17. Mr. *Stephen Dundy* was the same year elected Bishop, and going to *Rome* to be confirmed, died by the way, not without suspicion of poison given him at a Feast made by the Friers Predicant of *Glasgow*.

18. In his place was chosen *John Wishart*, who in his return from *Rome* was taken prisoner by the *English*, and died some few daies after.

19. *William Rae*, a good and zealous man, was after him chosen by the consent of the whole Chapter. He redeemed the possessions of the Church which his predecessors had alienated, built the stone bridge at *Glasgow*, and, having done many good works, died in the year 1367.

20. After his death *Walter Wardlaw* succeeded. Pope *Urban* the Sixth did prefer him to be Cardinal in the year 1384; and in the third year after he died.

21. Then was Mr. *Matthew Glendouning* provided to the place. In his time the Steeple, which was all built of timber, was burnt by Lightning; in place whereof he intended to build one of stone, and made therefore great preparation, but was prevented by death in the year 1408.

22. His successor *William Lawder* finished the work. He was Chancellor of *Scotland*, and without the Chapter's Election provided by the Pope of mere authority, which was never done in that See before.

23. After him *John Cameron* was Bishop, a man given to Violence and Oppression, who committing many deeds full of cruelty and covetousness, especially upon his own Tenants and Vassals, made (as the same goeth) a fearful and unhappy end; for in the year 1446, the night before *Christmas* day, as he lay asleep in his house of *Lockwood*, some seven miles from the City of *Glasgow*, he seemed to hear a voice summoning him to appear before the tribunal of Christ, and give an accompt of his doings. Thereupon he awak'd, and being greatly terrified, did call his servants to bring lights and sit by him; he himself took a Book in his hand, and began to read: but the voice being again heard, struck all the servants with amazement. The same voice calling the third time far louder and more fearfully, the Bishop after a heavy groan was found dead in the bed, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This, reported by *Buchannan* almost in the same words, I thought good to remember, as a notable example of God's judgement against the crying sin of Oppression.

24. To *Cameron* succeeded *James Bruce*, who was translated from *Dunkeld* to this See in the year 1446, and preferred to be chancellour of the Kingdome.

25. After him Mr. *William Turnbull* (others called him *David*) was chosen Bishop. He founded the College of *Glasgow*.

26. Upon his death *Andrew Moorehead* was elected. The Hospital near the Castle was his Foundation.

27. To *Moorehead* succeeded *John Lang*, who was Chancellour of *Scotland*.

28. He dying, Mr. *George Carmighal* was promoved, but not consecrated; for he died going to *Rome* for Confirmation.

29. *Robert Blacader*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, was after his death translated to this See. In his time was the See of *Glasgow* erected in an Archbishoprick, for which arose a great contention betwixt *Shevez* Archbishop of S. *Andrews* and him, which was after some treaty pacified, and *Galloway*, *Argile* and *Isles* appointed Suffragans to *Glasgow*. He lived until the year 1500, at what time taking his journey toward *Jerusalem*, he departed this life in the way thither.

30. Mr. *James Beaton* upon his death was preferred, and sate Bishop twenty two years; thereafter he was translated to S. *Andrews*, of whom you may read.

31. Mr. *Gawan Dumbar*, Tutour to the King, upon his Translation was promoved;

ved; a good and learned man. He was afterwards made Chancellour of the Kingdom, and adminiſtred the Office with good commendation. *An.* 631.

32. Mr. *James Beaton* ſucceeded after his death, in whoſe time the Reformation fell forth, and of him we ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak.

The Biſhops of GALLOVVAY.

1. S. *Ninnian* had his chief abode in the countrey of *Galloway*, and built there a Church all of white ſtone, which was therefore called *Candida caſa*, and to this day in the countrey language *Whitherne*, as you would ſay, *a white houſe*: He is accompted the firſt Biſhop of this See. The Biſhops of *Galloway*.

2. In the year 631, one *Plechelmus* (*Beda* calleth him *Pectelmus*) was here Biſhop.

3. *Frithwoldus* ſucceeded to him, and died in the year 768.

4. After him *Pethumus*, who deceaſed *anno* 778.

5. Then *Ethelbert*.

6. And after him *Baldulphus*. Further mention I find not of any Biſhop in this See in thoſe firſt times; and it ſeems it hath been quite decayed, before *Malcolm* the Third reſtored the ſame.

In the latter times I reade only of theſe following.

7. *John* Biſhop of *Galloway*, who reſigned his Charge, and became a Monk in the Abby of *Halirudhouſe*.

8. *Thomas Spence*, tranſlated from *Galloway* to *Aberdene* in the year 1458.

9. *David*, who was alſo Dean of the King's Chappel.

10. *Alexander*.

11. *Henry*.

12. *George*.

13. And Biſhop ..... *Gordon*, who lived at the Reformation, and embraced the Truth.

The Biſhops of ARGILE.

This Biſhoprick was part of the Dioces of *Dunkeld*, until *John Scot* Biſhop thereof obtained of Pope *Clement* the Third a diviſion of the Biſhoprick, as you may read in the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*. The Biſhops of *Argile*.

1. Then was *Evaldus* or *Harold* his Chaplain conſecrated Biſhop, and the Seat appointed to be at *Liſmore* within the Countrey of *Argile*, whence the Biſhop of this See is ſtyled *Liſmorenſis Epiſcopus*. This erection was made in the year 1200.

2. To *Harold* ſucceeded *William*, who periſhed by a tempeſt at Sea, in the year 1240.

3. And to him another of the ſame name.

4. Then *David*, who was Biſhop in the year 1330.

5. In the year 1425, one *Finlaw* Biſhop of *Argile*, *Vir ordinis Dominicani*, as *Buchannan* ſaith, upon the apprehenſion of Duke *Murdach*, joyned with the Duke's youngeſt ſon againſt King *James* the Firſt, and fled with him into *Ireland*. The King complaining of him to Pope *Martin* the Fifth, he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Dumblane* to call him before them, and finding him guilty, to depoſe him from the place; but he in the mean time died in *Ireland*.

6. So by the proviſion *George* Laird of *Balcomie* in *Fife*, was preferred to the See. How long he lived Biſhop, and who ſucceeded ſince his time, I have not learned.

An. 1289.

The Bishops of the Isles.

The Bishops of the *Isles.*

Of the Bishops of the *Isles* I have less to say, only that the Isle of *Man* was at first the Cathedral seat, as by occasion we touched before; and that by the Invasions of the *Norvegians* and *English* the same was translated unto *Ilcolmkill.*

In *Man Amphibalus* was the first Bishop. I read of one *Machilla* likewise that was there Bishop, and confirmed the holy *Brigida* in her purpose of single life.

After the translation of the seat to *Ilcolmkill,* I find only one *Onæus* mentioned about the year 1289, who is reported to have been a good and godly man; with another called *Mauricius,* whom King *Edward* the First of *England* sent prisoner to *London.* And thus far of the succession of Bishops unto the time of the Reformation.

THE

THE HISOTRY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

The Third Book.

The Contents.

The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church, and how it is wrought.

THE Petitions put up to the Queen Regent for Reformation of the Church taking no effect, ſome Noblemen and Barons joyning in counſel did bind themſelves by oaths and ſubſcriptions to aſſiſt one another, and hazard their lives and ſubſtance, in advancing the cauſe of Religion. The principals were *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord of *Lorne*, Sir *James Sandelands* of *Calder*, *John Erskin* of *Dun*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger. They meeting together, after deliberation what ſhould be fitteſt firſt to do, concluded, *That in all Pariſhes the Curates ſhould be cauſed read the Prayers and Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament on Sundays and other Feſtival days, according to the form ſet forth in the Book of Common Prayers; and if they ſhould refuſe, that the moſt qualified in every Pariſh ſhould do the ſame. But for Preaching and interpretation of Scripture, the ſame ſhould be uſed only in private houſes after a quiet manner, till God ſhould move the Queen to grant farther liberty.* The Nobles and Barons reſolved upon a Reformation. *An.* 1558. An Act for publick Service. Hiſtory of the Church.

This accordingly was performed in the parts where they had commandment, and by their example in divers Towns and Pariſhes of the Countrey the like was done, to the great offence of the Clergy, who complaining of that boldneſs to the Queen Regent were anſwered, that it was no fit time to enter into thoſe matters, and that ſhe ſhould find occaſion ere it were long to put order unto them. But the Clergy fearing delays did forthwith call a Provincial Council at *Edinburgh*; where profeſſing to make reformation of abuſes, they renewed ſome old Popiſh Conſtitutions, which they made to be imprinted and affixed upon the doors of all the Pariſh-Churches. The Clergy complaining to the Queen Regent.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, advertiſed of the Reformation begun in *Argile*, ſent to the Earl Sir *David Hamilton* his Couſen, with a Letter, wherein after he had ſhewed the peril in which he did caſt both himſelf and his Houſe by that open Defection from the Church, he deſired him in ſome honeſt faſhion to rid himſelf of that defamed and perjured Apoſtate who had ſeduced him; (this was one Mr. *John Dowglas*, whom the Earl had taken to be his Miniſter) offering to provide him of a learned and wiſe Preacher, for whom he would lay his Soul in pawn that he ſhould teach no other but true Doctrine, and agreeable to the Catholick Faith. The Earl anſwered, "That for peril he feared none either to himſelf or to his Houſe, having "reſolved to live in obedience to his Prince, and to ſerve God as well as he could "according to his written Word: and for the Defection alledged, ſeeing it had "pleaſed God to open his eyes and give him the knowledge of his Truth, which he "took The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* letter to the Earl of *Argile*. The Earl of *Argile* his anſwer.

An. 1558. "took for a great argument of his favour, he would not relinquiſh or forſake it "for fear of any inconveniences. As to the man he wrote of, he ſaid that he heard "him teach the doctrine of Chriſt, condemn Idolatry, Adultery, Fornication, and "ſuch like wickedneſs, and that he ſhould make him give an accompt thereof "whenſoever he ſhould be cited. But to call him defamed and perjured there was "no reaſon, ſeeing he was not declared to be ſuch by any Sentence; and if he had "in former times made any unlawful oath, he had done much better in violating "the ſame, then if he had obſerved it. Farther, whereas he made offer to provide "him of ſome learned man, he gave him thanks, conſidering the neceſſity there "was of labourers in the Lord's harveſt; but he underſtood what his meaning in "that was, and minded not to be led with any ſuch Teachers. In end he wiſhed "him not to begin the battel with him, whereof the event would be doubtful; for "as to himſelf he knew God was God, and ſhould be God ſtill, whatſoever mans "craft could work or deviſe.

The Feaſt of S. *Giles.*

The Biſhop receiving this anſwer did communicate the ſame with the chief of the Clergy, who thereby conceiving that there was ſome buſineſs in hand, began to think of other defences; and the Feaſt-day of S. *Giles*, or *Sanctus Egidius*, falling out about that time to be kept at *Edinburgh*, they entreated the Queen Regent to honour the ſolemnity with her preſence. The cuſtom was in that time of the year to carry the Image of the Saint in proceſſion through the town, (for they had S. *Giles* to their Patron) with Drums, Trumpets, and all ſort of muſical inſtruments; neither was there any day kept more ſuperſtitiouſly then this. The Queen agreed the rather to accompany the proceſſion, for that ſome Tumult was feared, which ſhe thought her preſence would repreſs. But when the time of the Solemnity was come, the Saint was miſſing, for ſome had ſtoln the Image out of the place where it was kept. This made a ſtay, till another little Image was borrowed from the Gray Friers; which the vulgar in mockery called *young Saint Giles*. Herewith they ſet forward, the Regent accompanying the people till the Proceſſion was nigh ended; then withdrawing her ſelf to the lodging where ſhe was to dine, ſhe was no ſooner gone then ſome youths, provided for the purpoſe, drawing near unto the *Fertor*, and making a ſhew to carry it upon their ſhoulders, after they had walked ſome few paces, and perceived by the motion they made the Image was fixed to the *Fertor*, they threw all to the ground, and taking the Image by the heels, daſhed the ſame againſt the ſtones, ſo as head and hands were beaten off, and the Idol wholly defaced. The people hereupon fell a crying, the Prieſts and Church-men betook them to flight, and a great ſtir was in the ſtreets. Some hours the Fray continued, and being in end ſetled by the authority of the Magiſtrates, the whole Clergy that were in Town aſſembled themſelves; and making the beſt countenance they could, indicted a ſolemn meeting in the beginning of *November* next.

The Proceſſion diſturbed by a Tumult.

Paul Methven cited.

To this diet *Paul Methven* was ſummoned, and not appearing, was decerned for his contumacy to be baniſhed the Realm: a prohibition likewiſe was given to all the ſubjects, that none of them ſhould entertain or receive him in their houſes. Nottheleſs the town of *Dundy*, where he abode, forbare not to hear his Sermons, and miniſter unto him all neceſſities. Meanwhile they who had combined for working a Reformation did ſend into all parts of the Realm to ſolicit perſons to joyn in that cauſe, and purchaſe the ſubſcriptions of thoſe that were willing unto a Bond which was framed to that effect. Some moved with a zeal to Religion, others out of a deſire to change, and the greateſt part longing to be relieved of the oppreſſions of the Church-men, were eaſily m ved to conſent. So when they underſtood by the return of the Subſcriptions, that the Countrey for the moſt part was inclined that way, and that in force and power they were nothing inferiour to their adverſaries, they reſolved to begin and make an end of the work: yet leſt they ſhould ſeem to contemn Authority, they concluded to preſent a ſupplication to the Queen Regent and Council, to whom *the redreſs of all enormities both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil did orderly belong*; (theſe were the words of the Supplication:) and to this effect made choice of Sir *James Sandelands* of *Calder*, an honourable Baron, and of great accompt, to preſent the Petitions following.

Supplication to the Queen Regent for Reformation.

1. That

1. That their Miniſters might be permitted, in conceiving of publick Prayers and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to uſe the Vulgar language underſtood by the people. *An.* 1558.

Petitions for Reformation.

2. That the Sacrament of the Supper might be miniſtred in both kinds, according to our Saviour's inſtitution.

3. That the election of Miniſters ſhould be according to the manner uſed in the primitive Church, that thoſe who had the charge of election ſhould enquire diligently of the Life and Doctrine of ſuch as were admitted.

4. That ſeeing by corruption of time ignorant and ſcandalous perſons had been promoved to Eccleſiaſtical offices, they ſhould after trial be diſcharged, and other more ſufficient put in ther places.

The Queen anſwer.

Theſe Petitions were no way pleaſing to the Queen Regent, yet becauſe the Parliament was approching, wherein the matrimonial Crown and naturalization of the *French* were to be paſſed, ſhe thought beſt to keep them in hope, ſaying, *That all they could lawfully deſire ſhould be granted unto them; meanwhile they were licenciated to uſe their Prayers and Service in the Vulgar language, providing they did keep no publick aſſemblies in* Edinburgh *or* Leith, *for eſchewing of Tumults.*

A diſpute offered by the Clergy, and accepted by the Congregation.

The Prelates having notice of this were highly incenſed, and when their conſent was required, (for the ſame Petitions were preſented to them) carrying themſelves more imperiouſly then before, anſwered, that *they would not depart a jot from the decrees of Trent.* Afterwards being a little calmed, they made offer to commit the cauſe to diſpute, which by theſe of the *Congregation* (this was the title given commonly to the Reformers) was accepted upon two conditions; one, that the Controverſies in Religion might be decided by the Scripture; the other condition was, that ſuch of their brethren as were exiled or condemned might aſſiſt the diſpute, and have ſafe conduct given them to that effect. But both the conditions were denied; for neither would they admit any other Judge but the Canon Law and Council, nor would they diſpenſe with any ſentence by them pronounced.

Ridiculous conditions offered to the Petitioners.

Some of them that affected quietneſs propounded other conditions of reconcilement; that if the Congregation would ſuffer the Maſſe to be held in the wonted reverence, if they would acknowledge Purgatory, confeſs the invocation of Saints, and admit Prayers for the dead, they ſhould be allowed to pray and adminiſtrate the Sacraments in a known language. But thoſe conditions were held ſo ridiculous and abſurd, as they were not vouchſafed any anſwer.

Articles preſented by the Congregation to the Parliament.

Soon after this the Parliament being aſſembled, the Articles following were preſented to the Queen Regent.

1. That in regard the Controverſies in Religion, which had a long time continued betwixt the Proteſtants in *Germany* and the *Roman* Church, were not as yet decided by a lawful General Council, and that they themſelves upon the ſame grounds could not any longer communicate with Papiſts in their idolatrous Religion; the humble deſire of the Congregation was, that all ſuch Acts of Parliament as warranted Churchmen to proceed againſt Hereticks might be abrogated, or at leaſt ſuſpended, till in a lawful General Councel the Controverſies depending were determined.

2. And leſt it ſhould hereby ſeem that they deſired a liberty to profeſs what they pleaſed, they humbly required that all ſuch might be led before the temporal Judge, the Prelates and their officers being only permitted to accuſe; with this proviſo, that an authentick Copy of the accuſation ſhould be delivered to the perſon accuſed, and a competent term aſſigned him to anſwer.

3. That all lawful defences ſhould be received from perſons accuſed of Hereſie, and they allowed to except againſt the Witneſſes according to Law.

4. That the party accuſed ſhould have liberty to expone his own mind, and that his Declaration might carry more faith then the depoſition of whatſoever Witneſſes; foraſmuch as no perſon ought to ſuffer for Religion, who is not known to be obſtinate in his wicked opinions.

5. That none of their profeſſion ſhould be condemned for Hereſie, unleſs they were firſt convinced by the Word of God to have erred from the Faith which

An. 1558. which the holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to Salvation.

The Queen Regent stayeth the presenting of the Articles.

The Queen receiving the Articles answered in effect as before, That it was not safe for her to utter her mind at that time; which if she should do, the spiritual Estate would not fail to oppose her in all business. But how soon the publick matters were passed, they should know what a good mind she bare unto them. Howbeit this answer did no way content the wiser sort, yet knowing that the Articles would not pass in an Act if she should dissent, they resolved to surcease from presenting them to the Estates, only desired they might be permitted to make a Protestation, which they did in this sort.

The Protestation made by those that desired Reformation.

It is not unknown to this honourable Parliament, what Controversie is of late arisen betwixt those that will be called Prelates and Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Commonalty of this Realm, for the true worshipping of God, the duty of Ministers, and the right administration of the holy Sacraments: and how we have complained to the Queen Regent, that our Consciences are burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies, and we compelled to endure many idolatrous abuses; that such as take upon them Offices Ecclesiastical do perform no part of the duty which is required of true Ministers, and that we and our brethren are most injustly oppressed by their usurped authority. As also we suppose it to be sufficiently known to your Honours, that we were of mind this present Parliament to seek redress of these enormities; but considering the troubles of the time do not suffer such a Reformation as we by the warrant of God's word do require, we are enforced to delay that, which of all things most earnestly we desire; and yet lest our silence should give our adversaries occasion to think that we repent us of our former intentions, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that injust Tyranny, which heretofore patiently we have sustained.

Therefore first we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain just Reformation according to God's Word, that it may be lawful to us to use our selves in matters of Religion and Conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true Ministers of Christ's Church, and purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our selves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred Authority shall please to give us audience.

Secondly, we protest, that neither we, nor any other of the godly that please to joyn with us in the true Faith, which is grounded upon the Word of God, shall incurr any danger of life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as have passed heretofore in favour of our adversaries, or for violating such Rites as have been invented by man without the Commandment of God.

We thirdly protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of the Realm for the diversity of Religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to us, who now do most humbly seek that all things may be reformed by order: but that whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to ensue for lack of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those that will not as now hearken to our Petitions for Reformation.

And last we protest, that these our requests, proceeding from Conscience, do tend to no other end but only to the Reformation of abuses in Religion; most humbly beseeching the sacred Authority to think of us as faithful and obedient subjects, and take us in their protection, keeping that indifferency which becometh God's Lieutenants to use towards those that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and bloud-thirsty tyrants.

The Protestation refused to be inserted in the Records.

These Protestations made in face of Parliament, were desired to be insert in the Books of publick Records; but the Queen Regent answering that she should remember what was protested, & put a good end to all things, the desire was rejected.

The Queens countenance changed towards the Congregation.

Yet how soon the Parliament brake up, and all matters in it went to her contentment, it was observed that her countenance was quite altered upon those that favoured the Reformation, and often she was heard say, *That being now freed of the vexations which most troubled her mind, she would labour to restore the Authority by some notable example to that reverend esteem which in the late times it had lost:* whereby divers did apprehend that a Tempest was breeding, albeit the same did not break forth untill the next Spring; at which time taking up the names of all the Ministers in the Countrey, she caused summon them to appear at *Striveling* the tenth of *May*.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Earl of *Glencarn* and Sir *Hugh Cambel* Sheriff of *Aire* were ſent to enquire the reaſon of that Citation, and to intreat her not to moleſt the Miniſters, unleſs they could be charged with preaching falſe Doctrine, or behaving themſelves diſorderly. The Queen in paſſion replied, *That maugre their hearts, and all that would take part with them, theſe Miniſters ſhould be baniſhed* Scotland, *though they preached as ſoundly as ever S.* Paul *did.* *An.* 1559. Commiſſions directed to the Queen.

The Noblemen marvelling what ſhould move her to ſuch paſſion, beſought her in humble manner to think of the promiſes ſhe had made to them from time to time. Hereat growing into a greater choler ſhe ſaid, *That the promiſes of Princes ſhould be no further ſtrained then it ſeemed to them convenient to perform.* Then ſaid they, *If this be the concluſion which you have taken, that you will keep no promiſes to the Subjects, we cannot any longer acknowledge your Authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniences may ariſe of this, you may bethink your ſelf.* This unexpected anſwer calming the Queen a little, after a few moe words, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe would think how to remedy theſe evils in the beſt and moſt quiet ſort.

The ſame day at night advertiſement was brought to the Queen of the Reformation begun in the town of *Perth*, wherewith ſhe was much diſturbed, and calling the Lord *Ruthven*, commanded him to go and ſuppreſs theſe Novations. He anſwering, *That he ſhould make their bodies and goods ſubject, but had no power over their minds and conſciences*, ſhe was ſo commoved, that ſhe avowed to make both him and them repent what they had done. Reformation begun at *Perth*.

The Diet appointed for the appearing of the Miniſters at *Striveling* drawing nigh, the Profeſſors in all parts of the Countrey prepared to accompany them. In the parts of *Angus* and *Mernis* ſuch was the zeal of the people as none would ſtay at home, all profeſſing to go and yield confeſſion of their Faith with their Miniſters.

The Queen advertiſed of this concourſe of people from all parts, employed *John Areskin* of *Dun* to cauſe them return home, promiſing that the Diet ſhould deſert, and nothing to be done to the prejudice of the Miniſters. This he ſignified by letters to the principals of the Congregration, adviſing them to diſmiſs the multitude. But they ſuſpecting (as it alſo came to paſs) that ſome advantage ſhould be taken of the Miniſters not appearing at the day, reſolved to make the Commons return to their houſes, the Barons and Gentlemen ſtaying at *Perth* in the mean while with the Preachers. When the day appointed came, notwithſtanding of the promiſes made, the Preachers not appearing were denounced Rebels. The Laird of *Dun* offending herewith, departed from Court, and coming to *Perth* excuſed himſelf of the advice he had given, declaring that they were not to expect any favour, and that they ſhould do wiſely to provide againſt the worſt. The Queen Regent dealeth with the Lord of *Dun* to ſtay the contentions of the people.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed, *John Knox* returned from *Geneva* into *Scotland*, and joyning with the Congregation did preach to them at *Perth*. In his Sermon he took occaſion to ſpeak againſt the Adoration of Images, ſhewed that the ſame tended to God's diſhonour, and that ſuch Idols and monuments of Superſtition as were erected in Churches ought to be pulled down, as being offenſive to good and godly people. The Sermon ended and the better ſort gone to dinner, a Prieſt, rather to try mens affections then out of any devotion, prepared to ſay Maſſe, opening a great caſe, wherein was the Hiſtory of divers Saints exquiſitely carved. A young boy that ſtood by ſaying that ſuch boldneſs was unſufferable, the Prieſt gave him a blow. The boy in anger caſting a ſtone at the Prieſt, happened to break one of the Pictures: whereupon ſtir was preſently raiſed, ſome of the common ſort falling upon the Prieſt, others running to the Altar and breaking the Images, ſo as in a moment all was pulled down in the Church that carried any mark of Idolatry. The people upon the noiſe thereof aſſembled in great numbers, and invading the Cloiſters, made ſpoil of all they found therein. The *Franciſcans* had ſtore of proviſion both of victuals and houſhold-ſtuffe: amongſt the *Dominicans* the like wealth was not found, yet ſo much there was as might ſhew the profeſſion they made of Poverty to be feigned and counterfeit. The *Carthuſians*, who paſſed both theſe in wealth, were uſed in like manner; yet was the Prior permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and ſilver plate. All the ſpoil was given to the poor, *John Knox* joyneth with the Congregation at *Perth*. The Monaſteries demoliſhed at *Perth*.

An. 1559. the rich ſort forbearing to meddle with any part thereof. But that which was moſt admired was, the ſpeed they made in demoliſhing theſe edifices. For the *Charterhouſe* (a building of exceeding coſt and largeneſs) was not only ruined, but the ſtones and timber ſo quickly taken away, as in leſs then two days ſpace a veſtige thereof was ſcarce remaining to be ſeen. They of *Couper* in *Fife*, hearing what was done at *Perth*, went in like manner to their Church, and defaced all the Images, Altars and other inſtruments of Idolatry; which the Curate took ſo heavily, as the night following he put violent hands in himſelf.

The Images pulled down at *Couper* in *Fife*.

The report of theſe things being brought to the Queen Regent, ſhe was greatly incenſed, eſpecially againſt thoſe of *Perth*, and preſently diſpatched letters to the Duke of *Chattellerault* (the Lord *Hamilton* was ſo ſtyled) and to the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol*, deſiring them to come to her with diligence. The *French* garriſon were likewiſe called, her purpoſe being to ſurpriſe the Town at unawares. But they within the Town receiving advertiſement of her preparation, ſent meſſengers to all the parts of the Kingdom for aid and aſſiſtance. Many came to their ſuccours from *Angus*, *Mernis*, *Fife*, and the adjacent Shires; ſome alſo from *Lothian*. But the celerity which *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn* uſed was moſt admired; for he, upon warning given him of the danger wherein the Town ſtood, taking his way through the mountains, travelled night and day till he came to *Perth*, bringing with him two thouſand and five hundred men, a good and opportune ſupport; the Lord *Ruthven* having a little before fallen from them, and gone to the Queen, which bred a great diſcouragement to the reſt. The principals that came in *Glencarn*'s company were the Lords of *Boyde* and *Ochiltrie*, the Sheriffe of *Aire*, the Lairds of *Cragie*, *Seſnok*, *Carnall*, *Bar*, and *Garthgirth*.

The Queen Regent intendeth to ſurpriſe *Perth*.

The Earl of *Glencarne* cometh to aſſiſt the Town.

The Queen getting intelligence that the Earl of *Glencarn* was come to aſſiſt them, and that in the Town there was ſeven thouſand Gentlemen, beſides the Burgers, reſolute men all; ſent the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of S. *Andrews*, called then Lord *James*, to enquire the reaſon of their Convocation, and mediate an Accord. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Laird of *Dun*, ſelected to treat with them, anſwered to the firſt Point, *That they were come thither to defend their friends, and ſave the Town from deſtruction.* As to the Accord they profeſſed to mediate, they ſaid, *That if the Queen Regent would ceaſe from troubling the Profeſſors of true Religion, and ſuffer the Reformation begun in the Town to proceed, they ſhould in all other things be obedient to her commandments.*

An Accord mediated by the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*.

The Noblemen employed in this Treaty were known to be well affected to the cauſe, which made them within the Town hearken to the Conditions proponed; and ſo much the rather, that the Noblemen did promiſe, if the Queen did either refuſe to accept reaſonable conditions, or the ſame being accepted did violate the leaſt jot thereof, they ſhould in that caſe joyn themſelves openly with the Congregation, and undergoe the like hazard that they did. Thus at their perſuaſion the Articles following were drawn up and agreed unto by both parties.

The Conditions of the Accord.

1. That both the Armies diſſolving, the Town ſhould be left patent to the Queen.

2. That none of the Inhabitants ſhould be moleſted or called in queſtion for the alteration they had made in Religion.

3. That no *French*-men ſhould enter into the Town, nor approach to it by the ſpace of three miles; and that when the Queen retired, there ſhould no *French* garriſon be left in the Town.

4. That all other controverſies ſhould be delayed unto the next Parliament, or meeting of the Eſtates.

This appointment was made the 29 of *May*, *anno* 1559. After which publick thanks being given by *John Knox* for the good iſſue of the preſent Trouble, the Congregation departed forth of the Town, having firſt obliged themſelves one to another, that they ſhould all concur in maintaining the true Religion, and be ready at all occaſions to defend the Profeſſors thereof; for ſtill they feared that promiſes ſhould not be kept with them, and that the Queen would find occaſions to violate

the

the Articles whenſoever ſhe pleaſed, as the ſucceſs alſo declared. *An.* 1559.

For immediately upon their departing, ſhe entered into the Town with ſome *French* ſouldiers in her company, contrary to the Articles; one of whom marching by the houſe of *Patrick Murray*, a Citizen who was known to be moſt forward in the cauſe of Religion, whether caſually or of purpoſe, it is uncertain, killed with a ſhot his ſon, a boy of 13 years old, that was beholding the Queens entry. The child being brought and laid before the Queens lodging, ſhe asked whoſe ſon he was; anſwer made that he was the ſon of one *Patrick Murray*, ſhe ſaid that *the caſe was to be pitied; and the more, that it had fallen on the ſon, and not on the father: but ſhe could not help misfortune.* Before three days paſſed all the heads of the Capitulation were broken, ſome of the Citizens exiled, others fined in great ſums, the preſent Magiſtrates thruſt out of Office, new rulers intruded, and four Companies of ſouldiers left in the town for a Garriſon, who were charged to permit no other Service but that of the *Roman* Church, which againſt promiſe ſhe had of new eſtabliſhed. Some that deſired matters ſhould be more peaceably carried, told her that the placing of a Garriſon would be interpreted a breach of the Articles. She anſwered, *that the promiſe was to leave no* French *ſouldiers in the Town, which ſhe had done, for they were all* Scottiſh *men that were there.* And it being replied, that all who took wages of the *French* King would be counted *French* ſouldiers: ſhe ſaid, *that promiſe was not to be kept to Hereticks, and if ſhe could make as honeſt an excuſe after the fact committed, ſhe would take upon her conſcience to kill and undoe all that Sect.* But *Princes*, ſaith ſhe, *ought not to have their promiſes ſo ſtrictly urged.*

The Queen Regent entereth into *Perth.*

The Articles of Peace violated.

Theſe ſpeeches being divulged did procure to her much ill will. Some reaſon indeed ſhe had to aſſure the Town, it being the Town of all the Kingdom moſt commodious for the aſſembling of forces out of all quarters, and the people by nature bellicoſe, and at that time greatly inclined to thoſe of the Congregation: but the advantage ſhe made of this was little or nothing to the malice ſhe incurred by the breach of promiſes. Neither did ſhe after this time ever ſee a good day, but was of all ſorts of people deſpiſed and miſregarded.

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*, thinking their honours touched by the breach of the Peace which they had mediated, did forſake her and went to the Congregation: whereupon they were charged to appear before the Council; but they anſwered, *That ſeeing the Queen had broken Conditions, which by warrant from her ſelf they had made with the Lords of the Congregation, they would have no more medling in ſuch diſhoneſt courſes, and do the beſt to repair things.*

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* forſake the Regent.

The Noblemen remained at that time in S. *Andrews*; and becauſe they foreſaw this their anſwer would not be well accepted, and feared ſome ſudden attempt, (for the Queen with her *French*-men lay then at *Falkland*) they ſent to the Lords of *Dun* and *Pittarrow*, and others that favoured Religion in the Countreys of *Angus* and *Mernis*, and requeſted them to meet at S. *Andrews* the 4 day of *June*. Meanwhile they themſelves went to the town of *Craile*, whither all that had warning came, ſhewing great forwardneſs and reſolutions; and were not a little incouraged by *John Knox*, who in a Sermon made unto them at the ſame time put them in mind of that he foretold at *Perth*, how there was no ſincerity in the Queen Regent's dealing, and that Conditions would not be kept, as they had found. Therefore did he exhort them not to be any longer deluded with fair promiſes, ſeeing there was no peace to be hoped for at their hands who took no regard of Contracts and Covenants ſolemnly ſworn. And becauſe there would be no quietneſs till one of the parties were maſters, and ſtrangers expulſed out of the Kingdome, he wiſhed them to prepare themſelves either to die as men, or to live victorious.

John Knox in a Sermon preached at *Craile* perſuadeth the expulſion of the *French.*

By this exhortation the hearers were ſo moved, as they fell immediately to the pulling down of Altars and Images, and deſtroyed all the Monuments which were abuſed to Idolatry in the Town. They like the did the next day in *Auſtruther*, and from thence came directly to S. *Andrews*. The Biſhop hearing what they had done in the Coaſt-towns, and ſuſpecting they would attempt the ſame Reformation in the City, came to it well accompanied, of purpoſe to withſtand them: but after he had tried the affections of the towns-men, and found them all inclining to the

Images pulled down at *Craile* and *Auſtruther.*

An. 1559. Congregation, he went away early the next morning towards *Falkland* to the Queen.

The Monaſteries of S. *Andrews* demoliſhed. That day being Sunday, *John Knox* preached in the Pariſh-Church, taking for his theme the Hiſtory of the Goſpel touching our Saviour's purging of the Temple; and applying the corruption which was at that time in *Jeruſalem* to the preſent eſtate in the Church, and declaring what was the duty of thoſe to whom God had given authority and power, he did ſo incite the Auditors, as, the Sermon being ended, they went all and made ſpoil of the Churches, raſing the Monaſteries of the Black and Gray Friers to the ground. The report of this carried to the Queen Regent, ſhe was ſore incenſed, and preſently gave order for the marching of the *French* Companies towards S. *Andrews*, directing Proclamations to all the parts about for meeting her in arms the next morning at *Couper*.

Proclamation to meet the Queen at *Couper*.

The Lords of the Congregation prevent her. The Lords taking purpoſe to prevent her coming, went the ſame night thither accompanied with 100 horſe only, and as many foot; but ſuch was the readineſs of men in that quarrel, as before 10 of the clock on the next day their number grew to 3000. The Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Ruthven* brought with them many Gentlemen from *Lothian:* the Lairds of *Calder*, *Ormſton*, *Halton*, *Reſtarig* and *Goalſton* brought only a few; for the warning they got was late, yet their preſence did greatly incourage the reſt. The towns of *Dundy*, S. *Andrews* and *Couper* ſhewed great reſolution and courage.

The meeting at *Couper* Moor. In the morning early the Noblemen had drawn forth their Companies to the Moor on the Weſt ſide of the town, and committed the direction of all things to Mr. *James Halleburton*, Provoſt of *Dundy*, a man of good experience, and much eſteemed both for valour and counſel, who made choice of a plot of ground moſt convenient for defence; for it lay ſo, as the Munition might play on all ſides upon the enemy, without receiving any annoiance from them, till it ſhould come to handy-blows. A little River ran alſo between the Armies, which the enemies behoved paſs before they gave the onſet. The Lord *Ruthven* with the horſemen was placed in the vantguard; the other Lords with the Gentlemen of *Angus*, *Mernis*, *Fife* and *Lothian*, made the battel. The Towns-men of *Dundy*, S. *Andrews* and *Couper* were ſet in the rear, and a certain ſpace from them were the ſerving-men and followers of the Camp appointed to ſtand, which made ſhew of an auxiliary force provided againſt all accidents.

The eſtate of the Queen's Army. In the Queen Regent's Army the *French* were commanded by *Monſieur de Offell*, and the *Scots* by the Duke of *Chatterault:* the morning was dark, and the fields covered with a foggy miſt, which hindered the Armies that they could not ſee one another. About noontide, when the air began to clear, the *French* ſent ſome of their company to view the numbers & order kept by the Congregation; who beholding them from afar as they ſtood ranged in three battels, and perceiving behind them the multitude of ſerving people, which they took to be a ſupply of *French*-men, affirmed at their return the numbers to be greater then in truth they were. Upon this a Poſt was directed to the Queen, (who was not as yet come from *Falkland*) to enform her how matters went, and to ſhew that the Lords were much ſtronger then was ſuppoſed, and very forward to fight; as likewiſe that they perceived a ſecret muting in their own Army, ſome openly profeſſing, that they would not fight againſt their friends and Countreymen for the pleaſure of ſtrangers. She hearing this was content they ſhould treat for Peace. So the Lord *Lindſey* and *Waughton* were imployed by the Duke to confer with the Lords, who at firſt were not ſuffered to approch nigh to the Army, and had anſwer that they knew the Queen had ſent thoſe forces to purſue them, and if they would invade they ſhould find them prepared to defend. But they profeſſing all their deſires to be for Peace, and that they were ſent to that effect, were afterwards permitted to go to the Lords, who told them, *That they had been ſo often abuſed with the Queen Regents promiſes, as they could not truſt her words any more; but if ſhe would ſend back the* French*-men that troubled the Countrey, and give ſurety that no violence ſhould be uſed to thoſe that profeſs the true Religion, they ſhould not be found unreaſonable.* It was anſwered, *That for dimitting the* French*-men ſhe could ſay nothing till the* French *King was advertiſed; and for the ſecu-*

A Treaty for Peace.

The *French* required to be dimitted.

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rity craved, ſhe could give no other but her own Word, nor ſtood it with her honour to do do otherwiſe. Thus becauſe a preſent Peace could not be concluded, a Truce for eight days was made, upon condition that the *French* ſouldiers ſhould be tranſported unto *Lothian*, and promiſe given, that *before the expiring of that time ſome indifferent men ſhould be ſent to S.* Andrews, *authorized with ſufficient power for making a firm and ſolid Peace.* This Truce, made at *Garlibank* the 13 of *June*, 1559, was ſigned by the Duke and *Monſieur de Oyſell* in name of the Queen. *An.* 1559. The Truce accorded.

This done the Lords of the Congregation departed, leaving the fields firſt at the Duke's requeſt, and returning to *Couper* gave publick thanks for that the enemies had failed of their purpoſe. The next day, diſmiſſing the multitude, they went to *S. Andrews*, where attending ſome days (but in vain) the coming of theſe indifferent perſons, who were promiſed to be ſent thither, for concluding a final Peace, complaints were daily brought unto them of the oppreſſions uſed by the Lord of *Kinſawns*, whom the Queen Regent had placed Provoſt in the Town of *Perth*. The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* did hereupon write to the Queen, ſhewing how at her ſpecial deſire they had travelled with the Congregation then being at *Perth*, and brought them to accept of the conditions propounded by her ſelf: the breach whereof, chiefly in one point, that is, the placing of a Garriſon of ſouldiers in the town of *Perth*, was no leſs diſhonourable to them who had given their promiſes to the contrary, then it was grievous to the people. Therefore they deſired the Garriſon might be removed, and the Town reſtored to the former liberty. The town of *Perth* complaineth of their oppreſſions.

No anſwer returning, the Lords reſolved to expulſe the Garriſon by force, and coming to *Perth* the 24 of *June*, they ſummoned the Provoſt, Captains and Souldiers to render, aſſuring them, if they held out, and that it happened any one to be killed in the aſſault, all their lives ſhould pay for it. The Provoſt and Captains anſwered, That they had promiſed to keep the town for the Queen Regent, and would to the laſt drop of their bloud defend the ſame. As theſe things were in doing, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord *Areskin*, and Mr. *James Bormatyne*, Juſtice Clerk, came by direction of the Queen to perſuade the Lords to delay the ſiege, at leaſt for ſome days: but they refuſed to defer it the ſpace of one hour, praying them, if they loved the ſafety of the beſieged, to adviſe them to render; for if any harm ſhould be done in the aſſault, their lives ſhould anſwer it. *Huntley* offending that his interceſſion availed not, left them without a farewel. The Lords beſiege *Perth*.

Then were the Provoſt and Captains again ſummoned. But they expected no ſudden aſſault, and being confident that the Queen would ſend relief, anſwered as before: whereupon the Lord *Ruthven*, that lay on the Weſt quarter, began to batter the walls with his munition. The men of *Dundy*, who lay upon the Eaſt ſide, played upon the town in like manner with their pieces, which put the beſieged in fear; ſo as conſidering their own weakneſs, and doubting the ſuccourſe ſhould come too late, they demanded a Parlee, wherein it was agreed, that if the Queen did not ſend relief within the ſpace of 12 hours, they ſhould depart and go forth of the Town with their weapons and Enſigns diſplayed. Thus was the Town yielded, *Kinſawns* expulſed, and the Lord *Ruthven* repoſſeſſed in his charge, and the inhabitants reſtored to their Liberties. *Perth* yielded upon Compoſition.

The next day the Abbey of *Scone*, ſituate a mile above *Perth*, was burnt to aſhes by the towns-men of *Dundy*. The Noblemen were earneſt to have the Church and Houſe ſaved from fire; but the peeple were in ſuch fury, becauſe one of their company was killed by a ſhot from the Houſe, as by no means could they be pacified. The Abby of *Scone* demoliſhed.

Intelligence in the mean time coming to the Lords, that the Queen was of mind to place a Garriſon of *French* ſouldiers in *Striveling*, to ſtop that paſſage, and ſeclude the Profeſſors beyond the river of *Forth* from thoſe of the South, they made haſte to prevent her, and riſing at midnight came early in the morning to the Town, and immediately after their coming pulled all the Monaſteries to the ground. The Altars and Images in all the Churches within and about the Town were broken and defaced, and the Abbey of *Cambuskenneth* ruined and caſt down. Three days they abode at *Striveling*, and on the fourth marched towards *Edinburgh*, doing the like The Abby of *Cambuskenneth* ruined

An. 1559. at *Linlithgow*, which is in the way. The rumour of their approch, though they were but few in number, (for they paſſed not three hundred men in all) did ſo terrifie the Queen & the companies that were with her, as with all the haſte they could make they fled to *Dumbar*. The Lord *Seaton*, who for the time was Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and took upon him the protection of the Black and Gray Friers, abandoned the charge, and left all to the ſpoil of the multitude, who before the arriving of the Lords had demoliſhed all the Monaſteries within the Town, and carried away whatſoever they found in the ſame. It is ſtrange to think how by ſo weak means in ſuch a diſorderly way thoſe things ſhould have been wrought, ſeeing upon the leaſt ſhew of reſiſtance the enterpriſers would in all probability have left their attempt. But God put ſuch a fear in the adverſaries hearts, as they did flee none purſuing.

Images and Altars pulled down at *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh*.

A Proclamation by the Queen Regent.

The Queen Regent not knowing how to redreſs theſe things, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein ſhe declared, "That having perceived a ſeditious Tumult to be "raiſed by a part of the Lieges, who named themſelves the *Congregation*, and un- "der pretence of Religion had taken Arms, She, by the advice of the Lords of the "Privie-Councel, for ſatisfying every mans Conſcience, and pacifying the preſent "Troubles, had made offer to call a Parliament in *January* next, or ſooner if they "were pleaſed, for eſtabliſhing an univerſal order in matters of Religion by the "advice of the Eſtates, and in the mean time to ſuffer every man live at liberty, "ſerving their Conſcience without any trouble, until farther order were taken. "And becauſe much appeared to conſiſt upon the ſtate of the Town of *Edinburgh*, "ſhe in like manner had offered to permit the inhabitants to uſe what manner of "Religion they would during that time, to the end none might have juſt cauſe to "ſay that they were forced to any thing againſt their minds. But that they of the "Congregation, rejecting all reaſonable offers, had by their actions clearly ſhew- "ed, that it is not Religion, nor any thing pertaining thereto, that they ſeek, but "only the ſubverſion of Authority, and the uſurpation of the Crown. In teſtimony "whereof they daily brought *Engliſh* men into their houſes, that come with meſſa- "ges unto them, and returned anſwers back to *England*, and of late had violently "poſſeſſed the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, and intromitted with the Irons of the Mint- "houſe, one of the chief things that concerned the Crown. Wherefore ſhe com- "manded all perſons belonging to the ſaid Congregation, (the inhabitants of the "Burgh excepted) to depart forth of the town of *Edinburgh* within ſix hours af- "ter the charge, as likewiſe all that were of their ſociety to forſake them, and live "obedient to the Authority, except they would be reputed and holden Traytors "to the Crown, &c.

Rumours diſperſed to the prejudice of the Congregation.

Together with this Proclamation rumors were diſperſed, that the Lords of the Congregation had conſpired to deprive the Queen Regent of her Authority, and to diſinherit the Duke of *Chatterault* and his heirs of their ſucceſſion and title to the Crown. Theſe rumours were believed of divers, and prevailed ſo far, as many that aſſiſted the Congregation began to ſhrink and fall away: in regard whereof it was thought needful they ſhould clear themſelves both by their Letters to the Queen, and open Proclamation to the people; which they did in manner following.

The Lords purge themſelves to the Queen.

Firſt in the Letters directed to the Queen they ſaid, *That they had notice given them of a Proclamation lately made, wherein they were traduced as uſurpers of their Soveraign's Authority, and Invaders of her Perſon, who in abſence of their Soveraigns governed the Realm, which they eſteemed to proceed of a ſiniſtrous information made by their enemies, and was an imputation moſt falſe and odious; their intentions being no other but to aboliſh idolatry and ſuperſtitious abuſes, that did not agree with the Word of God, and maintain the true Preachers thereof from the violence of wicked men. They did therefore beſeech her to uſe her Authority to that effect, and for other matters ſhe ſhould find them as obedient as any ſubjects within the Realm; whereof they promiſed to give teſtimony and aſſurance, ſo as they might have ſafe acceſs to her Highneſs.* This was the ſubſtance of the Letter which was ſent by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Ochiltrie* unto her.

The Proclamation of the Lords.

In the Proclamation they did call God to witneſs, *That ſuch crimes as they were charged with never entered into their hearts, and that their only intention was to baniſh Idolatry,*

Idolatry, and advance true Religion, and defend the Preachers thereof; promiſing to continue in all duty towards their Sovereign and her Mother their Regent, provided they might enjoy the liberty of their Conſciences. As to the intromiſſion with the Irons of the Mint-houſe, they ſaid, *That they being born Counſellors of the Realm, and ſworn to procure the profit thereof, when they underſtood the ſubjects to be greatly hurt by the baſeneſs of the money, which increaſed the dearth of all neceſſary wares, they could do no leſs of their duties then ſtay the coyning of more lay money, until the Nobility and Council had taken further deliberation therein. And where it was given out, that they had ſpoiled the Mint-houſe of great ſums, in that point they did remit themſelves to the Declaration of Mr.* Robert Richardſon, *Maſter of the Mint, in whoſe hands they delivered all the gold and ſilver, both coined and uncoined, which there was found,* &c. For the intelligence with *England* nothing was replied: whereby it ſeemed there was ſome dealing that way for expelling the *French*-men; which they did not deny, and thought not convenient as then openly to profeſs. *An.* 1559.

The Queen taking hold of the laſt words of the Letter ſent unto her ſelf, and deſiring to know what they would ſay, as likewiſe truſting to gain ſomewhat by conference with them, did offer a ſafe conduct to any that pleaſed: whereupon the Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cunningham-head* were ſent in the name of the Congregation, to declare *that their intent and purpoſe was no other, but that they might enjoy the liberty of their Conſciences, and unable Miniſters be removed from all Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; Chriſt* Jeſus *might be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly adminiſtred; and that their Preachers might be licenced to do their offices without moleſtation, until ſuch time as by a general Council lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the Realm, the controverſies of Religion ſhould be decided. Which things being granted, they did faithfully promiſe in all other things dutiful obedience. Only, to be aſſured of ſincere dealing, they deſired that the* French *companies which were to the Countrey a burthen, and fearful to them, might be ſent home to their native Countrey.* The Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cunningham-head*, ſent to the Queen.

Theſe Propoſitions were not pleaſing, yet made ſhe no ſhew of any diſlike, but uſing gracious words, ſaid, *That if ſhe could be aſſured of their honeſt and dutiful meaning to her Daughter and her ſelf, their demands ſeemed not unreaſonable. But ſhe longed to ſpeak with ſome of their number who were of greater authority,* meaning, as afterwards ſhe uttered, that her deſire was the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* ſhould come unto her; for when ſhe ſaw the *Lord Ruthven* and *Ochiltrie* returned not unto her with the Laird of *Pittarrow*, ſhe fell a-complaining that ſhe was not ſought in a courteous manner, and that they in whom ſhe put her moſt confidence had left her in her greateſt need. In end ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe could not be ſatisfied till ſhe ſpake with the Earl of* Argile *and Lord* James, *for ſtill ſhe ſuſpected there was ſome higher purpoſe amongſt them then Religion.* The Queen's deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James.*

This reported to the Lords, they would not by any means condeſcend that theſe Noblemen ſhould go unto her, doubting ſome practiſe againſt them; for ſhe was heard ſay, *That if the means could be found out to divide theſe two from the reſt, ſhe was ſure to prevail:* one likewiſe of her chief attendants was ſaid to have bragged, that before Michaelmas next both theſe Noblemen ſhould loſe their heads. This not ſucceeding, it was agreed that the Duke, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Erskin* and *Summervaile*, with the Abbot of *Kilwining* and Juſtice Clerk ſhould meet for the Queen with ſuch as the Congregation did appoint, for treating of the beſt means to ſettle a conſtant and ſolid Peace; and for the part of the Congregation were named the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, the Lord *James*, and the Lairds of *Dun* and *Pittarrow*. The Lords ſuſpecting ſome practice, refuſe to ſend the Noblemen.

Theſe meeting at *Preſton*, to the number of an hundred on each ſide, (as was appointed) conferred together a whole day, but without any concluſion; for the Queen ſeeming to yield unto the free exerciſe of Religion, would have it provided, that in what place ſhe happened to come, the Miniſters ſhould ceaſe from preaching, and the Maſſe only be uſed. The Lords anſwered, *That this were to leave them no Church; for when the Queen pleaſed, ſhe might change the place of her reſidence, and ſo there could not be any certain exerciſe of Religion, which were all alike as to overthrow it.* In theſe terms they parted that night; yet the Lords named for the Congregation A meeting at *Preſton.*

An. 1559. gation, unwilling to break off the Conference, said, they would think more of the busines, and advertise what would be yielded unto.

The answer of the Lords to the condition proponed.

After some deliberation, the Lord *Ruthven* and *Pittarrow* were remitted with this answer, *That as they could not impede her to use what exercise of Religion she pleased, so could they not agree that the Ministers of Christ should be silenced upon any occasion, much less that the true service of God should give place to Superstition and Idolatry. Wherefore they humbly requested (as often they had done) liberty to serve God according to their Consciences, and did beseech her to remove the* French *souldiers, otherwise there could be no firm and solid Peace.* The Queen hearing all, replied only that she wished there might be Peace; but to none of the points proponed made she any direct answer. Whereupon the Noblemen resolved to bide together at *Edinburgh*, and not depart till matters were fully composed.

News of the *French* Kings death.

News in this time were brought of the *French* King *Henry* the Second his death, which put the Lords in some better hopes, but withall made them more careless; for divers, as though nothing was now to be feared, did slide away to attend their private affairs; and they who remained, expecting no invasion, lived secure, keeping neither watch nor ward, as if there had been no enemy to fear. The Queen on the other side became more watchful, observing all occasions whereby she might weaken the Faction, and assure her self: so getting notice of the solitude which was at *Edinburgh*, she hasted thither with the Companies she had. The Lords advertised of her coming, grew doubtful what to do; for howsoever they might save themselves by flight, they saw the Town by their retiring should be lost, and the Church, which in some good fashion was then established, be utterly cast down: therefore with the small number they had they issued forth of the Town, and putting themselves in order, stood on the East side of *Craigingate*, to impede the approch of the *French*. The Duke and Earl of *Morton*, who were gone that morning to meet the Queen and give her the convoy, laboured to compose things, but prevailed not; only that day they kept the parties from falling into an open conflict. The next day when the Queen, which lay all that night at *Leith*, prepared to enter into the Town by the West port, and that the Lords were advanced to stop her in the way, the Lord *Areskin*, who until that time had carried himself a neuter, threatned to play upon them with the Cannon, unless they suffered the Queen to enter peaceably and without trouble. This it was supposed he did to make them accept the Conditions of Truce offered the day before, which they seeing no better way were content to yield unto. The Articles were as followeth.

The Queen prepareth to enter into *Edinburgh*.

The Articles of the Truce.

1. That the Congregation and their adherents (the inhabitants of *Edinburgh* only excepted) should depart forth of the Town within the space of twenty four hours, to the end the Queen Regent and her Companies may enter peaceably in the same.

2. That the Congregation should render the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, with all the furnishing they found therein, redeliver the Mint-house & Printing Irons the next morning before ten of the clock: and for observing this and the former Article, the Lord *Ruthven* and Laird of *Pittarrow* should enter as pledges to the Queen.

3. That the Lords of the Congregation and all the members thereof should remain obedient subjects to the King and Queens Authority, and to the Queen Regent, as governing in their place, observing the Laws and customes of the Realm, as they were used before the raising of this Tumult, in all things, (the cause of Religion excepted) wherein the order after specified should be followed.

4. That the Congregation should not trouble nor molest any Church-man by way of deed, nor make them any impediment in the peaceable enjoying and uplifting their Rents; and that it should be lawful for them to dispone and use their benefices and rents according to the Laws and customes of the Realm, until the tenth of *January* next.

5. That the Congregation should use no force nor violence in casting down of Churches, Religious places, or defacing the Ornaments thereof, but the same should be harmless at their hands, until the tenth of *January* next.

6. That the town of *Edinburgh* should use what Religion they pleased, until

until the ſaid day, and none of the Subjects in other parts of the Countrey be conſtrained againſt their minds in matters of that kind. *An.* 1559.

7. That the Queen ſhould not interpone her authority to moleſt the Preachers of the Congregation, nor any other their members, in their bodies, lands, poſſeſſions, penſions, or whatſoever other kind of goods they enjoyed; nor yet ſhould any ſpiritual or temporal Judges trouble them for the cauſe of Religion, or other action depending thereupon, until the ſaid tenth of *January*, but that every man ſhould live in the mean time according to Conſcience.

8. That no man of war, *French* or *Scottiſh*, ſhould be put in garriſon within the Town of *Edinburgh:* only it ſhould be lawful to the ſouldiers to repair thither for doing their lawful affairs; which done, they ſhould retire themſelves to their proper Garriſons.

This Truce and the heads thereof publiſhed, the Lords departed towards *Striveling*, leaving *John Willock* Miniſter to ſerve in the Church of *Edinburgh*. As they departed, the Duke and Earl of *Huntley* met with them at the Quarry-holes, promiſing, if any part of the appointment ſhould be violated, to joyn all their forces for expulſing the *Freneh* out of the Realm: and indeed the Queen was then more careful nor in former times ſhe had been to ſee that no breach ſhould be made; howbeit many ways ſhe went about to re-eſtabliſh the Maſſe, and bring the favourers of Religion in contempt. In *Edinburgh* ſhe employed the Duke, the Earl of *Huntley*, and Lord *Seaton*, to deal with the Magiſtrates and Council of the Town, that they would appoint ſome other Church then S. *Giles* where their Miniſter might preach, reſerving that Church to her uſe, and for the exerciſe of the Maſſe. The Magiſtrates anſwered, *That S.* Giles *Church had been the ordinary place of their meeting to Sermon and other Religious Exerciſes, and could not be taken from them without a manifeſt breach of the Truce; ſeeing by one of the Artieles it was provided, that the Preachers of the Congregation ſhould not be moleſted in any thing they poſſeſſed at the making of the appointment. Huntley* replying, That the Queen meant to keep all Conditions, and deſired this only of their favour; or if they would not change the place of their Preaching, that at leaſt they would permit Maſſe to be ſaid either before or after Sermon in the Church of S. *Giles:* they anſwered, *That they were in poſſeſſion of that Church, and would never conſent that Idolatry ſhould be there again erected; or if men would do it violently, they behoved to ſuffer, and would uſe the next remedy.*

The Lords depart to *Striveling.*

The Queen deſireth the Church of S. *Giles* for the exerciſe of Maſſe.

The Magiſtrate's anſwer.

This being refuſed, another device was invented, that the *French* Captains with their ſouldiers ſhould in time of Sermon and Prayers keep their walks in the Church, and trouble the exerciſe ſo much as they could. This they thought would enforce them to make choice of a more retired place for their Sermons, or then irritate the people, and breed an occaſion of ſome diſorder, ſo as the breach of the Peace ſhould proceed from them. The inſolence was great they committed in this kind, for they did laugh and talk ſo loud all the time as the Preacher could not be heard; yet was it patiently digeſted, knowing that an occaſion of trouble was only ſought. In other places their behaviour was no better, for at *Leith* they did cut in pieces the Pulpit erected for the Preachers, and ſet up the Maſſe, which had been ſuppreſſed before in that Town. The like they did in the Abbey-Church, forcibly aboliſhing the ſervice of Common Prayers, which there was ordinarily uſed. And in what place ſoever they came, ſome one diſturbance or other they wrought to the profeſſors of the Truth. Herewith a rumour was diſperſed amongſt the vulgar, *That it was not Religion, as the Congregation pretended, but an open Rebellion they went about; and that their purpoſe was to diſinherit their lawful Queen, and ſet up Lord* James *her baſe brother in her place:* which by divers was apprehended as truth, and wrought a great alienation of minds from the cauſe.

The *French* Captains and ſouldiers trouble the people in hearing the the Sermon.

About the ſame time came Monſieur *Crook* a *French* Gentleman with Letters from the Queen and King *Francis* her husband to Lord *James*, full of exprobrations and menacings, as appeareth by the Copies here inſert.

FRANCIS

An. 1559.

FRANCIS King of *France*, to *James* Prior of S. *Andrews*.

A Letter to Lord *James* from King *Francis*.

"COuſin, when I underſtood as well by Letters as common report the Tumults "raiſed at this time in *Scotland*, I was much commoved, eſpecially when it "was ſaid that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceaſed and my ſelf have "given ſo many benefices, ſhould be the head and principal foſterer of the ſame. "That you ſhould be ſo forgetful of our love, and of the duty you have at all "times profeſſed unto the Queen, I would not believe; or if it was ſo as the fame "commonly reporteth, I did think that you were induced by the promiſes and flat- "tering perſuaſions of others to take the fault upon you whereof they were the "cauſe, ſuppoſing the offence would be eſteemed either none or very ſmall in "your perſon. This my conceit of you, if it be true, ſhall be as joyful to me as "that which ſhould be moſt joyful; for I ſhould wiſh by this mean ſome part of "my diſpleaſure mitigated into which you are worthily fallen, having deceived the "hope which I had of your Piety towards God, and your faithful ſervice towards "my ſelf. Therefore ſince nothing can be more acceptable to me then to hear that "controverſies are compoſed, and all things compacted without tumult, according "to Law and good order; and ſince I am perſuaded this may be eaſily done by "your credit, I thought meet to advertiſe you by theſe Letters, and, for the good "will I bear you, I do earneſtly requeſt, that you will return to the Obedience from "which you have foully fallen, that ſo I may ſee you carry another mind then that "which your fooliſh actions have manifeſted. This will appear to be ſo, if that you "apply your diligence to bring thoſe things which now are out of order in thoſe "parts back again to the ancient and ſound form of Obedience, which you know is "due to God and me. Otherwiſe I would have you, and all thoſe that adhere unto "you perſuaded, that ere it be long I ſhall take ſuch puniſhment of you and them as "your wickedneſs deſerveth, which I have given the bearer charge to make known "unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as my ſelf, praying God, my "Couſin, to have you in his protection. *Paris* the 17 day of *July* 1559.

The Letter ſent by the Queen, was of the tenor following. MARY, Queen of *Scotland* and *France*, to *James* Prior of the Monaſterie of S. *Andrews*.

Another Letter from the Queen of *Scots* to Lord *James*.

"I Cannot, my Couſin, wonder enough how you, that are nigheſt us in bloud, and "greatly benefited by our liberality, as your ſelf knoweth, ſhould be ſo pre- "ſumptuous and wickedly diſpoſed, as by one and the ſame fact to violate the "Majeſty of God, and the Authority belonging to me and my Husband; for to me "it is a wonder that you, who being with me did complain of the Duke of *Chattel-* "*lerault* and divers others for diſmiſſing my Authority, ſhould now be the leader of "a Faction in matters of greateſt weight, wherein not only the Honour of God "is touched, but my Authority all utterly taken away: which I would have more "eaſily believed of any other of my ſubjects then of you, for I had a ſpecial hope "of your fidelity, and am not a little grieved that you ſhould have deceived me. "Though yet I can ſcarce be perſuaded that you are gone ſo far from Truth and "Reaſon, as to be carried away with ſuch blind Errours which I wiſh were not, as "any in the world elſe; beſeeching God to illuminate you with his light, that re- "turning into the right way you may ſhew your ſelf (by doing things contrary to "that you have already performed) a good man, and obedient to our Laws: where- "of by theſe Letters I thought good to admoniſh you, and withall earneſtly to in- "treat you to amend your by-gone faults with better deeds in time coming; that "the anger which I and my Husband have conceived againſt you may by that "means be mitigated. Otherwiſe I would have you underſtand that we will take "ſuch puniſhment of you, that you ſhall ever remember us, which ſhall be to me a "moſt grievous thing. God I beſeech to keep you from all danger.

Paris the 24 of *July*. 1559.

Lord

An. 1559.

Lord *James* having perused the Letters, and conferred a space with the Gentleman, who was commanded to say unto him, *That the King would rather spend the Crown of* France, *then not to be revenged of the seditious Tumults raised in* Scotland, made answer in writing as followeth. "That he was no way conscious to himself of "any undutifulness either in word or deed against his Soveraign's Laws. That "it was true he had joyned himself with these of the Nobility who went about the "reforming of Religion, and would not deny it; but this he did not esteem a fault "against the King or Queen, for thereby nothing is sought but the advance-"ment of God's honour and the Gospel of *Jesus* Christ, from which if he should "desist it were in effect to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then this cause only "excepted, he and the rest who were charged with the crime of Rebellion should "in all other things be most obsequent. This writing he delivered to Monsieur *Crook*, who gave it to the Queen Regent. She opening the same and reading it, said, *that such a proud and rebellious Answer was never given to a King and Queen.*

The answer given by Lord *James.*

Some few days after this arrived a *French* Captain called *Octavian* with a Regiment of souldiers, who brought with him great sums of money, and other necessary provisions for war. But the Queen did incontinent send him back, to intreat the *French* King for other four companies to make up the number of twenty Ensigns, with an hundred horsemen, and four ships well appointed, to keep the Haven of *Leith*; trusting therewith, as she said, and with the assistance she promised her self in the Countrey, to daunt all the Rebels, and bring them to obedience. Meanwhile she began to fortifie the Town of *Isith*, as being a Port fit to receive fresh supplies, and a place that might serve the *French* companies for a refuge, if they should happen to be redacted to any necessity.

A *French* Captain, called *Octavian*, arriveth with a regiment of souldiers.

The Queen maketh to fortifie *Isith.*

The Lords of the Congregation kept at that time a Convention in *Striveling*, and thither came the Earl of *Arran*, (the Duke his eldest son) having left *France* upon this occasion. Being one day in conference with the Duke of *Guise*, (who then ruled all things in the *French* Court) and falling in speech of those that professed the Reformed Religon, he did utter his mind too freely in their favours; which was so ill taken, as it was resolved to call him in question. Of this, & other speeches that had escaped the Cardinal of *Lorain* in the Court of Parliament, he was advertised, and thereupon retired quickly from Court, and went to *Geneva*. There he became acquainted with Mr. *Randolph* an *English*-man, (who was afterwards imployed in many honourable Legations to *Scotland*) and came with him into *England*, where he was much graced by Queen *Elizabeth*, and by her persuasions induced to promise, that at his return he should joyn himself with those that sought to expel the *French* forth of *Scotland*, and move his Father, so far as in him lay, to take part in that cause. Both which he truly performed; for immediately upon his return he came to the Noblemen at *Striveling*, and made offer of his assistance in the common quarrel both of Religion and the liberty of the Countrey. Then going to visit his Father at *Hamilton*, he won him to their side, and reconciling some old grudges betwixt his father and certain Noblemen, brought them all to meet together at *Hamilton*, and to write a common Letter to the Queen Regent, which was to this effect. "That it was to them a marvel how she, not "provoked by any injury, could go so soon from the late appointment, as to "expulse the ancient inhabitants of the Town of *Isith*, and place therein a Colony "of strangers, as minding to keep the Countrey under a Tyrannical subjection. "This they said was against her promise, against the publick weal, and against "the Laws and liberties of the Kingdom. Wherefore they intreated her to de-"sist from that course, and not to drive them into a necessity of seeking the "concurrence of the Subjects for resisting the mischief intended against the "whole. This Letter dated at *Hamilton* the 29 of *September*, was subscrived by the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, and *Mentieth*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, and divers other Barons and Gentlemen.

The Earl of *Arran* joyns with the Lords at *Striveling.*

A Letter directed to the Queen from the Lords.

They

An. 1559.

A Letter sent by them to the Lord *Ereskin*.

They wrote also to the Lord *Ereskin* keeper of the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*; "Desiring him, as a Nobleman and a Member with them of the same "Commonwealth, to look circumspectly to his own person, and to the strengths "committed to his trust, and not to suffer himself to be abused with the promises "and policies which they knew would be used. Hereof they did think it needful, as "they said, to give him warning, not that they stood in doubt of his fidelity, but "that they esteemed it their duty to advertise him of the common danger, and to "assure him, if by violence any should go about to bereave him of those Forts, their "assistance should not be lacking.

Sir *Robert Carnagie* and Mr. *David Borthwick* directed to the Duke.

The Queen Regent not liking to make an answer to the Lords in writing, sent Sir *Robert Carnagie* and Mr. *David Borthwick* with a Letter of credit to the Duke. That which they had in credit to say was, *That she wondred much at his joyning with the Lords, or that he should have permitted the Earl of* Arrane *his son take that course; and to advise him to come and stay with her at Court; or if they could not obtain that point, that they should dissuade him from taking part with them.* The Duke asking what the Queen meant to do concerning the Fortification at *Leith*, and dispatch of the French-men; they said, *If all things were put in the Queens will, she would be gracious enough.* Whereupon he replied, *That both he and the rest of the Lords would most willingly serve her, so as she would be ruled by the counsel of natural* Scottish-*men; but so long as she kept about her strangers, who were a trouble and great burthen to the Countrey, he believed no wise man would give either him or them advice to put themselves in her hands.*

A Proclamation given forth by the Queen.

This answer reported to the Queen, because she perceived the arriving of the *French* souldiers to be generally ill taken, she gave forth a Proclamation; "Where-"in complaining of the Calumnies dispersed against her by wicked people, especi-"ally that she had broken the Appointment made with the Congregation at *Leith*, "(which she said was only to entertain division in the Realm) by receiving of "*French* forces, which they aggredged so far against all reason, it not being an Arti-"cle of the Appointment; That albeit for every *French*-man that was in *Scotland* there "were a hundred at her command, there should not a jot that was promised be bro-"ken, nor the least alteration be made in any thing, if the Congregation did in "like manner faithfully keep their part. Therefore willed all good subjects not to "give ear to such informations, nor suffer themselves to be led thereby from their "due obedience, assuring them that they should ever find with her truth in pro-"mise, and a motherly love towards all loyal subjects.

The Queen seeketh to disunite the Lords.

The persuasions used.

Besides the Proclamation, whereof this was the substance, she imployed in the Countrey some whom she especially trusted, to inform the Subjects of her good meaning: the principals were, Mr. *James Balfoure* Official of *Lothian*, Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *William Scot*, sons to the Laird of *Balwery*, Sir *Robert Carnagy* and some others. Neither did she omit to deal with the specials of the Congregation, sending Sir *John Bannatyne* Justice Clerk to the Lord *Ruthven*, with many liberal promises if he would leave the Faction, and Mr. *John Spence* of *Condy* to Lord *James* with a Letter bearing this effect; "That having understood the cause of "his departing from her to be the love he bare to Religion, albeit she did mislike "the same, yet knowing his mind and the minds of other Noblemen to be so far "bent that way as there was no possibility to reclaim them, she had now resolved "to tolerate their Profession, and at their own sights to grant such liberty as might "stand with the common policy of the Realm and their Sovereign's honour. As "for the men of War and Fortification at *Leith* so much complained of, she said, "that some had given her to understand, that it was not the advancement of Re-"ligion which was sought, but that the same was made a pretext to overthrow the "Authority of his Sister, (whereof she believed he would never be participant) and "this was the true cause of inbringing the said forces; whereas, if Suspicions and Jea-"lousie could be removed, she would be well pleased to dimit them: for it grieved "her much to see the Troubles that were in the Countrey, neither desired she any "thing more then a perfect Peace and Reconciliation, wherein she requested his as-"sistance; praying him to keep faith and kindness to his Sister, (who trusted more in "him, then any man living) and to shew her what he desired for his own Parti-

"cular,

"cular, and ſhe would faithfully promiſe the ſame ſhould be performed to his con- *An.* 1559.
"tentment.

By ſuch policies as theſe ſhe laboured to diſunite the Lords: but the love of the cauſe, and their own ſafeties, which they apprehended to conſiſt in their faſtneſs and fidelity to others, kept them together. The many breaches they had alſo found begat in them ſuch a diſtruſt, as nothing, though never ſo truly meant, could be believed. His anſwer therefore was; "That in the matter proponed to him he could "ſay nothing by himſelf, for they had all taken oath to have no private dealing with "her, or to make any ſeveral addreſs for themſelves, which for his own part he "would keep unviolate; and how ſoon the Noblemen were convened, he would "ſhew what was written unto him, and leave nothing undone that ſerved to eſta- "bliſh Peace in the Realm, provided the glory of God was not intereſſed: nei- "ther doubted he, if ſhe were found as tractable as by her Letter ſhe profeſſed, "but ſhe would obtain of the reſt that which might in reaſon content her. Farther "he ſaid, that he had communicated to her ſervant ſome things that miſliked him "in her proceedings, with a true heart, which he wiſhed of God ſhe and all men "knew. Lord *James* his Anſwer.

When as the Queen Regent perceived theſe means could not divide them, ſhe gave forth a new Proclamation of this tenor: "That whereas the Duke of *Chattelle-* "*rault* had directed his miſſives unto all the parts of the Realm, informing that the "*French*-men lately arrived were begun to plant in *Leith* for the ruine of the Com- "monwealth, & that the Fortification made there was a purpoſe deviſed in *France* "to bring the ſubjects under ſervitude, which he and his partakers could not pati- "ently endure, ſhe eſteems it needful for the manifeſtation of her proceeding "ſince the laſt appointment, to make the Declaration following. Firſt, that divers "of the Congregation, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort, had violated the ſaid Ap- "pointment in ſundry heads; yet ſhe, in hope that they would have returned to "their duties, did connive at many things, and took no notice of their doings, till "of late (having perceived by their frequent meſſages to and from *England*, and "by the defection of many great perſonages from her obedience, that there was "ſome other purpoſe in hand then the eſtabliſhing of Religion) ſhe was forced to "have her recourſe to the law of Nature, and as a bird that is purſued will provide a "neſt for her ſelf, and for her followers: for which cauſe ſhe had made choice of the "town of *Leith* as a place moſt convenient, being her Daughter's property, where- "unto no perſon could lay claim; a place fortified of old, and ſuch as made beſt "for her ſafety. Farther ſhe ſaid, that it was not Religion that they ſought, but a "mere Rebellion they were entred into againſt their Sovereigns, as appeared by "many evidences. Firſt, by the taking of *Broughtie* Caſtle, and expulſing the kee- "pers thereof, by ſome of the Congregation. Next, by the contempt of the offer "made by her ſelf unto the Lord Duke, when he complained of the Fortification "of *Leith*, that if they would cauſe amend the wrongs committed againſt the Laws "of the Realm, ſhe would do what in reaſon they could require. Thirdly, by the "charges he had ſent to the free Burghs, to chuſe ſuch Magiſtrates as they thought "would aſſiſt them in their purpoſe. And fourthly, by the withholding of proviſion, "againſt all humanity, from Her and from her Family. All which things, to thoſe "that had any eyes, made more then manifeſt that it was no other but a plain Uſur- "pation of Authority they went about; the particulars whereof ſhe had certainly "underſtood, it being detected unto her, that the Earl of *Arrane* had joyned with "the congregation for no other end, and that the Crown was promiſed by them un- "to him: yet ſhe no way doubting of the ſubjects good affection, and that they "would when need ſhould be ſtand in defence of their Sovereign's right againſt all "pretenders, thought meet to give them warning of theſe practices, and prohibit "the Leiges to put themſelves in Arms, or take part with the Duke and his aſſi- "ſters, &c. A Proclamation by the Queen, declaring her purpoſe in the fortifying of *Leith*.

Monſieur *Pelleuce*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, (he was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and created Cardinal) arrived about this time at *Leith*, accompanied with three Doctors of *Sorbon*, Doctor *Furmer*, Doctor *Brochet*, and Doctor *Ferretier*. Monſieur *le* The Biſhop of *Amiens* and ſome Doctors of *Sorbon* arrive at *Leith*.

An. 1559. *le Broche* a *French* Knight gave them the convoy with two thouſand foot. The Doctors gave out, that they were come to diſpute with the Preachers of the Congregation. The other two pretended a Legation, and ſent to ſome of the Nobility reſident at the time in *Edinburgh*, to deſire a hearing. It was anſwered, *That they came not as Ambaſſadours, but as enemies, to brag and threaten them with Arms, otherwiſe they needed not have brought ſo many armed ſouldiers in their company. If they meant to treat with weapons in their hands, they would likewiſe fortifie themſelves, and make it ſeen that they were not moved to any thing by compulſion, but guided by Reaſon: nor would they have them think they were ſo rude and ignorant as to fall in reaſoning with adverſaries, that might force them to Conditions at their pleaſure. Wherefore if they deſired Peace and quietneſs, as was pretended, it ſhould be fitteſt to dimit theſe forein ſouldiers, and ſeek to have matters compoſed according to Reaſon and Juſtice.* This anſwer given, there was no more heard of the Legation, nor of the Doctors Diſputes.

A Declaration publiſhed by the Lords.

The Lords in the mean time publiſhed a Declaration, anſwering the other lately made by the Queen Regent, wherein firſt they declared, "That as they had often "complained of the inbringing of *French* ſouldiers, and the manifold oppreſſions "done by them, ſo they could not but ſeek redreſs thereof by all means, in regard "the ſame tended to an open Conqueſt of the Countrey, and the laying upon "their necks an intolerable Servitude: for whereas the Queen did pretend the de-"fection of divers great perſonages from her obedience, and the frequent meſſages "to and from *England*, to be the cauſe of their inbringing; it is well known that be-"fore the arrival of theſe ſtrangers there was no ſuch defection, but all lived peace-"able and obedient, according to the Appointment made by her ſelf. And for the "Meſſages to *England*, time will make manifeſt that the ſupport craved was to no "other end but to maintain Religion, and ſuppreſs Idolatry; wherein they think "they have done nothing againſt their duties, it being lawful for them, where their "own power faileth, to ſeek help and aſſiſtence whereſoever they may have it. "Next, touching the convenience of *Leith* for a place of Fortification; they grant "it is a Port very fit to receive ſtrangers: but had the Queen intended no more "then her own ſecurity, *Dumbar*, *Blackneſs*, and other Forts already built, would "have better ſerved to that uſe. And where ſhe called *Leith* her Daughters property, "they anſwered that it was notoure, the ſums payed to the Laird of *Reſtalrig* Supe-"riour of *Leith* were disburſed by the inhabitants, & a large Taxation given to her "ſelf upon promiſe that their Town ſhould be erected into a Burgh-royal; in place "of which, ſome of the indwellers were expulſed from their own houſes, others "robbed of their ſubſtance, and all that chuſed to remain there kept in ſuch fear "and terrour, as in effect they eſteemed nothing their own. Neither was this only "done to thoſe that profeſſed themſelves Reformed, but to all the inhabitants in-"differently; which ſhew clearly, that the *French* did mind nothing leſs then to "ſubdue the whole Nation, if it lay in their power. And where it was ſaid, that the "Town of *Leith* was fortified of old; the ſame was never done without the conſent "of the Nobility and Eſtates of the Realm, whereas the preſent fortification was "made expreſly againſt their wills ſignified to her in writing. Concerning the Earl "of *Arrane*, and their purpoſe to place him in Authority, they took God to record, "that the ſame never entered into their hearts; and that neither the ſaid Earl, nor "any pertaining unto him, did ever move them in ſuch a matter: which if they had "done, they were not ſo fooliſh as to promiſe that which afterwards they muſt "needs have repented. Then for the particulars adduced to qualifie their intended "Rebellion, they anſwered, that the taking of *Broughtie* was to prevent the danger "that might have enſued, if the *French* ſhould have planted in that place as they "had done at *Leith*, whereof the conjectures were not obſcure. As to the Duke's "miſregard of her offer, they did remit the truth of that to the report of the per-"ſons imployed by her ſelf. Farther it was ſaid, that they had directed charges to "the free Burghs to elect Magiſtrates at their appetites: The truth was, that ſome "Towns ask'd their advice in this buſineſs, & that the anſwer given them was, that "if they elected ſuch as feared God, and loved equity and juſtice, they could not err "in their choice. But that ſhe ſhould object this ſeemed ſtrange, ſeeing it was

"known

"known, that ſhe her ſelf did force the Town of *Edinburgh* to take Magiſtrates of *An.* 1559.
"her appointment, and againſt their own liking. Laſtly, for the impeding of ne-
"ceſſary proviſions to Her and her Family, they utterly denied the ſame; only they
"had taken order to ſtay the furniſhing of ſtrangers (that oppreſſed the Countrey)
"with victuals, and did forthink the ſame was not ſooner and more ſtrictly done:
"concluding, that ſeeing nature did oblige them to love their Countrey, and the
"oath they had given to be true to the Commonwealth forced them to hazard
"whatſoever God had given them in defence thereof; they, being Counſellors of
"the Realm by birth, could not forbear to ſeek that by force of Arms which hi-
"therto had been denied them. Therefore required all natural *Scottiſh*-men to
"judge between the Queen and them, and not to abſtract their juſt and dutiful ſup-
"port from their native Countrey in ſo needful a time; aſſuring them who did
"otherwiſe, that they ſhould be eſteemed betrayers of the Kingdom into the hands
"of ſtrangers.

The Lords come to *Edinburgh*, and write unto the Queen.

This Declaration made, the Lords aſſembling their forces came to *Edinburgh* the eighteenth of *October*, and on the ſame day the Queen Regent by the counſel of the *French*-men entered into *Leith*, with the Biſhops of S. *Andrews*, *Glaſgow*, *Dunkeld*, the Lord *Seaton* and ſome others. The day following they ſent a Letter to the Queen declaring how they were convened to ſee a redreſs made of the great diſorders that were in the Realm, eſpecially to have the town of *Leith* made patent for the free traffick of the ſubjects; and deſiring her to command all the Strangers and mercenary ſouldiers to depart forth of the ſame, and to cauſe the Forts to be demoliſhed which were newly erected; otherwiſe they would take it for an argument that her meaning was to bring the Kingdom into ſervitude, againſt which miſchief they would provide by the beſt means they could. The meſſenger who carried this Letter, after he had been detained a whole day, was diſmiſſed without anſwer.

The Duke purgeth himſelf and his Son of any aſpiring.

Meanwhile the rumour increaſing of the Duke his Uſurpation of the Authority, he thought it neceſſary to make a publick purgation, as he did at the Mercat-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, by ſound of Trumpet, proteſting both for himſelf, and for his ſon the Earl of *Arrane*, that none of them did ſeek any preeminence, nor meant to uſurp the Authority Royal, but that they were convened with the reſt of the Nobility to maintain the cauſe of Religion, and Liberty of their native Countrey invaded by Strangers; which he deſired all men to believe, and not to be carried with the falſe and malicious reports of enemies, deviſed only to withdraw the hearts of natural *Scottiſh*-men from the ſuccour they owed to their oppreſſed Countrey.

The Herald directed to the Lords.

Two days after *Robert Forman*, Lion Herald, was directed by the Queen Regent to the Lords with this writing: *After commendations, We received your Letter of the date at* Edinburgh *the* 19 *of this inſtant, which to us appeareth rather to have come from a Prince to his Subjects, then from Subjects to thoſe that bear the Authority. For Anſwer whereof we have ſent unto you this bearer, the Lion Herald King of Arms, ſufficiently inſtructed with our mind, to whom you ſhall give credit. At* Leith, *the* 21 October, 1559.

The credit given to the Herald by the Queen.

The credit, as the Herald related the ſame, was this. Firſt, he ſhewed the Queen did *think it ſtrange there ſhould be any other to command within the Realm beſides her Daughter and her Husband: in former times had been given juſt cauſes of ſuſpicion, ſo now ſhe perceived clearly by the contents of the laſt Letters, that they did not acknowledge any Authority ſuperiour to themſelves in the Kingdom.* Next he was deſired to ask the Duke of *Chattellerault how his doings did agree with his words and writing, whereby he promiſed not only to obey the King himſelf, but alſo to keep his Son the Earl of* Arrane *from medling with the preſent Broils and Tumults of the Countrey.* Thirdly, in anſwer to their Letters, he was willed to ſay, *that it never came in her mind to overthrow the Liberty and Laws of the Realm, much leſſe to make a Conqueſt of it; for to whom ſhould ſhe ſeek the ſame, it being her Daughter's by right, and ſhe already poſſeſſed thereof? nor could they think her ſo unnatural as to bereave her own Child of the Crown, and acquire it to another.* As to the Fortification of *Leith* and entertaining of Strangers, he was bidden ask *if any thing in that kind was by her attempted before they did ſhew themſelves manifeſt contemners of the Authority, by ſurpriſing Towns, and making Bonds both amongſt themſelves and with the ancient enemies of the King-*

An. 1559. dome; and to omit other things, *Could they think it lawful to them to keep an Army at* Edinburgh, *for purſuing Her who was their Regent, and her Council, and that it ſhould not be lawful to her to entertain a few Companies at* Leith *for her own ſafety? Belike they would have her to flee from place to place, as hitherto ſhe hath done, declining their fury. In their whole Letters was there a word ſounding to Obedience, any overture of Peace, or ſo much as an intimation of willingneſs in them to have debates compoſed, and all things reduced to their former eſtate? They might cover it as they pleaſed with the pretexts of the Commonwealth, and their care of the good and quiet thereof, but nothing leſſe was meaned by them. For if they deſired Peace, ſhe hath often ſhewed the way unto it. Neither could they be ignorant, that the* French *ſouldiers would long before that time have been recalled by the command of their King, if they themſelves had not been a lett and hinderance thereto.* Farther he was required to ſay, *That if as yet they would live obedient to their Sovereigns, ſhe for her own part would refuſe no means of Concord, nor ſhould ſhe omit any thing that made for the good of the Commonwealth. Neither was this her mind alone, but the mind likewiſe of their Sovereigns, who had ſent two chief men, one of the Church eſtate, and the other an honourable Knight, to ſignifie ſo much unto them; whom they ſo far deſpiſed, as they would not vouchſafe them either anſwer or audience.* Laſtly, the ſaid Herald, as he was enjoined, did charge the Duke, the Noblemen and others their aſſiſters and partakers, to depart forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and diſſolve their Forces, under the pain of *leſe Majeſtie*.

The Lords deliberate upon diſcharging the Queen of her Regency.

The Herald having in this ſort delivered his credit, the Lords convened in Council with a number of Barons and Burgeſſes, whom they called to aſſiſt. In this meeting the Lord *Ruthven* preſiding, declared how the Queen had refuſed their Petitions, and that there was no expectation of the yielding up the Town of *Leith*, or dimitting the *French* Companies by a peaceable treaty, ſo as now they were to think of the next courſe. The reverence of Authority (which as yet was in the perſon of the Queen Regent) deterred many at firſt from uttering their minds; yet after ſome ſhort ſilence, they began to ſpeak of diſcharging the Queen of her Regencie. The motion ſeemed dangerous to ſome, as wanting example, at leaſt for a long time. *The like*, they ſaid, *had been ſometimes done, but it was always carried under the ſhew of Authority; they in whoſe hands the King was at that time taking upon them in his Name to ſuſpend the preſent Government: But that the Nobility and Eſtates without, and againſt, the Prince's conſent ſhould aſſume that power to themſelves, was never heard, and would be thought ſtrange.* Others held, that *ſhe being a Regent only, might very well be prohibited to uſe the name of the King and Queen for authoriſing of her proceedings, eſpecially when they were known to be hurtful and pernicious to the whole Kingdom.* In this variation of judgements it was thought meet to take the opinion of the Preachers; and to that effect Mr. *John Willock* and *John Knox* being called, they delivered their minds one after another in this ſort. Mr. *John Willock* firſt ſpeaking, ſaid,

The opinion of the Preachers required.

Maſter *Willock* his opinion.

That albeit Magiſtracy be God's Ordinance, and that they who bear rule have their authority from him, yet their power is not ſo largely extended, but that the ſame is bounded and limited by God in his Word. And albeit God had appointed Magiſtrates his Lieutenants on earth, honouring them with his own title, and calling them Gods; *yet did he never ſo eſtabliſh any, but for juſt cauſes they might be deprived: For even as Subjects,* ſaid he, *are commanded to obey their Magiſtrates, ſo Magiſtrates have direction given them for their behaviour towards thoſe they rule; and God in his Word hath defined the Duties both of the one and the other. In depoſing Princes and thoſe that have born Authority, God did not always uſe his immediate power, but ſometimes he uſed other means, ſuch as in his wiſdome he thought good. As by* Aſa *he removed* Maacha *his own Mother from the honour and authority which before ſhe did exerce; by* Jehu *he deſtroyed* Joram *and the whole poſterity of* Achab; *and by divers others he depoſed from the Government thoſe whom he eſtabliſhed before by his own word.* Of theſe enſamples he inferred, *That ſince the Queen Regent had denied her chief Duty to the Subjects of the Realm, which was to miniſter Juſtice indifferently, to preſerve them from the invaſion of Strangers, and to ſuffer the Word of God to be freely preached; ſeeing alſo ſhe was a maintainer of Superſtition, and deſpiſed the counſel of the Nobility; he did think they might juſtly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them.*

John

John Knox being next desired to speak, after he had approved all which his brother had said, did add this more; *That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Sovereign; nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but that when she should change her course, and submit her self to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regress to the same honours from which for just causes she ought now to be deprived.* *An.* 1559. *John Knox.* his sentence.

It had been a better and wiser part in these Preachers, to have excused themselves from giving any opinion in these matters, for they might be sure to have it cast in their teeth, to the scandal of their Profession. Neither was the opinion they gave sound in it self, nor had it any warrant in the Word of God: for howbeit the power of the Magistrates be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in question, or to make insurrections against them, God having reserved the punishment of Princes to himself. The Preachers ought not to have medled in that businesses.

And for the ensamples they alledged, they are nothing to the purpose. For *Asa* was King of *Judah*, and in possession of the Crown, and *Maacha*, though in nature his *Mother*, was by condition his Subject, and might lawfully be discharged from the Authority (which by his favour she enjoyed) after she fell to the erecting and worshiping of Idols. As to the ensample of *Jehu*, it is nothing better, seeing what he did was by God's express commandment, who giveth and taketh away Kingdoms as he pleaseth; but no man hath this power, and they that presume otherwise go expressly against the Commandment of God, and the duty of Christian profession. The examples they brought did not warrant their opinion.

Always the Lords and others then assembled, as having now their determination sufficiently warranted, fell to gather the voices of such as were present, who all uniformly consented to her Deprivation. So by an Act and Decree of Council, (wherein were reckoned out all the Enormities alledged to have been committed by the Queen Regent; namely the pursuing of the Barons and Burgesses of the Realm with open Hostility, no process nor order of Law being first used, nor they called and convict of any crime in lawful judgement; the thrusting in of Magistrates upon people within the Burghs against their liking, and without any order of election; the inbringing of Foreiners into the Realm, without the advice and counsel of the Nobility; the laying of Garrisons in some Towns, to the oppression of peaceable subjects; the coyning of base Money, to the impoverishing of the Countrey; the placing of a stranger in one of the greatest offices within the Realm, as the office of Chancellary, which she had conferred to Monsieur *Rubie* a *French*-man; the sending of the great Seal forth of the Realm, against the advice of the Councel; the altering of the Laws and Customs of the Realm, especially in graces and Pardons granted to the Lieges, and the obstinate refusing of the Nobility and Barons their request, when they sought redress of these evils) they in name and by the authority of their Sovereign's did suspend the Commission granted to the Queen Regent, discharging her of all Authority until the next Parliament that should be called by their advice and consent: Prohibiting likewise the officers and others serving her, under colour of the said Authority, to exerce their offices from henceforth, and to coyn either gold or silver, without express consent of the Council and Nobility, conform to the Laws of the Realm. This Act, ordained to be published in all the head Burghs of the Kingdom, was subscribed in this manner, *By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of* Scotland. Act depriving the Queen Regent of her Goverment.

As soon as this Act was by sound of Trumpet proclaimed, the Herald, whom they had detained two daies, was dismissed with an answer conceived in this form: "By the Letters and Instructions you have sent by the Herald unto us, we take up "how ill you are set against God's Truth, the Liberty of this our native Countrey, "and the common good of all. To defend these, as in duty we are bound, we in "the name of our Sovereign Lord and Lady suspend your Commission, and all "Administration publick which you thereby may pretend, as being assured that "your proceedings are direct contrary to their minds, which we know are in"clined to the weal and common good of the Countrey. And seeing you refuse us The Herald dimitted, and the Act intimated to the Queen by Letters from the Lords.

An. 1559. "who are natural born ſubjects of the Realm to be your Counſellors, we will "no longer acknowledge you for our Regent and lawful Magiſtrate, conſider- "ing the Authority (if any you have committed unto you by our Sovereigns) is "for moſt juſt and weighty reaſons ſuſpended by us in their name, whoſe Counſel- "lors we are by birth, in theſe matters chiefly that concern the ſafety of the Com- "monwealth.

"And howbeit we have determined with the hazard of our lives to ſet that "Town at liberty wherein you have moſt injuſtly planted your mercenary ſoul- "diers and ſtrangers, yet for the reverence we bear unto you, as being the Mother "of our Queen, we earneſtly beſeech you to depart thence at this time, when we "conſtrained by publick neceſſity are by force of Arms to recover it. We farther "requeſt you to bring forth of the Town with your ſelf all that carry themſelves "as Ambaſſadors, and are come unto the Countrey either for taking up of contro- "verſies, or aſſiſting the government of publick affairs, within the ſpace of twen- "ty four hours; and to cauſe the Captains, Lieutenants and ſouldiers (whoſe "bloud we would gladly ſpare, becauſe of the old amity and friendſhip betwixt us "and the Realm of *France*, which the marriage of our Sovereign Lady to that King "ought rather to encreaſe then diminiſh) to remove themſelves within the ſame "ſpace. This Letter was ſubſcribed, *By all the Nobility and Barons preſent, the twen- ty third of* October, 1559.

The Town of *Leith* ſummoned.

The 25 day of the ſame moneth was the Town ſummoned, and all the *Scots* and *French*-men, of whatſoever ſtate and degree, commanded to leave the ſame within the ſpace of 12 hours. This denied, and defiance given on both ſides, there followed ſome light skirmiſhes, without any great ſlaughter. The Lords had reſolved to enter the Town by ſcalade, and were preparing ladders for that uſe, which being dreſſed in S. *Giles* Church, did impede the ordinary meetings to Sermon and Prayer, to the great offence to the Preachers, who in their Sermons did ſharply reprove that intermiſſion of religious exerciſes, foretelling that *the enterpriſe could have no good ſucceſs, which brought with it in the beginning ſuch a neglect of God his Service.* And ſo indeed it proved, for upon the ſudden they became ſo terrified, as not only was that purpoſe of the ſcalade broken, but very nigh they were to have utterly forſaken the cauſe. The Duke grew fearful by the falling away of ſome to the Queen, the ſouldiers mutinied in default of their pay; they found their moſt ſecret counſels alſo diſcloſed, and had lately intercepted letters with a ſervant of *James Balfour*, as he was going to *Leith*, giving intelligence of all their purpoſes. Theſe things with ſome others more did caſt them in a great diffidence one of another.

Moneys failing, they ſent to borrow from *England.*

But ſuch as were of better courage, taking counſel how to remedy thoſe evils, made it their firſt care to content the ſouldiers. And becauſe there was no way to do this but by preſent money, it was deviſed that a Collection ſhould be made amongſt the Lords and Barons; by whom, ſome being unprovided, others niggardly diſpoſed, the ſum could not be made up which was required. Thereupon it was agreed that every Nobleman ſhould give his ſilver plate to be coined for ſupply of the preſent neceſſity. But when that came to be done, the irons and inſtruments of the Mint-houſe could not be found. This failing, their only hope of relief was from *England*, and that they conſidered could not come in due time; whereupon they reſolved to uſe their private credit with Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Crofts*, (who had the charge of the Town of *Barwick*) and borrow of them ſome moneys.

The Laird of *Ormſton* ſurpriſed by *Bothwel*, and ſpoiled of his money.

In this buſineſs Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormſton* was employed, whoſe journey was not ſo cloſely carried, but the Queen had notice both of it and his errand. Thereupon ſhe dealeth with the Earl of *Bothwell* to lie in *Ormſton* his way, and ſurpriſe him with the money at his return. The Earl had but a few daies before ſworn ſolemnly to be no enemy to the Lords, and had given hopes to joyn with them, ſo as no danger was ſuſpected from him: yet, not regarding his oath, he came upon the Gentleman at unawares, and after ſome wounds given him took him priſoner, and robbed him of four thouſand Crowns, which he had received in loan. The rumour

mour hereof coming to the Lords, the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James* taking ſome companies of horſe with them, made towards *Creichton*, whither *Bothwel* (as they were advertiſed) was gone. But finding that he was eſcap'd, they ſeiſed upon the Houſe, and gave it in keeping to Captain *Forbes*. *An.* 1559. The houſe of *Creichton* taken.

The ſame day that this happened, the Provoſt of *Dundy* with his Townsmen and a few mercenary ſouldiers went down towards *Leith*, carrying with them ſome pieces of Artillery, which he planted on a hill near unto the Town. The *French* had warning that moſt of the horſemen were gone about other buſineſs, and knowing the footmen to be few, made a ſalley upon them with ſome Companies. The Townsmen of *Dundy* ſuſtained the fight for a while, truſting to be ſeconded by the ſouldiers; but they turning backs in the very beginning of the conflict, the townsmen were forced to retire, keeping ſtill their ranks, till a cry was raiſed that the *French* were entring by *Leith* Winde to cut them off from the Town. This cauſed ſuch a perturbation, as every man took the way he held beſt for his ſafety; and in the flight, (as commonly it falleth) one hindring another, many were overthrown, ſome ten ſouldiers were killed, Captain *Mowak* taken priſoner, and Mr. *Charles Geddes*, ſervant to the Maſter of *Maxwell*. The flight held to the midſt of the Canon-gate, where the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Robert* Abbot of *Halirudhouſe* turned the Chaſe, and purſuing the *French*, made then flie as faſt as they followed. This little advantage of the *French* made *Bothwel* ſo inſolent, as he ſimply refuſed to reſtore the moneys he had taken. And thus all hopes of money failing, and the ſouldiers refuſing to ſerve, ſome not of the meaneſt ſort ſtole away ſecretly; the few that remained were diſtracted in opinions among themſelves, and grew doubtful what to do. The Provoſt of *Dundy* put to flight by the ſouldiers at *Leith*.

The fifth of *November*, upon advertiſement that the *French* were iſſued forth of *Leith*, to intercept the proviſion that was carrying to *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James*, with their domeſticks, went out to defend the Careers, and were followed with divers of the Citizens: theſe giving the onſet upon the *French* with more courage then foreſight, advanced ſo far, as they were almoſt encompaſſed by the enemy, and cut off from the Town. For the *French* had divided their companies in two: one part took the way directly from *Leith* to *Halirudhouſe*, the other marched ſomewhat more Eaſtward and nearer the Sea. The Lords, who were gone as far as *Reſtalrig*, beholding the *French* to march towards *Edinburgh*, returned with expedition, fearing the caſe of the Citizens, and that they themſelves ſhould be cut off; which in all appearance had been done, if the Laird of *Grange* and *Alexander Whitlaw* with a few horſemen had not kept them in skirmiſh for a little time. The other *French* Companies that came by *Reſtalrig*, beholding the Lords retire, made after them, and purſued ſo hotly, as the Earl of *Arrane*, and Lord *James* were forced to quit their horſes for ſafety of the foot, who were in great diſorder. Captain *Alexander Halliberton*, a man of good ſpirit, and forward in the cauſe of Religion, ſtaying behinde to hold off the *French*, received divers wounds, whereof the ſame night he died. In this conflict there fell ſome 25 or 30 men. The Maſter of *Buchan*, with the Lairds of *Pitmilly*, *Fairnay*, and ſome others of ſmaller note, were taken priſoners. A Conflict be wixt the *Scots* and *French*.

A little before this time *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, Secretary to the Queen, perceiving that he was hated of the *French* for the freedom he uſed in his counſel, did ſecretly withdraw himſelf, and joyned with the Lords. He was earneſt to have them abide together, laying before them the dangers that might enſue upon their diſſolving. But few or none conſenting, concluſion was taken to leave the Town, and after midnight to depart towards *Striveling*. Secretary *Lethington* forſaketh the Queen Regent.

The day after the Lord's departing, the *French* went up to *Edinburgh*, and took poſſeſſion of the Town. All that profeſſed the Religion were compelled to flie, and ſeek their refuge in other places. Mr. *Willock* the Miniſter went unto *England*, and immediately was the *Roman* Service reſtored. The Church of S. *Giles* (as if infected with ſome contagion by Sermons preached therein) was of new hallowed by the Biſhop of *Amiens*, with a number of Ceremonies; and ſuch triumphing was amongſt the Popiſh ſort, as they thought the game to be theirs. The Queen The Lords leave *Edinburgh*, and the *French* poſſeſs the Town.

ſent

An. 1559. ſent advertiſement to *France*, requiring new forces with expedition to make the Victory abſolute. Whereupon the Marqueſſe *D' Elbeuf* and Count *Martiques* a young Nobleman were directed with ſome Companies both of foot and horſe; but they imbarking at *Diep* were diſperſed by tempeſt, 18 Enſigns caſt away upon the coaſt of *Holland*, and the reſt driven back into *France*. A while after the Marqueſſe putting to Sea arrived at *Leith* about the beginning of the Spring, with a thouſand foot and ſome few horſemen.

The Queen ſendeth for new forces from *France*.

The Lords at their coming to *Striveling* were in great heavineſs, and doubtful what courſe to take, till encouraged by a Sermon that *John Knox* made unto them they gathered new ſpirits, reſolving to ſend unto *England* for ſupply, and till anſwer ſhould come to divide their Companies. The Duke and Earl of *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Boyde*, *Ochiltry*, and their friends, were appointed to remain at *Glaſgow*; the Earls of *Arrane* and *Rothes*, Lord *James*, the Maſter of *Lindeſay*, and their friendſhip, to ſtay together in *Fife*: and for making intelligence one to the other, Mr. *Henry Balnaves* was ordained to attend the Noblemen at *Glaſgow*, and *John Knox* theſe of *Fife*.

The Lords ſend to *England* for a ſupply.

The Duke at his coming to *Glaſgow* cauſed all the Images and Altars to be pulled down, and took the Caſtle pertaining to the Biſhop. Upon the report of this, the Biſhop taking with him a number of *French*-men, and aſſiſted by the Lords *Semple*, *Seaton*, & *Roſſe*, marched haſtily thither, recovered the Caſtle, (for the Lords advertiſed of their coming had left the Town) and ſtaying there one only night returned to *Edinburgh*. In *Fife* there was more quietneſs, all things continuing peaceable, till a little before Chriſtmas, at which time anſwer was returned from *England*, and hopes given of ſupport from thence.

Altars and Images demoliſhed at *Glaſgow*.

The Biſhop recovereth the Caſtle.

William Maitland younger of *Lethington*, and *Robert Melvil* brother of the Laird of *Raith*, had been intruſted with that buſineſs. They at their coming to the Court of *England* did inform the Queen of the Troubles of the Countrey, the difficulties whereunto it was reduced, and the danger that *England* ſhould fall into if *Scotland* were once ſubdued by the *French*, entreating her aid and aſſiſtence for their expulſion. She remitting the matter to the Council, it was long debated whether or no any ſupply ſhould be granted: ſome maintaining that it was a thing of ill example to aſſiſt the ſubjects of another Prince in their Rebellion, and that the ſame might draw upon themſelves a dangerous War; others holding that they were obliged in conſcience to defend their neighbours from the oppreſſion of Strangers, and that to ſuffer the *French*, who were naturally enemies to the *Engliſh*, fortifie themſelves in *Scotland*, would prove a hurtful and prepoſterous courſe. In end the Queen enclining that way, it was concluded that a ſupply ſhould be granted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to *Barwick* to treat of the conditions with the Commiſſioners of the *Scottiſh* Nobility.

Commiſſions ſent unto *England*.

A ſupply granted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to treat of the conditions.

The *French* advertiſed of this concluſion taken, reſolved to make an end of the War before the *Engliſh* ſupport could be in readineſs, and to begin with the Lords reſiding at *Fife*. Thereupon taking their journey to *Striveling*, they ſpoiled *Linlithgow* in the way, with the lands of *Kinneil*, and all that they underſtood belonged to the Duke in thoſe parts. The like pillage they made in *Striveling*, and paſſing the Bridge they kept the ſide of the River, robbing all the villages and Coaſt-towns which were in their way. It was their purpoſe to have kept the coaſt ſtill till they came to S. *Andrews*, and then to have fortified the Caſtle and City: but the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James* hearing that they were paſt *Striveling*, ſent ſome forces under the charge of the Lord *Ruthven*, a Nobleman of good experience and courage, to withſtand their attempts. In his company was the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was come to the Lords ſome daies before, directed, as he gave out, by the Earl of *Huntley* to make offer of his aſſiſtence; howbeit his principal Commiſſion was unto the Queen Regent, as afterwards was known.

The *French* reſolve to make an end of the War before the *Engliſh* be prepared.

The firſt encounter with the *French* was at *Pitticurre*, (ſo they call the Haven on the Weſt of *Kingorne*) by occaſion of ſome ſmall veſſels that were eſpied to come from *Leith*, which as the Lord *Ruthven* did ſtop from landing, the *French* that were farther advanced then he ſuppoſed did charge him on the back, and forced him to flie.

An encounter with the *French* at *Pitticurre*.

flie. Six or ſeven ſouldiers were killed in this conflict, and a *Dutch*-man called *Paul Lambird*, with a *French* boy, taken and hanged upon the Steeple of *Kingorne*. The Earl of *Sutherland*, wounded a little in the Arm with the ſhot of an Harquebuſe, returned the ſame day to *Couper*. *An.* 1559.

The Lords, to ſtay the farther progreſs of the *French*, drew all the forces they could make in theſe parts to the Town of *Dyſert*, where they remained 20 days together, keeping the *French* ſouldiers (that were numbred to be 4000) in ſuch work, that the Countrey was generally ſaved from ſpoil, and the hurt and damage that was done falling for the greateſt part upon their friends and confederates: For of all that were profeſſed enemies to the *French*, the Laird of *Grange* only had his houſe blown up with Gunpowder; whereas the Laird of *Weimes*, *Seafield*, *Balmaito*, *Balwery*, *Balgony*, *Dury* and others of the *French* faction, were forced to furniſh them with corns, cattel, and what elſe they ſtood in need of; or if the ſouldiers lacked any thing, the readieſt goods upon their ground were taken to provide them. Hereof divers complaints being made to the *French* Captains, the poor owners were ſcornfully anſwered, that their goods were of the Congregation; and if they made faith that the ſame were their own proper goods, they were railed upon, and called cowards and unworthy niggards, that made more accompt of their goods then of their friends. Such as profeſſed Religion, and expected the worſt, putting their goods out of the way, or ſtanding to their defence, were in a much better condition; and *Grange*, who had his houſe caſt down as I have ſaid, avenged himſelf ſufficiently a few daies after. The Lords came to *Dyſert*, to ſtay the progreſs of the *French*.

For knowing that the *French* uſed to ſend forth ſome ſouldiers into the countrey every day to bring in proviſion, he laid an Ambuſh near to *Kingorne*, and as Captain *le Batu* with an hundred ſouldiers came forth, after they were paſſed a mile from the Town, he brake upon them with a number that he had ſelected to that purpoſe; the Captain with his ſouldiers retiring to a little countrey houſe, defended themſelves awhile with their ſhot, and dangerouſly wounded *David Kircaldy* brother to the Laird of *Grange*, and a Gentleman called *Robert Hamilton*, who were both at firſt ſuppoſed to be ſlain. The *French* had the advantage, for they were within ditches, and *le Batu* having taken a little houſe, kept the gate with ſome Harquebuſes. *Grange* and his company carried ſpears only, yet in that heat of valour, which ordinarily at ſuch occaſions he ſhewed, he ruſhed in upon the *French*, and was followed by the Maſter of *Lindeſay* and others whom his example did animate. The Captain refuſing to render himſelf with fifty of his company was ſlain; the reſt were all taken and ſent priſoners to *Dundy*. The Laird of *Grange* defeats a company of the *French*.

By this time the Lords that remained in the weſt parts being advertiſed of the anſwer returned from *England*, and how the Duke of *Norfolk* was coming to *Berwick* to attend the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners that ſhould be choſen to treat of the conditions of the Supply, they ſent of their number ſome to aſſiſt the Noblemen of *Fife* in making that choice. The meeting was at *Couper*, where by common conſent choice was made of Lord *James*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Maſters of *Maxwel* and *Lindeſay*, the Laird *Lethington* younger, and Laird of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*; and power given them by the Duke and remnant Lords to contract and agree with the Queen of *England* and her Lieutenant upon all ſuch things as might ſerve for the good and conjunction of the two Kingdoms, and particularly for expelling the *French* ſouldiers out of the Realm of *Scotland*. Theſe taking journey by Sea came about the middeſt of *February* to *Berwick*, and after ſome ſhort Treaty a Contract was formed betwixt *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl *Marſhall* of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Queens Majeſty in the North, in name and behalf of her Highneſs on the one part, and Lord *James Stewart*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *John Maxwel* of *Tareglife* Knight, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, *John Wiſhart* of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhil*, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty Prince *James* Duke of *Chatterault*, ſecond perſon of the Realm of *Scotland*, and the remnant Lords joyned with him for maintenance and defence of the ancient Rights and Liberties of the Countrey, on the other part, to the effect following. Commiſſioners ſent to treat with *Norfolk*.

" 1. That

An. 1559. The Contract with *England.*

1. "That the Queens Majeſty having ſufficiently underſtood, as well by infor-
"mation from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the proceedings of the *French*, that
"they did intend to conquer the Realm of *Scotland*, ſuppreſs the Nobility thereof,
"and unite the ſame to the Crown of *France*, perpetually contrary to the Laws of
"the ſame Realm, and the pactions, oathes, and promiſes of *France*; and being moſt
"humbly and earneſtly requeſted by the ſaid Nobility, for and in the name of the
"whole Realm, to receive the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, de-
"clared Heir to the Crown thereof, with the Nobility and other ſubjects, into her
"protection and maintenance, only for preſervation of the *Scots* in their own Free-
"doms and Liberties, during the time that the Marriage did continue betwixt the
"Queen of *Scots* and the *French* King, and a year after; ſhould employ her beſt
"means for and in their defence.

2. "That her Majeſty ſhould ſend with all convenient diligence into *Scotland*
"a ſufficient aid of men of war, horſe and foot, with artillery, munition, and other
"inſtruments of war, as well by ſea as by land, to joyn with the forces of *Scotland*,
"for the expelling the *French* forces preſently within that Realm, and ſtopping ſo
"far as may be all others to enter therein in time coming.

3. "That her Majeſty ſhould continue her aid to the Nobility and ſubjects of
"*Scotland*, until ſuch time as the *French* (enemies to the ſaid Realm) ſhould be ut-
"terly expelled thence, and ſhould tranſact, agree, nor conclude any League
"with the *French*, except the *Scots* and *French* ſhould be alſo agreed, and the Realm
"of *Scotland* left in freedome; neither ſhould ſhe leave the maintenance of the ſaid
"Nobility and other ſubjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies
"hands, ſo long as they did acknowledge their Sovereign Lady and Queen, and
"ſhould endevour themſelves to maintain their own Liberty, and the eſtate of the
"Crown of *Scotland*.

4. "If in caſe any Forts or Strengths within the Realm ſhall be recovered out of
"the hands of the *French* by her Majeſties aid, the ſame ſhould be immediately
"demoliſhed, or delivered to the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his partakers at their
"election; neither ſhould the power of *England* fortifie within the ground of *Scot-
"land*, but by the advice of the ſaid Duke, Nobility and Eſtates of *Scotland*.

5. "That the ſaid Duke and Nobility, as well ſuch as be already joyned, as ſuch
"as hereafter ſhall joyn with him for defence of the Liberty of the Realm, ſhould
"to the uttermoſt of their power aid and ſupport her Majeſties Army againſt the
"*French* and their aſſiſters with horſe and foot, and all manner of other aid they
"poſſibly can make, and ſhall provide victuals to the Army by land and ſea, and
"continue ſo doing, during the time her Majeſties Army ſhall remain in *Scot-
"land*.

6. "That they ſhould be enemies to all ſuch *Scottiſh* men and *French* as ſhall in any
"ways ſhew themſelves enemies to the Realm of *England*, for the aiding and ſup-
"porting of the ſaid Duke and Nobility, and ſhould never aſſent nor permit the
"Realm of *Scotland* to be conquered or otherwiſe united to the Crown of *France*
"then it is at the preſent, only by the marriage of the Queen their Sovereign to the
"*French* King, and as the Laws and Liberties of the Realm do allow.

7. "That if it ſhould happen the *French*-men at any time thereafter to invade or
"cauſe the Realm of *England* to be invaded, they ſhould furniſh the number of
"1000 horſemen and 2000 footmen at the leaſt, or ſuch part of either of them as
"ſhould be required at the charge of the Queen of *England*, and ſhould conduct
"the ſame to any part of the Realm of *England* that ſhould be appointed, upon the
"charges always of the Queen of *England*. And in caſe the Invaſion ſhould be made
"on the North part of *England*, either upon the North of the water of *Tine* towards
"*Scotland*, or againſt *Berwick* on the North-ſide of the water of *Twede*, they ſhould
"convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and ſhould joyn
"with the *Engliſh* power, and continue in an earneſt purſuit of the quarrel of *Eng-
"land* during the ſpace of 30 days, or ſo much longer, as they are accuſtomed to
"abide in the fields for defence of *Scotland*.

8. "That the Earl of *Argile*, Lord Juſtice of *Scotland*, being preſently joyned
"with

"with the ſaid Duke, ſhould employ his force and good will, when he ſhould be *An.* 1559.
"required by the Queen of *England*, for reducing the North parts of *Ireland* to
"her obedience, conform to a mutual Contract which ſhould be made betwixt her
"Majeſty's Deputy of *Ireland* for the time and the ſaid Earl, wherein ſhould be
"expreſſed what each of them ſhould do for ſupport of others, in caſe either of them
"had buſineſs with *Mac-Oneal*, or any other of the Iſles of *Scotland*, or Realm of
"*Ireland*.

9. "That the the *Scots*, for performance and ſure keeping of their part of this Con-
"tract, ſhould deliver ſuch Pledges to the Duke of *Norfolk*, before the entry of her
"Majeſties Army in *Scottiſh* ground, as the ſaid Duke did preſently name, who
"ſhould remain in *England* for the ſpace of ſix moneths, and be exchanged by deli-
"verance of new Hoſtages, for ſix moneths to ſix moneths, or four moneths to
"four moneths, at the pleaſure of *Scotland*; the Pledges alwaies being of the like
"or as good condition as the former, and the lawful ſons, brethren or heirs of
"ſome of the Earls or Barons of the Parliament: and the time of the continuance
"of the ſaid Hoſtages ſhould be during the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the
"*French* King, and a year after the diſſolution of the ſame, till farther order may
"be had betwixt both the Realms for Peace and concord.

10. "That the Duke and Nobility joyned with him, being Earls and Barons of
"Parliament, ſhould ſubſcrive and ſeal theſe Articles within the ſpace of twenty
"or thirty days at the fartheſt after the delivering of the ſaid Hoſtages; and
"ſhould procure and perſuade all others of the Nobility that ſhould joyn them-
"ſelves thereafter with the ſaid Duke for the cauſe above ſpecified, to ſubſcrive
"and ſeal the ſame Articles within the ſpace of twenty days after their conjuncti-
"on, upon requiſition made by them of *England*.

11. "That the ſaid Duke and Nobility joyned with him, certainly underſtand-
"ing that the Queens Majeſty of *England* was moved to grant the preſent ſupport
"only upon reſpect of Princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the
"Freedom of *Scotland* from Conqueſt, and not of any ſiniſter intent, did by theſe
"preſents teſtifie and declare, that neither they nor any of them do mean by this
"Contract to withdraw their due obedience from their Sovereign Lady the Queen,
"or yet to withſtand the *French* King her Husband in any lawful thing which tend-
"eth not to the ſubverſion of the juſt and ancient Liberties of *Scotland*, for the
"preſervation whereof they acknowledge themſelves bound to ſpend their goods,
"lands and lives.

This Contract of the date at *Berwick* the 27 of *February* 1559 was confirmed by the Queen of *England*, and a Patent thereof delivered under the great Seal of *England* to the Duke and Nobility: the Lords of *Scotland* did in like manner ratifie the ſame by their Subſcriptions at the Camp before *Leith* the tenth of *May* following.

The *French* ſouldiers upon ſight of the Navy return to *Leith*.

How ſoon the *French* heard that the Lords were removed from *Dyſert*, they marched forward according to their firſt purpoſe towards S. *Andrews*, and kept the Coaſt, partly becauſe of the ſhips which carried their victuals, partly by reaſon of a great ſnow which then was fallen, and made the neareſt ways unpaſſable. After that they had croſſed the water of *Leven*, and were come unto *Kincraige*, they eſpied a fleet of ſhips bearing up the *Firth*, which they did apprehend to be a ſupply ſent unto them; but when they ſaw them fall upon the ſhips that carried their victuals, they became doubtful, and ſhortly after were aſſured by a boat which had ſpoken them that it was an *Engliſh* Navy ſent to the ſupport of the Congregation, and that a land Army was alſo prepared to come into *Scotland*. Theſe news troubled them not a little, and made them doubtful what courſe to take; for to return by *Striveling* was a long way, and to tranſport the ſouldiers to the other coaſt, there were no veſſels; ſo as they feared to be kept from joyning with their fellows at *Leith*. Their reſolution therefore was to make the longer journeys, as they did; and ſetting to the way the ſame night, they came on the third day to *Leith*, having loſt divers of their company by the way.

Divers Houſes in *Fife* taken by the Lords.

Fife thus delivered from their oppreſſions, publick thanks were given to God in the Chuch of S. *Andrews*. This done, the Lords took purpoſe to beſiege the Houſes of

An. 1560. of *Weimes*, *Seafield*, *Bagome* and *Dury*, which were taken without reſiſtence, and the Lords thereof made priſoners; but ſhortly after they were dimitted, and the Houſes reſtored, upon condition not to aſſiſt the *French* any more. The Earl of *Huntley* at the ſame time being advertiſed that the Barons of *Mernis* were come to *Aberdene* to make reformation in that City, haſtened thither to withſtand their proceedings, and by his coming ſaved the Cathedral Church; the houſes of the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites* and other Religions being already demoliſhed and caſt down. Yet when he heard that the *Engliſh* forces were advancing, he ſent to the Lords, and made offer to joyn with them. A meeting to this effect was appointed at *Perth*, whither he came, and ſtaying ſome three dayes, departed homewards upon promiſe to return unto the Army in the beginning of *April*; for Proclamations were gone through the Countrey, charging all the ſubjects to meet in Arms at *Linlithgow* the laſt of *March*, and from thence to paſs forwards in purſuit of the *French* that had fortified at *Leith*.

The Cathedral of *Aberdene* ſaved by the Earl of *Huntley*.

Pledges ſent to the Admiral of *England*.

For fulfilling the Article whereby the Lords were tied to ſend pledges unto *England*, *Colin Campbel* Couſen to the Earl of *Argile*, *Robert Douglas* brother to the Laird of *Lochleven*, and ..... *Ruthven* ſon to the Lord *Ruthven*, were delivered to the *Engliſh* Admiral, and by ſea conveyed to the Town of *Newcaſtle*.

The *Engliſh* forces enter into *Scotland*.

After which the *Engliſh* forces, conſiſting of 2000 horſe and ſix thouſand foot, entered into *Scotland*, conducted by the Lord *Gray*, under whom commanded the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Percie*, and Sir *Francis Lake*. The *Scottiſh* Army joyned with them at *Preſton* the fourth of *April*, whereof the principal leaders were the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencarn*, and *Menteith*, Lord *James*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, who were aſſiſted by all the Barons and Gentlemen profeſſing Religion in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernis*, and the Weſt countreys. The ſame day the Queen Regent removed her family to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and was received by the Lord *Areskin*, a Nobleman of approved honeſty and wiſdom. He was not ignorant of the Queen's intentions, and the deſire ſhe had to have the *French* Maſters of that ſtrength; yet he would not at that time deny her entry, but uſed ſuch circumſpection, as ſhe and the Houſe both were ſtill in his power.

The Queen Regent entereth into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

A Letter from the Lords to the Queen Regent.

The Noblemen reſolving to fall preſently to work, did yet think to move the Queen of new for diſmiſſing the *French* Companies, and to that effect they directed a Letter of this tenor. *Madam, We have before this time by Letters and Meſſages been inſtant with you to remove the* French *ſouldiers out of the Realm, who now the ſpace of a year and more have oppreſſed the poor people with evils intolerable, and threaten to bring this Kingdom under a miſerable ſervitude. But ſeeing we could not prevail by our lawful requeſts, we were forced to mean our eſtate to the Queen of* England *our neareſt neighbour, and intreat her ſupport for expulſing theſe ſtrangers by Arms, (if otherwiſe we cannot obtain it.) And now albeit ſhe pitying our diſtreſſes hath taken us and our cauſe in her protection, yet for the duty we owe unto you as the Mother of our Queen, and the deſire we have to eſchew the ſhedding of Chriſtian bloud, we have adviſed once again to intreat the diſmiſſion of theſe* French-*men with their Captains and Commanders, for whoſe commodious tranſport the Queen of* England *will be pleaſed to lend her Navy, and give to others of them a ſafe paſſage by land. If this condition ſhall be rejected, we take God and men to record, that it is not malice nor hatred which moveth us to take Armes, but that we are driven by neceſſity to uſe extreme remedies for preſerving the Commonwealth, and ſaving our ſelves, our eſtates and poſterities from utter ruine: neither ſhall we for any peril that can happen (howſoever we ſuffer many wrongs and indignities, and are daily in expectation of worſe) forſake that dutiful obedience which we owe to our Queen, or yet reſiſt the King her Husband, in any thing that ſhall not tend to the ſubverſion of the ancient Liberties of this Kingdome. Therefore, moſt gracious Queen, we beſeech you again and again to weigh the equity of our Petition, the inconveniences of War, and to conſider how needful it is that this your Daughters afflicted Kingdom ſhould be put to ſome reſt and quietneſs. If ſo you do, you ſhall give to all nations a teſtimony of your moderation, and procure the peace of the greateſt part of Chriſtendome.*

This Letter, dated at *Dalkeith* the fifth of *April*, was ſubſcrived by all the Noblemen

blemen that were preſent. The *Engliſh* General did in like manner direct Sir *George Howard* and Sir *James Crofts* to make offer, that if the *French* would peaceably depart forth of *Scotland*, they likewiſe ſhould return into their Countrey without moleſting any perſon. Her anſwer was, that ſhe would think of what was propounded, and give anſwer the next day. But the Army not liking to admit theſe delays, advanced the next day, which was Saturday, towards *Leith*, keeping along the ſea-coaſt, till they came to *Reſtalrig*. The *French* iſſuing forth of *Leith* to the number of 1300, or thereby, and planting themſelves upon a little hill called the *Hawkhill*, (where they knew the *Engliſh* Army would encamp) for the ſpace of five hours continued in fight, the one ſtriving to make good the place, the other to carry it. At laſt the *Scottiſh* horſemen did charge the *French* with ſuch a fury, that they, not able to maintain it any longer, took the flight and retired to the Town, from which they had been quite cut off, if the *Engliſh* horſe had ſeconded the *Scots*, as was appointed. In this conflict three hundred of the *French* were killed, and ſome few of the *Engliſh*.

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The *Engliſh* General intreateth the Queen to admit the *French*.

The firſt Conflict of the ſiege of *Leith*.

Then begun the Army of *England* to place their Pavilions betwixt the Town of *Leith* and *Reſtalrig*. The Lord *Gray* lodging in the Dean's houſe in *Reſtalrig*, and the moſt part of his horſemen in the ſame village, the foot lay all in the tents, upon the South and South-eaſt ſide of *Leith*; and near unto them were the *Scots* Noblemen encamped, trenches caſt, and a little mount erected, which was called *Mount Pellain*, from the name of the Captain, whereupon eight Cannons were placed to play upon S. *Antonie*'s Steeple, on which the *French* had planted ſome Ordnance. Theſe thundring night and day battered the Steeple, and forced the *French* to diſmount their artillery. The *Engliſh* after this growing negligent, and ſuppoſing the *French* would make no more ſallies, followed their ſports, ſome of the Captains going to *Edinburgh*, and the ſouldiers falling to play at Dice and Cards, as though there had been no enemies to fear: whereof the *French* getting intelligence, they iſſued forth, and entring the *Engliſh* trenches before they were perceived, put many to the ſword. The ſlaughter was great and eſteemed to exceed the loſs of the *French* in the firſt encounter.

The ſituation of the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* Camp.

The *French* entred into the *Engliſh* trenches where divers were killed.

This accident taught them to be more watchful all the time that the ſiege continued; and becauſe their numbers were ſo few for beſieging the Town in all parts, they deviſed to raiſe certain mounts in every quarter, and to remove the Cannon to the Weſt ſide of the water of *Leith*, more near the walls then before. The laſt of *April* a ſudden fire kindling within the Town, burned all that night, which deſtroyed many houſes, and conſumed a great part of the ſouldiers proviſion. During this burning, the *Engliſh* playing continually with the Cannon upon the places where they ſaw the flames riſing, to ſtop the quenching of the fire, and entring the ditches, did in the mean time meaſure the height of the walls, to provide ladders for the ſcaling which they intended.

A fire in the town of *Leith*.

The ſeventh of *May* having reſolved to give an aſſault, they brought the ladders a little before day towards the walls; but they proved too ſhort, and ſo that purpoſe failed. The *Engliſh* loſt 160 at this enterpriſe. Such as were affected to the *French* did hereupon take courage, truſting the ſiege would riſe, and the *Engliſh* Army depart: but the accident did no way diſmay either the *Engliſh* or *Scots*, every man animating another to conſtancy and continuance; and about the time came Letters from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which greatly confirmed their minds. Thereby he charged them not to break up the ſiege by any means, aſſuring they ſhould not lack men, ſo long as any could be had between *Twede* and *Trent*, (for in thoſe bounds he commanded as Lieutenant) and giving hopes to come in perſon to the Camp, he cauſed his Pavilion to be ſet up, and ſent thither his officers and proviſion. Shortly after a freſh ſupply came from *England* of 2000 men, which made all former loſſes to be forgotten. The *French* for ſome daies made divers ſallies, but were ever put to the worſt; for all the hurt which fell either to *Scottiſh* or *Engliſh* from that time until the rendring of the Town, was only the loſſe of two men, *Robert Colvil* of *Cleiſh*, Maſter houſhold to Lord *James*, a Gentleman much commended both for wiſdom and valour, (he was wounded in the thigh by the ſhot of a great piece from

The *Engliſh* thinking to ſcale the walls are repulſed.

An. 1560. the town, and died of it within two hours) and *Alexander Lochart*, brother to the Laird of *Barre*, who lying too open in the trenches was diſcovered by the enemy, and ſhot in the head.

The offer of the *French* King to the Queen of *England*.

The Queens anſwer.

The *French* King hearing in what diſtreſſe the companies at *Leith* were, and by reaſon of other affairs not able to ſupply them in time, ſent Count *Randon* and Monſieur *Monluck* Biſhop of *Valence* Ambaſſadours to the Queen of *England*, deſiring her to retire her Army out of *Scotland*, with offers to reſtore the Town of *Callais* if ſhe would call them back. Her anſwer was, *that ſhe did not value that fiſher-Town ſo much, as to hazard for it the ſtate of* Britain. The *French* perceiving that Peace could not otherwiſe be made but by calling back the *French* ſouldiers, and thinking it diſhonourable for the King and Queen of *France* to treat with their own ſubjects,

Sir *William Cecill* and Doctor *Wotton* ſent to mediate an Agreement.

they intreated the Queen of *England* to ſend her Ambaſſadours to mediate an Agreement: which was eaſily aſſented unto, and Mr. *William Cecill* principal Secretary of *England*, with Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, appointed to go with the *French* Ambaſſadours into *Scotland*, and uſe their beſt means for pacifying the preſent Troubles.

The Queen Regent ſickneth and dieth.

She conſereth with the Lords before her death.

Whileſt they were in their journey, the Queen Regent, partly out of ſickneſs, and partly of diſpleaſure, died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* the tenth of *June*, 1560. Before her death ſhe deſired to ſpeak with the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Marſhall*, and Lord *James*; to whom ſhe expreſſed her grief for the Troubles of the Realm, commending earneſtly the ſtudy of Peace unto them, adviſing them to ſend both *French* and *Engliſh* forth of the Countrey, and beſeeching them to continue in the obedience of the Queen their Sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the King and Realm of *France*. After ſome ſpeeches to this purpoſe, burſting forth in tears, ſhe asked pardon of them all whom any way ſhe had offended, profeſſing that ſhe did forgive thoſe who had injured her in any ſort, and imbracing all the Nobles one by one, kiſſing them, ſhe took her farewell. To others of meaner ſort that ſtood by ſhe gave her hand, and ſo they departed. Afterwards, diſpoſing her ſelf for another world, ſhe ſent for *John Willock* the Preacher, who was then returned from *England*, and conferring with him a reaſonable ſpace, openly profeſſed, that *ſhe did truſt to be ſaved only by the death and merits of Jeſus Chriſt*: and thus ended her life moſt Chriſtianly.

The Queen Regent her juſt commendations.

She was a Lady of honeſt and honourable conditions, of ſingular judgement, and full of humanity, a great lover of juſtice, helpful to the poor, eſpecially to thoſe that ſhe knew to be indigent, but for ſhame could not beg; compaſſionate of women in travel, whom ſhe did often viſit in her own perſon, and help both with her skill and counſel. In her Court ſhe kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licenciouſneſs; her maids were alwaies buſied in ſome vertuous exerciſe, and to them ſhe was an enſample every way of modeſty, chaſtity, and the beſt Vertues. A great dexterity ſhe had in Government, which appeared in the compoſing the Tumults in the North, and in pacifying the Iſles, which by her wiſdome were reduced to perfect obedience. As to thoſe Wars which afflicted the Kingdom in her laſt days, it is not to be doubted but the ſame happened much againſt her will; neither had they fallen out at all, if affairs had been carried according to her mind. But ſhe was to govern by direction, and in all matters of weight muſt needs attend reſponſes from the *French* Court, which were the Oracles whereby all affairs at thoſe times were framed. This made her in matters of Religion more ſevere then of her own nature ſhe was, and led her into many errours of State, neglecting the Natives and born Noblemen of the Countrey, and following the counſels of the *French* that attended her, who making no conſcience of their promiſes, and minding nothing but the bringing of *Scotland* in ſubjection to *France*, as they conceived things to ſerve unto their ends, moved her to follow courſes unſure and diſhonourable. Otherwiſe ſhe was of a moſt mild diſpoſition, and was heard often to ſay, *That if her own counſel might take place, ſhe doubted nothing to compoſe all the Diſſenſions within the Realm, and ſettle the ſame upon good conditions in a perfect tranquillity*. The Author of the Story aſcrived to *John Knox* in his whole diſcourſe ſheweth a bitter and hateful ſpite againſt her, forging diſhoneſt things, which was never

The malice of the Author of the Story called *John Knox* his Hiſtory.

ſo

ſo much as ſuſpected by any, ſetting down his own conjectures as certain truths, and miſinterpreting all her words and actions; yea the leaſt ſyllable that did eſcape her in paſſion, he maketh it an argument of her cruel and inhumane diſpoſition: but when he cometh to ſpeak of her end, he will have all her Sickneſs and Death (though in none of the two there was any thing extraordinary) to be the Judgment of God inflicted upon her, as if Death & the ordinary viſitations which bring death were not common to Princes as well as others. Then for her Burial, becauſe by direction of her friends, and (as ſome ſay) at her own deſire, order was taken to carry her corps to the Abbey of *Rhemes* in *Campaigne*, where her Siſter was Abbeſſe, which of all neceſſity required a protraction of time, he conſtrued the delay to be the puniſhment of her inhumanity, and the want of ſepulchre in this Kingdom a prognoſtick of the ſhort continuance of her race and the *Guiſian* bloud (as he ſpeaks) in this Realm. Pardon me good Reader, for this digreſſion. To detract from the fame of Princes, and miſcenſure their words and actions, ſavoureth of malice, and no way becometh a Chriſtian, much leſs a Miniſter of Chriſt. *An.* 1560.

Shortly after the death of the Queen Regent Truce was taken for hearing the Ambaſſadours ſent from *France* and *England*, who coming to *Edinburgh*, entred into conſultation firſt amongſt themſelves upon the beſt and eaſieſt means to compoſe the preſent Quarrels. Then calling to them certain of the *Scottiſh* Nobility, began to treat of the ſending of the *French* ſouldiers forth of the Realm. Wherein two difficulties occurred. One was, that the Commiſſioners of *France* did urge the retaining of a number of men of war in ſome Forts of the Countrey for the King and Queen, after Peace was concluded. The other, that the Companies that ſhould be broken might depart unchallenged with all their baggage. The *Scottiſh* Noblemen did oppoſe theſe deſires, eſteeming it unreaſonable that they ſhould be ſuffered to depart before they gave ſatisfaction to thoſe they had wronged; and to place ſtrangers in Forts, they thought it could not but breed trouble, and occaſion a new War more dangerous then the preſent. This contention held ſome days; at laſt both parties wearying, they were brought to agree upon the Conditions following. A truce taken upon the death of the Queen Regent.

1. That the *French*-men of war in the Town of *Leith* ſhould be ſent home within the ſpace of twenty days with bag and baggage; and, for their better tranſport, ſhould be furniſhed with Ships of *England*, they giving pledges for the ſafe return of the ſame. Conditions of the Peace.

2. That *Leith* being rendred to the Lords of *Scotland*, the walls thereof ſhould be demoliſhed, as likewiſe the Fortifications of *Dumbar*, if ſo it ſhould ſeem good to the Lords, after they had viewed the ſame; and that the King and Queen ſhould make no new Forts within the Realm, nor augment thoſe that were already made, nor yet repair theſe that were demoliſhed, without counſel and conſent of the Eſtates.

3. That a Garriſon of threeſcore *French*-men ſhould be permitted to remain in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and as many in the Iſle of *Inchkeeth*, until the Eſtates ſhould find means to maintain the ſaid Forts upon their own charges from all peril of forein invaſion; the ſaid ſouldiers in the mean time living obedient to the Laws of the Realm, and taking nothing from the ſubjects without payment of ready money.

4. That an Act of Oblivion ſhould be made for aboliſhing the memory of all injuries and wrongs attempted or committed againſt the Laws of the Realm, ſince the ſixth day of *March* 1558, until the firſt of *Auguſt* 1560. which Act ſhould be ratified in the next Parliament, and confirmed by the Queen with conſent of her Husband.

5. That a general Peace and Reconciliation ſhould be made amongſt the Lords and ſubjects of the Realm, ſo as they who were called of the Congregation, and they who were not of the ſame, ſhould bear no quarrel to others for any thing done ſince the ſixth of *March*, 1558.

6. That the King and Queen ſhould not purſue, revenge, or ſuffer to be revenged, any violence or injury that had been done ſince the ſaid time, nor ſhould deprive or ſeek any colour to diſpoſſeſs the ſubjects, or any of them, of the benefices, houſes,

An. 1560. and eſtates which they have enjoyed before, they alwaies continuing in the due obedience of their Sovereigns. And that it might be known that the King and Queen were not willing to keep any remembrance of the Troubles paſt, it was accorded the Duke of *Chattellerault* and all other Noblemen of *Scotland* ſhould be repoſſeſſed in their livings and benefices within *France*, after the manner that they did enjoy the ſame before the ſaid ſixth day of *March*; and that all Capitulations agreed upon in times paſt ſhould be obſerved as well for the part of their Majeſties, as the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*.

7. That where any Biſhops, Abbots, or other Churchmen, ſhould alledge themſelves to have received any injuries either in their perſons or goods, the ſame ſhould be conſidered by the Eſtates of Parliament, and redreſs made according to reaſon; and in the mean time, that no man ſhould ſtop them to enjoy their rents, nor do any hurt or violence to their perſons: and if any ſhould do contrary to this Article, he ſhould be purſued by the Lords as a perturber of the Commonwealth.

8. That in time coming the King and Queen ſhould depute no ſtrangers in the adminiſtration of Civil and Common Juſtice, nor beſtow the Offices of Chancellary, Theſaurer, Comptrollary, and the like upon others then born ſubjects of the Realm: as likewiſe that it ſhould not be lawful to give the office of Theſaurary or Comptrollary to any Church-man or other perſon that is not able to adminiſtrate the ſame. Farther, that the Theſaurer and Comptroller appointed by them, and inſtructed with ſufficient commiſſion, ſhould do nothing in diſpoſing of caſualties without the conſent of the Council, to the effect all things may be done for the profit of the King and Queen: yet ſhould it not be thought that this Article did either bind the King or Queen, but that they may give where and when they ſhould think expedient.

9. That the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould convene and hold a Parliament in the moneth of *Auguſt* next, for which a Commiſſion ſhould be ſent from the *French* King and the Queen of *Scotland*, and that the ſaid Convention ſhould be as lawful in all reſpects, as if the ſame had been ordained by the expreſs Commandment of their Majeſties: providing all Tumults of war be diſcharged, and they who ought by their places to be preſent may come without fear.

10. That for the better government of this Realm, choice ſhould be made of a Council which ſhould conſiſt of twelve worthy men of the Kingdom, of which number the Queen ſhould chuſe ſeven and the Eſtates five; which twelve in their Majeſties abſence ſhould take order with the affairs of Government, and without their authority and conſent nothing ſhould be done in the adminiſtration of publick buſineſs. And that the ſaid Council ſhould convene as oft as they might conveniently, but no fewer then ſix together; or if any matter of importance occurred, they ſhould all be called, or the moſt part of them: providing it ſhould not be prejudicial to the King and Queen, and to the Rights of the Crown.

11. That the King and Queen ſhould neither make Peace nor War in theſe parts but by the counſel and advice of the Eſtates, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, as it was obſerved by their predeceſſors.

12. That none of the Lords of the Nobility of *Scotland* ſhould make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary caſes approved by the Laws and cuſtome of the Realm, nor ſhould any of them cauſe men of war ſtrangers to come into theſe parts, much leſs attempt to do any thing againſt the King and Queen, or againſt the authority of the Council, and other Magiſtrates of the Realm: and in caſe any of them had occaſion to take Arms, the ſame being firſt communicated to the Council, their Majeſties likewiſe ſhould be made acquainted therewith, and nothing to be done by them that ought not to be done by good and faithful ſubjects, that love the quietneſs of the Realm, and will abide in the obedience of their Sovereigns.

13. That Lord *David*, ſon to the Duke of *Chattellerault*, detained priſoner at *Bois de Vincennes*, ſhould be put to liberty, and ſuffered to return into *Scotland* at his pleaſure.

14. That with the *French*-men no Artillery ſhould be tranſported forth of the Realm,

Realm, but thoſe which were ſent and brought in ſince the deceaſe of *Francis* the Firſt; and that all other Artillery and Munition, eſpecially that which hath the Arms of *Scotland*, ſhould be put into the places out of which they were taken. *An.* 1560.

15. That the Army of *England* ſhould return home immediately after the embarking of the *French*, and that all the *Scottiſh* men of war ſhould be broken, and licenced to depart.

16. That for the Articles concerning Religion preſented for the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*, (which the Commiſſioners would not touch, but referred to their Majeſties) it was promiſed that a certain number of Noblemen ſhould be choſen in the next Convention and Parliament to be ſent to their Majeſties, to expone unto them the things that ſhould be thought needful for the eſtate thereof; and for the Articles preſently decided, they ſhould carry with them the Ratification of the ſame by the Eſtates, and return a Confirmation thereof from their Majeſties.

Laſtly, that the Queen of *Scotland* and King of *France* ſhould not heareafter uſurp the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſhould delete the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* out of their ſcutcheons and whole houſhold-ſtuffe.

This Accord made, the *French* prepared to depart; and for returning the ſhips of *England* that were lent to tranſport them, the Biſhop of *Amiens* and *Monſieur le Broche* remained Hoſtages. On the ſixteenth day of *July* the *French* embarked, and the ſame day did the *Engliſh* Army depart towards *Berwick*. The third day after their parting, a ſolemn Thanksgiving was kept in the Church of S. *Giles* by the Lords & others profeſſing true Religion, and then were the Miniſters by common advice diſtributed among the Burghs. *John Knox* was appointed to ſerve at *Edinburgh*, *Chriſtopher Goodman* at S. *Andrews*, *Adam Heriote* at *Aberdene*, *John Row* at *Perth*, *William Chriſteſon* at *Dundy*, *David Ferguſon* at *Dunfermlin*, *Paul Methven* at *Jedburgh*, and Mr. *David Lindeſay* at *Leith*. Beſides theſe they did nominate for the direction of Church-affairs ſome to be Superintendents, as Mr. *John Spotswood* for *Lothian* and *Mers*, Mr. *John Winram* for *Fife*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mernis*, Mr. *John Willock* for *Glaſgow*, and Mr. *John Kerſwel* for *Argile* and *Iſles*. With this ſmall number was the plantation of the Church at firſt undertaken.

The French embark, and the Army of *England* departeth.

The Miniſters diſtributed amongſt the Burghs.

The time appointed for the Parliament approaching, warning was made to all ſuch as by Law or ancient Cuſtome had any voice therein to be preſent, and at the day the meeting was frequent. In the beginning there was great altercation. Divers holding that *no Parliament could be kept, ſeeing their Sovereigns had ſent no Commiſſion, nor authoriſed any to repreſent their perſons.* Others (alledging that Article of the Peace whereby it was agreed, *That a Parliament ſhould be kept in the moneth of* Auguſt, *and that the ſame ſhould be as lawful in all reſpects, as if it were ordained by the expreſs commandments of their Majeſties*) maintained that *the ſaid Article was a warrant ſufficient for their preſent meeting:* and this opinion by voices prevailed. So after ſome eight dayes ſpent in theſe contentions, they began to treat of affairs; but as they had no Commiſſion, ſo the ſolemnities accuſtomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, which are in uſe to be carried at theſe times, were neglected. There were preſent of the Spiritual Eſtate, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Iſles*, the Prior of S. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Couper*, *Landers*, *Culroſs*, S. *Colmes Inch*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhouſe*, *Kinloſe*, *Deire* and *New-Abbey*, with the Priors of *Coldingham* and S. *Mary Iſle*; of the Nobility, the Lord Duke, the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Marſhal*, *Caſſils*, *Cathnes*, *Athol*, *Glencarne*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Glammis*, *Areskin*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltrie*, *Carlile*, *Levingſton*, *Ogilvy*, and *Somervil*, with many of the inferiour Barons; and of the Commiſſioners of Burghs none were abſent. In electing the Lords of the Articles, the Noblemen that had the nomination of the Clergy, paſſing by ſuch amongſt them as they knew to be Popiſhly affected, made choice of the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Argile*, the Prior of S. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Abberbrothock*, *Kilwining*, *Lundors*, *Newbottle*, and *Culroſs*: at which the Prelates ſtormed mightily, alledging that ſome of them were mere Laicks, and all of them Apoſtates

A Parliament, and the lawfulneſs thereof queſtioned.

The Clergy offended with the election of the Lords of the Articles.

An. 1560. states, (for they had openly renounced Popery. and joyned themselves with the Professors of the Truth:) but there was no remedy, the course was changed; and now it behoved them to take law, who formerly had given it to others.

Petitions proponed in favour of the Reformers.

The first thing they moved in the Articles was a Supplication of the Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses and other Subjects concerning Religion; wherein three things were petitioned. First, *That the Doctrine of the Romane Church, professed and tyrannously maintained by the Clergy, should be condemned, and by Act of Parliament abolished.* Some particulars they named, such as *the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Adoration of Christ's Body under the form of Bread, the Merit of Works, Papistical Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and praying to Saints departed.* These they reckoned to be pestilent Errors, such as could not but bring damnation to the Souls of those who were therewith infected: therefore desired a punishment to be appointed for the Teachers and maintainers of such Doctrines. Next, *That a remedy should be found against the profaning of the holy Sacraments by men of that profession, and the true Discipline of the ancient Church revived and restored.* Thirdly, *That the Pope of* Rome *his usurped Authority should be discharged, and the Patrimony of the Church imployed to the sustentation of the Ministery, the provision of Schools, and intertainment of the poor, of a long time neglected.*

This last clause was not very pleasing to divers of the Nobility, who, though they liked well to have the Pope his Authority and Doctrine condemned, had no will to quit the Church Patrimony, wherewith in that stiring time they had possessed themselves. So making no answer to the last Point, the Ministers were desired to draw into several heads the sum of the Doctrine they craved to be established, that the same might be seen and considered by the Parliament. This accordingly was done, and the fourth day after (which was the 17. of *August*) exhibited to the Estates under this Title, (*The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of* Scotland.) It is the same Confession word by word that you have registred in the first Parliament of King *James* the Sixth, which (that the Story may on with an uninterrupted delivery) I thought it not needful here to insert.

The Confession of Faith put in form and presented.

The Confession approved.

The Confession read in open Parliament and put to voices. the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Sommervill* and *Borthwick* only of all the Temporal Estate dissented, saying, *They would believe as their fathers before them had believed.* The Popish Prelats were silent, and answered nothing: whereupon the Earl *Marshal* brake forth into these speeches; *It is long since I carried some favour unto the Truth, and was somewhat jealous of the* Roman *Religion; but this day hath fully resolved me of the truth of the one, and falshood of the other: for seeing my Lords the Bishops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they should have to the Truth would, as I suppose, gainsay any thing repugnant unto it) say nothing against the Confession we have heard, I cannot think but it is the very Truth of God, and the contrary of it false and deceiveable Doctrine.* Thus was the Confession of Faith approved, and by publick voices of the Estates authorized. At the same time there passed three other Acts in favour of the Professors; One for abolishing the Pope's Jurisdiction and Authority within the Realm; a Second annulling all Statutes made in preceding times for maintainance of Idolatry; and a Third for punishment of the sayers and hearers of Mass.

The Pope's Authority abolished.

The Lord *Torpichen* directed to *France*.

With these Acts Sr. *James Sandelands* Knight of *Rhodes*, a Gentleman of good account, (who had carried himself as neuter in all these Broils) was directed to *France*, for obtaining a Ratification of the same from the Queen and the King her Husband; and therewith was desired to clear the Noblemen and other Subjects from imputations of Disloyalty cast upon them, and to pacifie the minds of their Sovereigns (whom they understood to be much exasperated) by all the good ways he could use. But he found his Ambassage and himself both contemned; the *Guisians* (who were the only men then in account with the King) checking him bitterly at his first Audience, for that he, being a Knight of the holy Order, should have taken a Commission from Rebels to sollicite a ratification of execrable Heresies. The Gentleman did what he could to mitigate their wrath, but nothing could avail. So was he dismissed without answer; whereof the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the

Abbot

Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and the Lord *Seaton*, who went from *Leith* with the company of *French*, were generally blamed. *An.* 1560.

The cold entertainment he found in that Court was soon advertiſed; which troubled greatly the minds of the Profeſſors, for they were ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and doubtful of ſupport from *England*, if *France* ſhould again invade, becauſe of the loſs the *Engliſh* had received in the late Expedition: neither had the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn* (who upon the breaking up of the Parliament were ſent into *England* to render thanks to the Queen, and to intreat the continuance of her favour) given any advertiſement of their acceptance. But whileſt they ſtood thus fearful, news was brought of the *French* King's death, which raiſed their hearts not a little, neither were they more glad then the *French* faction were ſorrowful.

The Earls *Morton* and *Glencarn* ſent into *England*.

The *French* King dieth.

Theſe meeting in the moſt ſecret manner they could, took counſel to ſend Mr. *John Leſley* (afterwards Biſhop of *Roſſe*) with Letters to the Queen, intreating her to return into *Scotland*; withall to ſhew her that the beſt courſe ſhe could take was to land at *Aberdene*, where ſhe ſhould be honourably received, and find ſuch aſſiſtence of the Noblemen in theſe quarters, as at her firſt coming ſhe might re-eſtabliſh the Catholick Rilegion. He was alſo deſiired to warn the Queen not to give ear to the Counſels of her Brother, who (as they ſaid) was of an aſpiring mind, and aimed at no leſs then the Government of the Realm; whom ſhe ſhould do wiſely to cauſe be detained in *France*, till matters at home were fully ſetled. The Letter he carried was ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of *S. Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Aberdene*, *Murray* and *Roſſe*, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Graford*, *Athol*, *Sutherland*, and *Cathneſſe*.

Mr. *John Leſley* ſent from the *French* Faction to perſuade the Queen's return.

On the other ſide, the Noblemen that had aſſiſted the expulſion of the *French*, how ſoon they heard of the death of King *Francis*, convened at *Edinburgh*, and after counſel taken directed Lord *James* to the Queen, to perſuade her in like manner to return. But *Leſley* uſing greater diligence came to her ſome dayes before him, and finding her at *Vitrie* in *Champaigne*, (whither ſhe was gone to ſeek a ſecret place for her ſorrow) delivered the Letters and credit he was truſted with. The Queen hearing all, anſwered, that the Prelats and Noblemen by whom he was employed ſhould reſt aſſured of her favour, willing him to advertiſe ſo much, and to attend till ſhe could reſolve upon her return. Incontinent after *Leſley*'s coming the Queens Uncles did enter in deliberation what courſe was beſt for her to take, and whether or not ſhe ſhould return to *Scotland*; for they conceived the paſſage by Sea would be dangerous, (ſhe not being aſſured of the Queen of *England's* friendſhip) and in her own Kingdom the late Troubles not being fully appeaſed, they conſidered her peril would be great, and that ſhe ſhould be caſt in many difficulties: yet finding her own mind to incline that way, and hoping to have her more ſubject to their counſels whileſt ſhe lived at home then if ſhe remained in *France*, they reſolved to give way to her return, and to provide a Fleet for her ſafe tranſport. Lord *James* at his coming, though he was advertiſed of the concluſion taken, yet diſſembling his knowledge thereof, did ſignify the great deſire that the ſubjects had to enjoy her preſence, and their longing for her return, uſing the beſt reaſons he could to perſuade her unto it. Hereby ſhe was much confirmed in her purpoſe; and after a day or two imparting to him her reſolution, willed him to return with diligence, and making advertiſement of her journey, take care that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the Pacification made at *Leith* before her coming.

Lord *James* by the Noblemen of the Reformation to the ſame end.

The Queen reſolveth to return.

In *March* following there arrived at *Leith* one *Noalius*, a Senator of *Bordeaux*, bringing a Commiſſion from the King that had now ſucceeded his Brother, whereby three things were craved. Firſt, *That the old League betwixt* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renewed.* Secondly, *That the late Confederacie with* England *ſhould be diſſolved.* Thirdly, *That the Church-men ſhould be reſtored to their places from which they had been thruſt.* The Council not willing to meddle with matters of that importance, delayed his anſwer to the Convention appointed in *May*, at which time Lord *James* returned. He had audience, and anſwer given him to this effect: *That the* Scots *were no way conſcious to themſelves of any breach of the ancient League, but contrariwiſe the* French *had*

An Ambaſſage from *France*.

The anſwer of the Convention.

An. 1560. *had broken to them, ſeeking of late to deprive them of their ancient Liberties, and under the profeſſion of friendſhip to bring them into a miſerable ſervitude. That they could not violate the Contract made with* England, *except they would be accompted of all men living the moſt ingrate; for having received the greateſt kindneſs and benefit at the hands of the* Engliſh *which one neighbour Nation could poſſibly do unto another, if they ſhould requite them with ſuch ingratitude, they would bring upon themſelves a perpetual and everlaſting ſhame. And for repairing the Church-men in their places, they ſaid that they did not acknowledge thoſe whom they ſo ſtyled to be Office-bearers in the Church, and that* Scotland, *having renounced the Pope, would maintain no longer his Prieſts and vaſſals.*

Morton and *Glencarn* return from *England.*

Noalius diſmiſſed with this anſwer, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn*, who a little before this time were returned from *England*, did relate the good acceptance they received from the Queen, and the promiſes ſhe made to aſſiſt them in the defence of the Liberties of the Kingdom, if they ſhould ſtand in need at any time of her help; which was heard with great content. They had been truſted with a more private buſineſs; this was to try if the Queen might be pleaſed to take the Earl of *Arrane* to her Husband, and that way to unite the Kingdoms in a more firm amity. But to this ſhe did in fair terms anſwer, *That ſhe was not as yet wearied of the ſingle life, and profeſſing her ſelf adepted to the Noblemans good affection, ſaid that if ſhe ſhould try her kindneſs in any other matter, he ſhould find his love not ill beſtowed.* The Earl took the repulſe more patiently becauſe of the *French* King's death, and truſting he ſhould gain the favour of his own Queen, whom he greatly affected: but of this he was likewiſe diſappointed, as we will hear.

A form of Church-policy.

IN the Convention kept at *Edinburgh* in *January* preceding a Form of Church-policy was preſented, and deſired to be ratified. Becauſe this will fall to be often mentioned, and ſerveth to the clearing of many queſtions which were afterward agitated in the Church; I thought meet word by word here to inſert the ſame, that the Reader may ſee what were the Grounds laid down at firſt for the Government of the Church, ſo we ſhall the better decerne of the Changes that followed.

The Firſt Head, of Doctrine.

SEeing that Chriſt *Jeſus* is he whom God the Father hath commended only to be heard and followed of his Sheep; we judge it neceſſary that his Goſpel be truly & openly preached in every Church & Aſſembly of this Realm, and that all Doctrine repugning to the ſame be utterly ſuppreſſed as damnable to mans Salvation.

The Explication of the Firſt Head.

Leſt that upon this our Generality ungodly men take occaſion to cavil, this we adde for Explication. By *preaching of the Goſpel* we underſtand not only the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, but alſo the Old; to wit, the Law, the Prophets and Hiſtories, in which Chriſt *Jeſus* is no leſs contained in Figure, then we have him now expreſſed in Virtue: And therefore with the Apoſtle we affirm, that *all Scripture inſpired of God is profitable to inſtruct, to reprove, and to exhort.* In which books of Old and New Teſtaments we affirm that all things neceſſary for the inſtruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and ſufficiently expreſſed.

By *the contrary Doctrine* we underſtand whatſoever men by Laws, Councils or Conſtitutions have impoſed upon the Conſciences of men without the expreſs commandment of God's Word. Such as are the Vows of Chaſtity, Forſwearing of Marriage, binding of men and women to a ſeveral and diſguiſed Apparel, to the ſuperſtitious

perſtitious obſerving of Faſting-daies, Difference of Meats for conſcience ſake, Prayer for the dead, and keeping of Holy-days of certain Saints commanded by man; ſuch as be all theſe the Papiſts have invented, as the Feaſts (ſo as they term them) of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Virgins; of Chriſtmas, Circumciſion, Epiphany, Purification, and other ſaid Feaſts of our Lady: which things becauſe in the Scriptures of God they neither have commandment, nor aſſurance, we judge them utterly to be aboliſhed from this Realm. Affirming farther, that the obſtinate maintainers and teachers of ſuch abominations ought not to eſcape the puniſhment of the Civil Magiſtrate. *An.* 1560.

The Second head, of Sacraments.

TO Chriſt *Jeſus* his holy Goſpel truly preached of neceſſity it is that his holy Sacraments be annexed and truly miniſtred, as Seals and viſible Confirmations of the ſpiritual Promiſes contained in the words. Theſe Sacraments are two, to wit, Baptiſm, and the holy Supper of the Lord *Jeſus*; which are then rightly miniſtred, when by a lawful Miniſter the people before the adminiſtration of the ſame are plainly inſtructed and put in mind of God's free Grace and mercy offered unto the penitent in Chriſt *Jeſus*, when God's Promiſes are reherſed, the end and uſe of the Sacraments preached and declared in ſuch a language as the people do underſtand; when alſo to them nothing is added, and from them nothing diminiſhed, and in their adminiſtration all things done according to the inſtitution of the Lord *Jeſus*, and practice of his holy Apoſtles. And albeit the order of *Geneva*, which now is uſed in ſome of our Churches, is ſufficient to inſtruct the diligent Reader how that both theſe Sacraments may be rightly miniſtred; yet for an Uniformity to be kept, we thought good to add this as ſuperabundant.

In Baptiſm we acknowledge nothing to be uſed except the element of Water only, and that the word and declaration of the Promiſes (as we ſaid before) ought to precede: therefore whoſoever preſumeth in Baptiſm to uſe oyl, ſalt, wax, ſpittle, conjuration and croſſing, as they accuſe the inſtitution of Chriſt of imperfection, (for it was void of all theſe inventions) ſo for altering Chriſt's perfect Ordinance they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed.

The Table of the Lord is then moſt rightly miniſtred, when it approacheth moſt nigh to Chriſt's own action. But plain it is that at the Supper Chriſt *Jeſus* ſate with his Diſciples, and therefore do we judge that ſitting at Table is moſt convenient to that holy action; that Bread and Wine ought to be given, diſtribution of the ſame made, that the Bread ſhould be taken and eaten, and likewiſe that all ſhould drink of the Cup, with declaration what both the one and the other is. For touching the damnable errour of the Papiſts, who defraud the people of the Cup of the Lord's Bloud, their errour is ſo manifeſt as it needeth no confutation.

That the Miniſter break the Bread, and diſtribute the ſame to thoſe that be next unto him, commanding the reſt every one with reverence and ſobriety to break with other, we think it neareſt to Chriſt's action, and to the perfect practice of the Apoſtles, as we read in Saint *Paul*. During which action we think it neceſſary that ſome comfortable places of Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the Death of the Lord *Jeſus*, and the benefit of the ſame: for ſeeing in that Action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's Death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the ſame moſt apt to ſtir up our dull minds then, and at all times. The Miniſters at their diſcretion may appoint the places to be read as they think good; but what times we think moſt convenient for miniſtration of the one and other Sacrament, ſhall be declared when we come to the Policy of the Church.

The Third Head, touching the aboliſhing of Idolatry.

AS we require Chriſt *Jeſus* to be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred; ſo we cannot ceaſe to require Idolatry, with all Monuments and places of the ſame, as Abbeys, Chappels, Monkeries, Friers, Nunneries, Chantries, Cathedral

An. 1560. Cathedral-Churches, Canonries, Colleges, other then preſently are Pariſh-Churches or Schools, to be utterly ſuppreſſed in all places of this Realm; Palaces, Manſions and dwelling-houſes, with their Orchards and Gardens, only excepted. As alſo we deſire that no perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoever they be, be permitted to uſe idolatrous Service; for that whereſoever Idolatry is maintained, if ſo it may be ſuppreſſed, the wrath of God ſhall reign both upon the blind and obſtinate idolaters, and thoſe that negligently ſuffer the ſame.

By *Idolatry* we underſtand the Maſſe, Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Images, and the keeping and retaining of the ſame; finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy Word.

The Fourth Head, concerning Miniſters and their lawful Election.

IN a Church reformed or tending to Reformation none ought to preſume either to preach, or yet miniſter the Sacraments, until they be called orderly to the ſame. Ordinary Vocation conſiſteth in Election, Examination and Admiſſion; and becauſe the Election of Miniſters in Papiſtry hath been altogether abuſed, we think expedient to intreat of it more largely.

It appertaineth to the people and to every ſeveral Congregation to elect their Miniſter, and in caſe they be found negligent therein the ſpace of fourty days, the beſt reformed Church, to wit, the Church of the Superintendent with his council, may preſent unto them a man that they judge apt to feed the flock of Chriſt *Jeſus*, who muſt be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge.

That this may be done with more exact diligence, the perſons who are to be examined muſt be commanded to appear before men of ſoundeſt judgement, remaining in ſome principal Town next adjacent unto them. As they that be in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernis*, or *Stratherne*, to preſent themſelves in St. *Andrews*; thoſe that be in *Lothian*, *Mers*, or *Tiveotdale*, in *Edinburgh*; and likewiſe thoſe that be in other Countreys, muſt reſort to the beſt reformed Cities and Towns, that is, to the Town of the Superintendent, where firſt in the Schools, or failing thereof in open Aſſembly and before the Congregation, they muſt give declaration of their Gifts, utterance and knowledge by interpreting ſome place of Scripture to be appointed by the Miniſtery; which being ended, the perſon that is preſented, or that offereth himſelf to the ſervice of the Church, muſt be examined by the Miniſters and Elders of the Church openly before all that liſt to hear, in all the chief Points that be now in controverſie betwixt us and the *Papiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Arrians*, and other ſuch enemies to the Chriſtian Religion: in which if he be ſound and able to perſuade by wholſome Doctrine, and to convince the gain-ſayers, then muſt he be directed to the Church and Congregation where he would ſerve; that there in open audience of the flock he may preach and deliver his knowledge in the Article of Juſtification, the Offices of Chriſt *Jeſus*, the number, effect and uſe of the Sacraments, and, finally, the whole Religion which heretofore hath been corrupted by Papiſts.

If his Doctrine be found wholſome and able to inſtruct the ſimple, and if the Church can juſtly reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine or utterance, then we judge the Church, which before was deſtitute, unreaſonable if they refuſe him whom the Church doth offer, and that they ſhould be compelled by the cenſure of the Council and Church to receive the perſon appointed and approved by the judgement of the Godly and Learned; unleſs that the ſame Church hath preſented a man better or as well qualified to examination, before that the foreſaid trial was taken of the perſon preſented by the Council of the whole Church. As for example, The Council of the Church preſents a man unto a Church to be their Miniſter, not knowing that they are otherwiſe provided; in the mean time the Church hath another ſufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they preſent to the learned Miniſters, and next reformed Church to be examined. In this caſe the Preſentation of the people to whom he ſhould be appointed Paſtor muſt be preferred to the Preſentation of the Council or greater Church, unleſs the perſon

preſented

preſented by the inferiour Church be judged unable for the regiment by the learned. For this is alwaies to be avoided, that no man be intruded or thruſt in upon any Congregation: but this liberty with all care muſt be reſerved for every ſeveral Church, to have their voices and ſuffrages in election of their Miniſters. Yet we do not call that violent Intruſion, when the Councel of the Church in the fear of God, regarding only the Salvation of the people, offereth unto them a man ſufficient to inſtruct them, whom they ſhall not be forced to admit before juſt examination, as is aforeſaid. *An.* 1560.

What may unable any Perſon that he may not be admitted to the Miniſtery of the Church.

It is to be obſerved, that no perſon noted with publick infamy, or being unable to edifie the Church by wholſome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgement, be either promoted to the regiment of the Church, or yet retained in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration.

Explication.

By *publick infamy* we underſtand not common ſins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindneſs by frailty, if he have declared himſelf truly penitent thereof by a more ſober and better converſation; but ſuch capital crimes as the Civil ſword ought and may puniſh with death by the word of God: for beſides that the Apoſtle requireth the life of Miniſters to be *irreprehenſible*, that they may have *a good teſtimony from thoſe who be without*, we eſteem it a thing unſeemly and dangerous, that he ſhall have publick authority to preach to others everlaſting life, from whom the Civil Magiſtrate may take the life temporal for a crime publickly committed. And if any will object, that the Prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publickly repented the ſame; we ſay, that neither doth repentance take away the temporal puniſhment of the Law, nor the pardon of the Prince remove the infamy before.

That the life and converſation of the perſon preſented or to be elected may be more clearly known, publick Edicts may be directed to all parts, at leaſt to thoſe parts where he hath been moſt converſant, as where he was educated in Letters, or continued ſince the years of his infancy and childhood were paſſed. Strict commandment would alſo be given, that if any capital crime hath been committed by him, the ſame ſhould be notified; & if he hath committed wilful Murther & Adultery, if he hath been a common fornicator, Thief, Drunkard, Fighter, a Brawler or contentious perſon; theſe Edicts ought to be publiſhed in the chief Cities, with declaration that ſuch as conceal his known ſins, do ſo far as in him lieth deceive and betray the Church of God, and communicate with the ſins of the wicked perſon.

Admiſſion.

The Admiſſion of Miniſters to their Offices muſt conſiſt in the conſent of the people and Church whereunto they ſhall be appointed, and in the approbation of the learned Miniſters appointed for their Examination.

We judge it expedient that the admiſſion of Miniſters be in open audience, where ſome ſpecial Miniſter ſhall make a Sermon touching the duty and office of Miniſters, their manners, converſation and life, as alſo touching the obedience which the Church oweth to their Miniſters; and warning made to the Miniſter that he attend carefully upon the flock over which he is placed, and walk in the preſence of God ſo ſincerely, as the Graces of the holy Spirit may be multiplied upon him, and in the preſence of men ſo ſoberly and uprightly, that by his exemplary life the word which he teacheth may be confirmed. The people likewiſe ought to be exhorted to reverence and honour the Miniſter as the *Servant* and *Ambaſſadour* of the Lord *Jeſus*, obeying the Doctrine delivered by him out of the Word, even

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Other *Ceremonies* then the publick approbation of the people, and the Declaration of the chief Miniſter, that the perſon there preſented is appointed to ſerve that Church, we cannot approve: for albeit the Apoſtles uſed the Impoſition of hands, yet ſeeing the Miracle is ceaſed, the uſing of the Ceremony we judge not to be neceſſary.

The Miniſter once publickly admitted may not leave the flock at his pleaſure, to which he hath promiſed his fidelity and labours: nor yet may the Flock reject and change him at their appetite, unleſs they be able to convict him of ſuch crimes as deſerve Depoſition. We mean not but that the whole Church, or moſt part thereof, for juſt conſiderations, may tranſlate a Miniſter from one Church to another; neither yet mean we that men who ſerve now as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed to other places: but they being once ſolemnly admitted, we think they ſhould not change at their own pleaſure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of learned and godly men will ſeem a juſt reaſon to ſome, why that ſo ſtrict and ſharp Examination ſhould not be taken univerſally; for ſo it would appear that the moſt part of Churches ſhall have no Miniſter at all. But let theſe men underſtand, that the lack of able men will not excuſe us before God, if by our conſent unable men be placed over the Flock of Chriſt. As alſo that amongſt the Gentiles godly and learned men were as rare as they be now amongſt us, when the Apoſtles gave the ſame rule of examining Miniſters, which we now follow.

Laſtly, let them underſtand, that it is alike to have no Miniſter at all, and to have an Idol in the place of a true Miniſter, yea in ſome ſort it is worſe; for they that be utterly deſtitute of Miniſters will make diligent ſearch for them, but ſuch as have a vain ſhadow content themſelves commonly with the ſame, without any farther care, and they remain deceived, thinking that they have a Miniſter, when in very deed they have none: for he is not to be thought a Miniſter that cannot break the Bread of Life to fainting and hungry Souls; neither can the Sacraments be rightly miniſtred by him in whoſe mouth God hath not put the word of Exhortation.

The chiefeſt remedy in this rarity of true Miniſters is fervent prayer unto God, that it may pleaſe him to thruſt forth faithful labourers into this his harveſt. Next, the Council of their authority compel ſuch men as have Gifts and Graces able to edifie the Church of God, to beſtow them where greateſt neceſſity is known. For no man may be permitted to live idle, nor as themſelves liſt, but muſt be appointed to travel where the Church and Council ſhall think it moſt expedient. We cannot preſcribe certain rules how the Miniſters ſhould be diſtributed, and ſuch learned men as God hath already ſent unto us: But of this we are aſſured, that it greatly hindreth the progreſs of Chriſt's Goſpel within this poor Realm, that ſome altogether abſtract their labours from the Church, & others remain altogether in one place, the moſt part of them being idle. And therefore think that the Council ſhould compel all men to whom God hath given any Talent to perſuade by wholſome doctrine, to beſtow the ſame, if they be called by the Church, to the advancement of Chriſts glory, and to the comfort of his troubled Flock; and that with conſent of the Church not only Towns may be aſſigned for the chiefeſt workmen to remain in, but alſo Provinces; that by their faithful labours Churches may be erected, and order eſtabliſhed where none is at the preſent.

For Readers.

To the Church that cannot preſently be furniſhed with Miniſters men muſt be appointed that can diſtinctly read the *Common-Prayers* and *Scriptures*, for the exerciſe both of themſelves & of the Church, until they grow until a greater perfection. Becauſe he who is now a Reader, may in proceſs of time attain to a farther degree, and be admitted to the holy Miniſtery. Some we know that of long time have profeſſed

profeſſed Chriſt *Jeſus*, whoſe honeſt converſation deſerveth praiſe of all good men, and whoſe knowledge might greatly help the ſimple and ignorant people; nottheleſs the ſame perſons content themſelves with reading: Theſe muſt be animated and encouraged to take upon them the Function of the Miniſtery. But if in no meaſure they be qualified for Preaching, they muſt abſtain from adminiſtration of the Sacraments till they attain unto farther knowledge; and ſuch as take upon them the office of Preachers, who ſhall not be found qualified therefore by the Superintendent, are by him to be placed Readers. *An.* 1560.

The Fifth Head, concerning the Proviſion of Miniſters, and diſtribution of the Rents and Poſſeſſions juſtly pertaining to the Church.

SCripture and Reaſon do both teach, that *the labourer is worthy of his hire*, and that *the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth forth the corn ought not to be muzzled.* Therefore of neceſſity it is that honeſt proviſion be made for Miniſters; which we require to be ſuch, that they neither have occaſion of ſolicitude, nor yet of inſolency and wantonneſs. And this proviſion muſt be made not only for their own ſuſtentation during their lives, but alſo for their wives and children after them: for it is againſt godlineſs, reaſon and equity, that the widow and children of him who did faithfully ſerve the Church of God in his life, and for that cauſe was not careful in providing for his family, ſhould after his death be left comfortleſs.

It is difficil to appoint the ſeveral Stipends of every Miniſter, becauſe the charges of neceſſity of all will not be alike: for ſome will be reſident in one place, ſome will be compelled to travel and change their dwelling, eſpecially if they have charge of divers Churches; ſome will be burthened with wife and children, and one with moe then another; ſome perchance will live a ſingle life; and if equal ſtipends ſhould be appointed to all theſe who are in charge ſo unequal, one would ſuffer penury, and another have ſuperfluity. Therefore we judge that every Miniſter ſhould have ſufficient wherewith to keep an houſe, and be ſuſtained honeſtly in all things neceſſary, forth of the Rents of the Church which he ſerveth, conform to his quality and the neceſſity of time: wherein it is thought that every Miniſter ſhall have forty bolls meal, and twenty bolls malt, with money to buy other proviſion to his houſe, and ſerve his other neceſſities; the modification whereof is to be referred to the judgement of the Church; which ſhall be made every year at the chuſing of the Elders and Deacons: providing always, that there be advanced to every Miniſter proviſion for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things.

To the Superintendents, who travel from place to place for eſtabliſhing of the Church, a farther conſideration muſt be given; therefore we think that to each of them ſhould be appointed ſix chalders beer, nine chalders meal, and three chalders oats for provand to his horſe, with 500 Marks of money, which may be augmented and diminiſhed at the diſcretion of the Prince and Council of the Realm.

The children of the Miniſters muſt be Free-men of the Cities next adjacent, where their Fathers laboured faithfully; they muſt alſo have the privileges of Schools and Burſaries in Colleges freely granted unto them, if they be found apt for learning; or failing thereof, they muſt be put to ſome handicraft and vertuous induſtry, whereby they may be profitable inſtruments in the Commonwealth. Their daughters likewiſe would be vertuouſly brought up and honeſtly educated, when they come to maturity of years, at the diſcretion of the Church. And this we require not ſo much for our ſelves or any that pertaineth to us, as for the increaſe of vertue and learning, and for the profit of the poſterity to come. For it is not to be ſuppoſed that a man will dedicate his children to ſerve in a calling where no worldly commodity is expected; and naturally men are provoked to follow vertue, where they ſee honour and profit attending the ſame: as by the contrary, many deſpiſe vertue when they ſee vertuous and godly men live unreſpected; and we ſhould be ſorry to know any to be diſcouraged from following the ſtudies of Learning, whereby they may be made able to profit the Church of Chriſt.

An. 1560. Of the Stipend of the Readers we have ſpoken nothing, becauſe if they can do nothing but read, they cannot be eſteemed true Miniſters, and regard muſt be had of their labours, but ſo as they may be ſpurred forward to vertue; therefore to a Reader that is lately entred, we think forty Marks, more or leſs, as the Pariſhioners can agree, ſufficient: providing that he teach the children of the Pariſh, which he muſt do beſides the reading of the Common Prayer and the books of Old and New Teſtament. If from reading he proceed to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his ſtipend to be augmented, till he come to the degree of a Miniſter. But if after two years ſervice he be found unable to edifie the Church by preaching, he muſt be removed from that office, and diſcharged of all ſtipend, that another may be put in place, who to the Church may be more profitable.

No childe nor perſon within the age of one and twenty years may be admitted to the office of a Reader, but ſuch muſt be choſen and admitted by the Superintendent as for their gravity and diſcretion may grace the function that they are called unto. Theſe Readers who have ſome gift of Exhortation, and have long continued in the courſe of godlineſs, we think may have 100 Marks or more, at the diſcretion of the Church appointed for them; yet a difference muſt always be kept betwixt them and the Miniſters that labour in word and miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Reſts two ſorts of people who muſt be provided for of that which is called the Patrimony of the Church; to wit, the Poor, and the Teachers of the youth. The Poor muſt be provided for in every Pariſh, for it is a ſhameful thing that they ſhould be ſo univerſally contemned and deſpiſed. Not that we are Patrons to ſtubborn and idle beggers, who running from place to place make a craft of begging; for thoſe we think muſt be compelled to work, or then puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate. But the poor widows, the fatherleſs, the impotent maimed perſons, the aged, and every one that may not work, or ſuch perſons as are fallen by occaſion into decay, ought to be provided, and have their neceſſities ſupplied by the Pariſh where they were born, or have remained for any long ſpace.

Of Superintendents.

Becauſe it is found expedient for the erecting and planting of Churches and appointing of Miniſters, that at this time there be ſelected ten or twelve Superintendents, we have thought good to deſign their bounds, ſet down their office, the manner of their Election, and cauſes which may deſerve Depoſition from their charge.

The Dioceſs of the Superintendents, and places of their Reſidence.

The Countrey of *Orkney* ſhall have a Superintendent, and for his Dioceſs the Iſles of *Orkney*, with the Countreys of *Cathnes* and *Strathnaver*: his Reſidence to be in the Town of *Kirkwall*.

The Superintendent of *Roſs* his Dioceſs ſhall comprehend *Roſs*, *Southerland*, *Murray*, with the North Iſles of *Sky* and *Lergis*, and their adjacents: his Reſidence ſhould be in the Canonry of *Roſs*.

The Superintendent of *Argile* ſhall have for his Dioceſs *Argile*, *Cantire*, *Lorne*, the South Iſles of *Arrane* and *Boole*, with the Iſles adjacent, and the countrey of *Loghquaber*: his Reſidence to be in *Argile*.

The Superintendent of *Aberdene*, his Dioceſs ſhall comprehend all betwixt *Dye* and *Spey*, that is, the Sherifdom of *Aberdene* and *Bamff*: his Reſidence to be in old *Aberdene*.

The Superintendent of *Brichen* ſhall have for his Dioceſs the Sherifdoms of *Mernis*, *Angus*, and the Bray of *Marre* unto *Dey*, and keep his Reſidence at *Brichen*.

The Superintendent of *Fife* ſhall have for his Dioceſs the Sherifdoms of *Fife*, *Fotheringham*, and *Perth* unto *Striveling*: his Reſidence ſhall be in S. *Andrews*.

The Superintendent of *Lothian* his Dioceſs ſhall comprehend the Sherifdoms of *Lothian*

Lothian, Striveling, Mers, Lawtherdale, and *Stow* of *Twaddale:* his Reſidence to be in *Edinburgh.* *An.* 1560.

The Superintendent of *Jedburgh* ſhall have for his Dioceſs *Teviotdale, Tweddale,* and the Forreſt of *Attrick:* his Reſidence to be in *Jedburgh.*

The Superintendent of *Glaſgow* his Dioceſs ſhall comprehend *Clyddiſdale, Ranfrew, Monteith, Kile,* and *Cunningham:* his Reſidence to be at *Glaſgow.*

The Superintendent of *Dunfreis* ſhall have for his Dioceſs *Galloway, Carrick, Niddiſdale,* and *Annandale,* with the reſt of the Dales in the Weſt; his Reſidence to be at *Dunfreis.*

Theſe men muſt not be ſuffered to live idle, as the Biſhops have done heretofore, neither muſt they remain where gladly they would, but they muſt be Preachers themſelves, and remain in one place above three or four moneths: after which they muſt enter in viſitation of their whole bounds, preach thrice a week at leaſt, and not to reſt till the Churches be wholly planted, and provided of Miniſters, or at the leaſt of Readers.

In their Viſitation they muſt try the life, diligence & behaviour of the Miniſters, the order of their Churches, and the manners of their people, how the poor are provided, and how the youth is inſtructed; they muſt admoniſh where admonition needeth, and dreſſe all things that by good counſel they are able to compoſe; finally they muſt take note of all heinous crimes, that the ſame may be corrected by the Cenſures of the Church.

Of the Election of Superintendents.

Such is the preſent neceſſity, that the Examination and Admiſſion of the Superintendents cannot be ſo ſtrict as afterwards it muſt: for the preſent therefore we think it ſufficient, that the Council nominate ſo many as may ſerve the Provinces above written, or then give Commiſſion to men of beſt knowledge, who have the fear of God, to do the ſame. The Gentlemen and Burgeſſes of Towns within the Dioceſs being always made privy at this time to the Election; as well to bring the Church in practice of her liberty, as to make the Paſtor better favoured of the Flock whom themſelves have choſen.

If ſo many able men cannot be found at the preſent as neceſſity requireth, it is better that thoſe Provinces wait till God provide, then that men unable to edifie & govern the Church be ſuddenly placed in the Charge: experience having taught what ills have been engendred in the Church by men unable to diſcharge their offices.

If any Superintendent ſhall depart this life, or happen to be depoſed, the Miniſter of the chief Town within that Province, with the Magiſtrate and Council, the Elders & Deacons of the ſaid Town, ſhall nominate to the Superintendents of two or three Provinces next adjacent, within the ſpace of twenty days, two or three of the moſt godly and learned Miniſters within the Realm, that from among them with publick conſent one may be elected to the office then vacant. The twenty days expired, and no man preſented, three of the next adjacent Provinces, with conſent of their Superintendents, Miniſters and Elders, ſhall enter into the right and privilege of the chief Town, and ſhall preſent one or two, if they liſt, to be examined according to the order; and it ſhall be lawful for all the Churches within the Dioceſs, within the ſame time, to nominate ſuch perſons as they eſteem worthy election.

After the Nomination made, publick edicts muſt be ſent forth, warning all men that have any objections againſt the perſons nominated, or againſt any one of them, to appear in the chief Town at the day affixed, which we think ſhould be thirty days after the Nomination, and declare what they have to ſay againſt the Election of any one of them.

The day appointed for the Election being come, the Miniſters of the Province, with the Superintendents next adjacent, ſhall examine the learning, manners, prudence and ability to govern the Church, of the whole perſons nominated, and cauſe them publickly to preach, to the end he that is moſt worthy may be bur-

An. 1560. thened with the Charge; and then they ſhall give their voices according to conſcience, and not out of affection. It muſt be conſidered, whether the objection be made of malice, or out of a zeal to God's glory and the weal of the Church. Other Ceremonies then this Examination, the approbation of Miniſters and Superintendents, with the publick conſent of Elders and people, we do not admit.

The Superintendent ſo elected muſt be ſubject to the cenſure and correction of the Miniſters and Elders of his chief Town and whole Province over which he is appointed: and if he be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, eſpecially if he be found negligent in Preaching the Word, or in Viſitation of his Churches, and if he be convict of any of theſe crimes which in a common Miniſter are condemned, he muſt be depoſed without any reſpect to his perſon or office.

If his offence be publick, and the Miniſters and Elders of the Province negligent in correcting him; then the next one or two Superintendents, with their Miniſters and Elders, may convene him, providing the ſame be within his own Province or chief Town, and inflict the cenſure that his offence deſerveth.

No Superintendent may be tranſlated at the pleaſure or requeſt of any one Province, without the Council of the whole Church, and that for grave cauſes and conſiderations.

After the Church ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and three years are paſt, no man ſhall be called to the office of a Superintendent who hath not two years at leaſt given a proof of his faithful labours in the miniſtery of ſome Church.

Of Schools, and the neceſſity of them.

Seeing men now adays are not miraculouſly gifted, as in the time of the Apoſtles, for the continuance of Knowledge and Learning to the generations following, eſpecially for the profit and comfort of Chriſts Church; it is neceſſary that care be had of the virtuous and godly education of youth: wherefore we judge that in every Pariſh there ſhould be a School-maſter, ſuch a one as is able at leaſt to teach the Grammar and *Latine* tongue, where the Town is of any reputation. But in Landwart, where people convene to Doctrine only once in the week, then muſt either the Reader or the Miniſter take care of the youth of the Pariſh, to inſtruct them in their Rudiments, eſpecially in the Catechiſm of *Geneva*.

In every notable Town, chiefly in the Town of the Superintendent, we think that a College ſhould be erected, wherein at leaſt the Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, with the Tongues, ſhould be taught by ſufficient Maſters, for whom honeſt ſtipends muſt be appointed. And that proviſion ſhould be made for ſuch youths as are poor, and cannot be brought up in letters by their friends: the commodity whereof will be great, when the children are brought up in the preſence of their friends, by whoſe good attendance their neceſſities may be ſupplied, and many inconveniences avoided, that youth commonly runneth into when they are ſent to ſtrange and unknown places. The exerciſe likewiſe of children in the Church cannot but ſerve greatly to the inſtruction of the aged and unlearned.

The great Schools called Univerſities ſhould be repleniſhed with thoſe that be apt for Learning: for no Father, of what condition or eſtate ſoever he be, ought to uſe his children after his own fantaſie, eſpecially in their youth; but all muſt be compelled to bring them up in knowledge and vertue. The rich muſt be exhorted, and by the cenſure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their ſons to the profit of the Church and Commonwealth, training them up in godly exerciſes upon their own expences; and the children of the poor muſt be ſuſtained upon the charge of the Church, till it be tried whether they be apt for letters and learning or not.

If they be found to be docile, and have good ingenies, they may not be permitted to reject learning, but charged to follow their ſtudies, that the Commonwealth may reap ſome comfort by them: and for this purpoſe the Miniſter and Elders, with the beſt learned in every Town, muſt be appointed to examine at the end of every quarter the youths, and ſee how they do profit.

A certain time muſt be appointed to reading and learning of the Catechiſm, a certain time to the Grammar and *Latin* tongue, a certain time to Arts and Philoſophy, and a certain time to the other Tongues and Studies which they intend to learn. That time expired, ſome craft and profitable exerciſe; providing always they have learned firſt the Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the right form to pray unto God, the number, uſe and effect of the Sacraments; and that they may be inſtructed touching the Natures and Offices of *Jeſus* Chriſt, and other ſuch Points as without the knowledge of them they neither deſerve to be called Chriſtians, nor ought to be admitted to the Participation of the Lord's Table. *An.* 1560.

The time appointed to every courſe.

Two years we hold more then ſufficient for learning to read perfectly, to anſwer to the Catechiſm, and get ſome entrance in the Rudiments of Grammar. Three or four years more we allow for attaining to the perfection of Grammar. To the Arts, that is, Logick, Rhetorick, and the *Greek* tongue, we allow other four years; and the reſt of 24. years to be ſpent in that ſtudy wherein they intend to ſerve the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the Laws, Phyſick, or Divinity. After which time of 24. years being ſpent in the Schools, they muſt be removed to ſerve the Church or Commonwealth, unleſs they be found neceſſary Profeſſors for the College or Univerſity.

The erection of Univerſities.

We think it neceſſary that there be three Univerſities in the Realm; one in St. *Andrews*, another in *Glaſgow*, and the third at *Aberdene*. In the firſt and principal Univerſity, which is S. *Andrews*, that there be three Colleges; and in the firſt College there be four Claſſes: the firſt for new Suppoſts, to whom Dialectick only ſhall be taught; the next Claſſe ſhall have the Metaphyſicks only read; the third Phyſick; and the fourth Medicine. In the Second College ſhall be two Claſſes; whereof the firſt ſhall be for Moral Philoſophy, and the ſecond for the Laws. In the third College likewiſe two Claſſes; the firſt for the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, and the ſecond for Divinity.

Of Profeſſors, and of the Degrees of time and Studies.

In the firſt College and firſt Claſſe there ſhall be a reader of Dialectick, who ſhall compleat his courſe thereof in one year. In the ſecond Claſſe, a Profeſſor of Mathematicks, who ſhall read to the Students Arithmetick, Geometry, Coſmography & Aſtrology, the ſpace of another year. In the third Claſſe, a Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, who ſhall accompliſh his courſe likewiſe in one year. After which three years, thoſe that ſhall be found by trial ſufficiently grounded in the foreſaid Sciences ſhall be Laureat and Graduate in Philoſophy. In the fourth Claſſe there ſhall be a Reader of Medicine, who ſhall compleat his courſe in five years: After the ſtudy whereof, ſuch as are found ſufficient upon examination ſhall be a Graduate in Medicine.

In the ſecond College and firſt Claſſe thereof a Reader of Ethicks, OEconomicks and Politicks, whoſe courſe ſhall end in one year. In the ſecond Claſſe ſhall be two Readers of the Municipal and *Roman* Laws, who ſhall finiſh their courſe in four years. After which time, thoſe that are found ſufficient ſhall be Graduate in the Laws.

In the third College and firſt Claſſe, a Reader of the *Hebrew* and another of the *Greek* Tongue, who ſhall compleat the Grammars thereof in half a year. The reſt of the year the Reader of the *Hebrew* ſhall interpret ſome Books of *Moſes*, of the Prophets or Pſalms, ſo that his courſe ſhall continue one year. The Reader of the *Greek* ſhall interpret ſome Book of *Plato*; together with ſome Book of the New Teſtament, and ſhall finiſh his courſe the ſame year. In the ſecond Claſſe there

An. 1560. ſhall be two Readers of Divinity, one of the New Teſtament, and another of the Old, who ſhall finiſh their courſe in five years. After which time, thoſe that are found ſufficient ſhall be Graduate in Divinity.

None ſhall be admitted into the firſt College, and be made Suppoſt of the Univerſity, unleſs he have from the Maſter of the School and Miniſter of the Town where he was inſtructed in the Latin tongue, a teſtimony of his learning, docility, age and parentage.

Thoſe that have been taught in the Dialectick ſhall be examined by the Rector and Principals; and being found to have profited therein, ſhall be promoved to the Claſſe of the Mathematicks.

None ſhall be admitted to the Claſſe of Medicine, but he that ſhall be known to have ſpent his time well in Dialectick, Mathematick and Phyſick, and ſhall have a teſtimonial of his docility in the laſt.

None admitted to the Claſſe of Laws, but he that ſhall have a teſtimonial of his time well ſpent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Ethick, OEconomicks, Politicks, and of his docility in the laſt.

And to the Claſſe of Divines they only ſhall be admitted that bring a ſufficient Teſtimonial of their time well ſpent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Phyſick, Ethick, OEconomick and Politick Philoſophy, the knowledge of the *Hebrew* tongue, and his docility in Divinity.

Such as will apply themſelves to hear the Laws ſhall not be compelled to hear Medicine; neither ſhall ſuch as apply themſelves to hear Divinity be compelled either to hear Medicine or the Laws.

The ſecond Univerſity at *Glaſgow* ſhall have two Colleges. In the firſt whereof ſhall be three Claſſes; one for Dialectick, another for Mathematick, and a third for Phyſick. And in the ſecond College ſhall be four Claſſes; one for Moral Philoſophy, Ethicks, OEconomicks and Politicks; another for the Municipal and *Romane* Laws; the third for the *Hebrew* Tongue; and the laſt for Divinity to be ordered according to the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*.

The third Univerſity at *Aberdene* ſhall be conform to the Univerſity of *Glaſgow* in all points.

Unto every College there muſt be elected forth of the Body of the Univerſity a Principal, who muſt be a man of learning, diſcretion and diligence. He ſhall receive the whole Rents of the College, and diſtribute the ſame according to the erection of the College, adjoyning to himſelf weekly one of the Profeſſors: he ſhall hearken daily the Diet-compts, and overſee the policy and buildings of the Houſe, attend that the Profeſſors be diligent in their ſeveral readings to the youth, and ſhall weekly keep a meeting with the whole Members of the College, for puniſhment of faults that ſhall happen to be committed, and ſhall yearly be countable to the ſuperintendent Rector and reſt of the Principals, who ſhall convene to that effect the firſt of *November*.

The election of the Principal ſhall be in this ſort. Within eight days after the place falleth void, the members of the College being ſworn to follow their conſcience ſhall nominate three of the moſt ſufficient men of the Univerſity, not being Principals already, who ſhall be publickly propounded through the whole Univerſity: This done, the Superintendent by himſelf, or his ſpecial Procurators, with the Rector and the reſt of the Principals, ſhall convene within eight days after, & chuſe one of the three whom they think moſt ſufficient, being ſworn before to do the ſame without favor or partial affection.

There ſhall be in every College a Steward, Cook, Gardiner and Porter, who ſhall be ſubject to the Principal, as are the reſt.

Every Univerſity ſhall have a Beddale, who ſhall be ſubject to ſerve at all times the Univerſity at the direction of the Rector and Principal.

There ſhall likewiſe a Rector be choſen in every Univerſity from year to year on this manner. The Principals of the Colleges with the whole Regents chapterly convened ſhall be ſworn to nominate, every man ſpeaking in his own room, ſuch a one as in his Conſcience he thinketh to be moſt ſufficient for that charge & dignity;

dignity; and of thoſe who ſhall be moſt often nominated three ſhall be put in lite 15 days before *Michaelmas*; and upon the eve of *Michaelmas* the whole Principals, Regents and Suppoſts graduated, or who have ſtudied the Ethicks, OEconomicks and Politicks, and no others, every nation having proteſted to follow the dictate of their own Conſcience, ſhall nominate one of the ſaid three; and he unto whom moſt voices are given ſhall be confirmed by the Superintendent and Principals, who ſhall take his oath for lawful adminiſtration, and the oath of the reſt of the Univerſitie for their ſubmiſſion and obedience: after which he ſhall put on a new garment, and be preſented to the Univerſity. *Inſignia Magiſtratus* being born before him, monthly he ſhall viſit every College, and try how the exerciſes of Reading be kept. His Aſſeſſors ſhall be a Lawyer and Theologue, by whoſe advice he ſhall decide all civil queſtions betwixt the Members of the Univerſity. If any without the Univerſity purſue a Member thereof, or be purſued by any Member of the ſame, he ſhall aſſiſt the Provoſt and Bailies and other Judges competent to ſee juſtice miniſtred, and that as well in civil as criminal cauſes. *An.* 1560.

We think it expedient that in every College of the whole Univerſities there be 24 Burſars divided equally in the Claſſes above ſpecified; that is, in St. *Andrews* 72 Burſars, in *Glaſgow* 48, in *Aberdene* as many. Theſe ſhall be ſuſtained only in meat upon the charges of the College, and not be admitted but upon trial taken by the Miniſtery of the Town, and Principals of the Univerſity, as well touching their own docility, as if their parents be able to entertain them or not.

Of Stipends, and the Expences neceſſary.

The ſumms needful for the ordinary charges, we judge may be as followeth.

Imprimis, for the ſtipend of the Profeſſors of Dialectick, Mathematick, Phyſick and Moral Philoſophy, for each of thoſe 100 *l.* *Item*, for the Profeſſor of Medicine and Laws, 200 marks. *Item*, to the Reader of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, and Divinity, 200 *l.* *Item*, to every Principal, 200 *l.* *Item*, to every Steward for his fee, 16 *l.* *Item*, to every Gardiner, Cook and Porter, 10 marks. *Item*, to the ſuſtentation of every Burſar, that is not in the Claſſe of Theology or Medicine 20 *l.* *Item*, to the Burſars in theſe Claſſes, 24 *l.* *Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences in the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, extendeth to 3796 *l.* *Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences of *Glaſgow* extends to 2922 *l.* *Summa* of *Aberdene*, 2922 *l.* *Summa* of the whole ordinary charges is 9640 *l.*

For the payment of theſe ſumms we think the Temporalties of Biſhopricks and Churches Collegiat ought to be deſtinated, ſo far at leaſt as the ſame charges do require.

The Beddale ſhall have for his ſtipend 2 *s.* of every Intrant and Suppoſt of the Univerſity, of every Graduate in Philoſophy 3 *s*, of the Graduate in Medicine 4 *s*, and 5 *s* of the Graduate in Theology, Burſars in theſe ſtudies only excepted.

For upholding the fabrick this order would be taken, that every Earl's ſon at his entry ſhall give 40 *s*, with ſo much at his graduation; every Lord's ſon, 30 *s*; the ſon of a Baron, 20 *s*, the ſon of a Burgeſs or ſubſtantious Gentleman, 10 *s*; and the ſons of all others, Burſars excepted, 5 *s*. Theſe moneys being collected ſhall be put in a common box, and committed to the keeping of the Principal, and upon the 15 day of *November* yearly, in the preſence of the Superintendent, Rector and whole Principals, the ſame ſhall be opened, the moneys counted, and by their conſents reſerved, or imployed upon building or repairing, as the neceſſity of the Fabrick ſhall require.

Of the Privilege of the Univerſity.

Seeing Innocency ſhould rather defend us then Privilege, we think that every perſon ſhould anſwer before the Provoſt and Bailies of the Town where the Univerſity is, upon all actions they are called for, ſo as the Rector be Aſſeſſor to the

An. 1560. the Magiſtrates therein. If the queſtion be betwixt members of the Univerſity, the party called is not held to anſwer but before the Rector and his Aſſeſſors: in all other cauſes of civil purſuit, the general Rule of Law is to be obſerved, *Actor ſequatur forum rei.*

The Rector and all inferior members of the Univerſity muſt be exempted from all taxes, impoſts, charges of war, or any other burthens that may abſtract them from attending the youth, ſuch as Tutory, Curatory, Executory, and the like.

As for other things that may concern the Students and Maſters, ſuch as the choice of Books to be read in every Claſſe, and ſuch other particulars, they are to be left to the diſcretion of the Principal and Regents, and their Council.

The Sixth Head, of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.

TWo ſorts of men, that is, the Preachers of the Word and the Poor, beſides the Schools, muſt be ſuſtained upon the Rents of the Church; wherefore it would be conſidered how and of what the ſame is to be raiſed. For to our grief we hear that ſome Gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the Tithes and other Duties paid before to the Church, then ever the Papiſts were, and ſo the tyranny of Prieſts is turned into the tyranny of Lords and Lairds. For this we require, that the Gentlemen, Barons, Lords, Earls and others, be content to live upon their own Rents, and ſuffer the Church to be reſtored to her right and liberty, that by her reſtitution the poor that heretofore have been oppreſſed may now receive ſome comfort and relaxation.

It is a thing moſt reaſonable that every man have the uſe of his own Tithes, providing that he anſwer the Deacons and Treaſurer of the Church of that which ſhall be reaſonably appointed unto him, and that the uppermoſt cloth, the Corpreſent, the Clerkmail, the Paſche-offerings, Tith-ale, and other the like exactions be diſcharged for ever. And becauſe not only the Miniſters but alſo the poor and Schools muſt be ſuſtained upon the Tithes, we think it more expedient, that Deacons and common Treaſurers of the Church be appointed to receive the whole Rents appertaining thereto, then the Miniſters themſelves: And that commandment may be given that no man either receive or intromet with any thing belonging to the ſuſtentation of the foreſaid perſons, but ſuch as ſhall be appointed thereto by the Church.

If any ſhall think this prejudicial to thoſe that poſſeſſe the Tithes by virtue of leaſes, we would have them know that unjuſt poſſeſſion is no poſſeſſion before God; and that thoſe of whom they acquired their right were thieves and murtherers, and had no power to alienate the Patrimony and common good of the Church: yet do we wiſh recompence to be made to ſuch as have deburſed ſums of money to theſe unjuſt poſſeſſors, ſo that the ſame had not been given of late, in prejudice of the Church, or no colluſion uſed. For which purpoſe we think it expedient, that whoſoever have the titles of any Church in part or whole, be warned to produce his right, that, cognition being taken thereof, a reaſonable recompence may be given them, before the years that are to run, the profits of years paſt deduced and conſidered, ſo that the Church in end may receive her liberty and freedom.

The Tithes that we think muſt be lifted for the uſe of the Church, are the Tithes of Hay, Hemp, Lint, Cheeſe, Fiſh, Calf, Veal, Lamb, Wool, and all ſorts of Corn. But becauſe theſe will not ſuffice to diſcharge the neceſſaries of the Church, we think that all things dotate to hoſpitality in times paſt, with all annual rents both to Burgh and Land, pertaining to Prieſts, Chanteries, Colleges, Chaplanries, and Friers of all Orders, to the ſiſters of the Seynes, and all other of that ſort, be retained to the uſe of the Church or Churches within the Towns or Pariſhes where they were founded: likewiſe the whole Revenues of the Temporalities of Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons; with all Rents of lands pertaining to Cathedral Churches which muſt be applied to the entertainment of Superintendents and Univerſities. And farther, we think that Merchants and Craftſmen in free Burghs, who have nothing

to

to do with manuring the ground, ought to make ſome proviſion in their Cities and Towns and dwelling-places for the ſupport of the Church, and neceſſities thereof. *An.* 1560.

The Miniſters, and, failing of them, the Readers muſt be reſtored to their Manſes and Gleibs, without which they cannot ſerve nor attend their Flocks; and where any Gleib exceedeth ſix acres of land, that which is more ſhall remain with the poſſeſſor, till farther order be taken.

The Deacons or Treaſurers appointed to collect theſe Rents muſt be choſen yearly in every Pariſh by the common conſent of the Church; they may not diſtribute any part of that which is collected but by the command of the Miniſters and Elders, who muſt not command any thing to be delivered but as the Church hath before determined. That is, the Miniſters to be firſt paid either quarterly, or from half year to half year, of the ſums allowed to them, the Schoolmaſters, Readers, and Hoſpitals, if any be.

If any extraordinary ſums muſt be diſburſed, then the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons are to conſult whether the ſame ſtands with the profit of the Church or not; and if they do agree, they may do as beſt ſeemeth unto them. But if there be controverſie amongſt themſelves, the whole Church muſt be made privy, and the reaſons heard; their judgement with the Miniſters conſent ſhall prevail.

The Deacons ſhall make their Accompts to the Miniſter and Elders of that which they have received, and the Elders when they are changed (which muſt be every year) ſhall clear their Accompts before ſuch Auditors as the Church ſhall appoint. And both the Deacons and Elders being changed, ſhall deliver to them that are newly elected all ſums of money, corns, or other profits reſting in their hands; the tickets whereof muſt be delivered to the Superintendents in their Viſitations, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that as well the indigence as abundance of every Church may be known, and ſo a reaſonable equality may be kept through the whole Realm.

The Seventh Head, concerning the Cenſuring of Offenders.

AS no Commonwealth can flouriſh or long endure without good Laws and ſharp execution of the ſame: ſo cannot the Church of God be purged, or yet retained in purity, without the order of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. This ſtandeth in reproving and correcting thoſe faults which the Civil ſword doth either neglect, or may not puniſh.

Blaſphemy, Adultery, Murther, Perjury, and ſuch capital crimes fall not properly under the cenſure of the Church, becauſe ſuch open tranſgreſſors of God's Law ſhould be taken away by the Civil ſword. But Drunkenneſſe, Exceſſe, whether in apparel or in meat and drink, Fornication, Oppreſſion of the poor by exactions, Deceit in buying and ſelling, by wrong mete and meaſure, wanton words and licentious living tending to ſlander, do properly appertain to the Cenſure of the Church; which in the order and caſes following we judge ſhall be obſerved.

If the offence be ſecret and known by few, and be rather ſurmiſed then that it be manifeſtly proved, the offender ought to be privately admoniſhed, and if he promiſe to amend, the Cenſure ſhall not proceed any further.

If he contemn the Admonition that is given him, or after promiſe walk als uncircumſpectly as before, the Miniſter ought to call and rebuke him, and if he be diſobedient, proceed according to the rule of Chriſt.

In faults publick and hainous, ſuch as Fornication, Drunkenneſs, Fighting, common Swearing and Execration, the offender muſt be called before the Miniſter, Elders and Deacons, and have his ſin laid out before him; whereof if he ſhew himſelf penitent, and require to be admitted to publick ſatisfaction, a day ſhould be appointed for his appearance before the whole Church, to teſtifie the repentance which before he profeſſed; which if he accept, and with reverence perform, he ought to be received again in the ſociety of the Church: for the Church of God muſt not be more rigorous then God declareth himſelf to be, who witneſſeth, that *whenſoever*

An. 1560. *ſoever a ſinner doth unfeignedly repent and turn from his wickedneſs, that he will not remember his iniquity any more.*

If the offender be obſtinate, and ſhew no ſigns of repentance, he muſt be diſmiſſed with an Exhortation to conſider his dangerous eſtate, and aſſured that, if he do not ſhew no tokens of amendment, a more ſevere courſe will be taken. If within a certain ſpace he manifeſt his repentance to the Miniſter, he may be preſented before the Congregation, and received in manner aforeſaid. But if he ſhall continue in his impiety, then it muſt be ſignified to the congregation that ſuch offences are fallen out amongſt them, the committer thereof rebuked and deſired to repent, whereof as yet no tokens are given, and they requeſted to call unto God for touching the heart of the offender, (whoſe fault ought to be expreſſed, but not his name) with remorſe that he may truly and earneſtly be converted.

If he notwithſtanding continue in his contempt, his name muſt the next day of the publick meeting be notified to the Congregation, and the moſt diſcreet and neareſt of his friends or acquaintance entreated to deal with him earneſtly, that he may be brought to the knowledge of the fault, and ſolemn prayers made for his Converſion to God.

The third Sunday the Miniſter ſhall require if the impenitent hath declared any ſigns of his repentance; and it being found that he hath done the ſame, a day ſhall be affixed to him for appearing before the Conſiſtory, where if he ſhew himſelf penitent as well of the crime, as of his long contempt, he ſhall be received upon publick ſatisfaction in manner before preſcribed.

But if no man ſignifie his repentance, then the Miniſter by conſent of the Elders and Deacons, and at commandment of the Church, ſhall pronounce the offender excommunicated from God and from the ſociety of his Church. After which ſentence no perſon may have any kind of converſation with him, (his wife and family only excepted) in eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, ſaluting, or conforming with him, unleſs the ſame be licenſed by the Miniſtery; that he, finding himſelf abhorred of the faithful and godly, may take occaſion to repent, and ſo be ſaved.

This Sentence as being the moſt heavy Cenſure whice can be inflicted by the Church, ought not to be raſhly uſed, but for great cauſes, and due proceſs of time kept, but being pronounced, ought with all ſeverity to be maintained, and intimation thereof made through the whole Realm, leſt any ſhould pretend ignorance of the ſame.

His children begotten or born after the ſentence and before his repentance may not be admitted to Baptiſm, till either they be of age to require it, or elſe the mother, or ſome of his ſpecial friends members of the Church, preſent and offer the childe, abhorring and damning the iniquity of his parent. If any do think it rigorous thus to puniſh the child for the father's offence, let them underſtand that the Sacraments appertain only to the faithful and their ſeed; and that ſuch as contemn the admonitions of the Church, and obſtinately continue in their iniquity, cannot be reckoned amongſt the faithful.

Murtherers, Man-ſlayers, Adulterers, and committers of the like horrible crimes, whom the Civil ſword ought to puniſh with death, if they ſhall be permitted to live, ſhall be holden excommunicate and accurſed in their fact; the offenders being firſt called, and the order of the Church uſed againſt them in the ſame manner as the perſons who for their obſtinacy are publickly excommunicated: So the obſtinate impenitent after the ſentence of Excommunication, and the Murtherer or Adulterer ſhall ſtand in one caſe as concerning the judgement of the Church, and neither of both admitted to Prayers or Sacraments, (howbeit they may be preſent at the Preaching of the Word) till firſt they offer themſelves to the Miniſter and Elders, requeſting humbly their prayers, and deſiring them to intercede with the Church for ther admiſſion to publick repentance.

Upon this humble requeſt ſignification ſhall be given to the Church of the ſame the firſt day of publick Preaching, & the Congregation exhorted to pray unto God, that he will perform the work which he appeareth to have begun in the heart of the offender, by granting him unfeigned repentance of his ſin, with a ſenſe and

feeling

feeling of his mercy. Thereafter a day ſhall be publickly aſſigned unto him to make open confeſſion of his crime and contempt. At which time he muſt appear in preſence of the Congregation, and confeſſing the ſame deſire mercy of God, and intreat them to accept him in their ſociety. *An.* 1560.

The Miniſter ſhall try diligently if he find in him an hatred and diſpleaſure of his impiety committed, and as he findeth, ſo to comfort him in the hope of God's mercies; but eſpecially is to ſee that he be inſtructed in the knowledge of *Jeſus* Chriſt, in the article of Juſtification, and Offices of Chriſt: for it were a mocking of God to receive him to repentance who knoweth not wherein his remedy ſtandeth, when he is grieved for ſin.

If he ſhall perceive him to be reaſonably inſtructed and humbly diſpoſed, then ſhall he demand of the Congregation, if they be willing to receive that creature of God (whom Satan had before drawn in his ſnare) into their ſociety; which they yielding unto, (as juſtly they may not deny the ſame) then ought the Miniſter to crave the aſſiſtance of the Churches prayers in behalf of the penitent, and prayer ended, exhort them to receive him again in their favours; in token whereof the Elders and one or two of the Congregation ſhall take him by the hand, and embrace him in the name of the whole Church.

This done, the Miniſter ſhall exhort him who is received to walk circumſpectly in time coming, leſt Satan catch him again in his ſnares, advertiſing him how that enemy will not ceaſe to try all means poſſible for bringing him from the obedience that he hath given to God and his Ordinance. And after the exhortation ſhall give again publick thanks to God for the Converſion of that their brother, and pray for increaſe and continuance of his Grace to him and the whole Congregation.

Unto this Diſcipline the whole eſtates of the Realm, as well the Rulers as they that are ruled, and the Preachers themſelves, as well as the pooreſt within the Church, muſt be ſubject; the Miniſters eſpecially, becauſe they as the eye and mouth of the Church ſhould be moſt irreprehenſible.

The Eighth Head, concerning Elders and Deacons.

MEn of beſt knowledge, of pureſt life, and moſt honeſt converſation that can be found in every Church, muſt be nominated for theſe Offices, and their names publickly read unto the Congregation, that from amongſt thoſe ſome may be choſen to ſerve as Elders and Deacons. If any be nominated who is noted with publick infamy, he muſt be repelled; for it is not ſeemly that the ſervant of corruption ſhould have authority to judge in the Church of God: or if any man know others that are of better qualities within the Church then thoſe who are nominated, the ſame ſhall be joyned to the others, that the Church may have the choice. If the Churches be few in number, ſo as Elders and Deacons cannot conveniently be had, the ſame Church may be joyned to the next adjacent; for the plurality of Churches without Miniſters and order doth rather hurt then edifie.

The election of Elders and Deacons ought to be made every year once, which we judge moſt convenient to be done the firſt of *Auguſt* yearly, leſt men by long continuance in thoſe Offices preſume upon the liberty of the Church. And yet it hurteth not if a man be retained in office more years then one, ſo as he be appointed yearly thereto by common and free election. Providing always that the Deacons and Theſaurers of the Church be not compelled to receive again the ſame Office for the ſpace of three years. How the ſuffrages ſhall be given and received, every ſeveral Church may take the order that ſeemeth beſt to them.

The Elders being elected muſt be admoniſhed of their Office, which is to aſſiſt the Miniſter in all publick affairs of the Church; to wit, in judging and diſcerning of cauſes, in giving admonition to licentious livers, & having an eye upon the manners & converſation of all men within their charge: for by the gravity of the Elders the looſe and diſſolute manners of other men ought to be reſtrained and corrected. The Elders ought alſo to take heed to the life, manners, diligence and ſtudy of their Miniſters:

An. 1560. Miniſters: and if he be worthy of admonition, they muſt admoniſh him; if of correction, they muſt correct him; and if he be worthy of depoſition, they with the conſent of the Church and Superintendent may depoſe him.

The Office of Deacons is to receive the Rents and gather the Alms of the Church, to keep and diſtribute the ſame as they ſhall be appointed by the Miniſtery and the Church: yet they may alſo aſſiſt in judgement the Miniſter and Elders, and be admitted to read in publick Aſſemblies, if they be called, required and found able thereto.

The Elders and Deacons, with their wives and families, muſt be ſubject to the ſame Cenſure that Miniſters are ſubject unto; for they are Judges to the manners of others, and therefore they muſt be ſober, humble, entertainers of concord and peace amongſt neighbours, and, finally, an enſample of godlineſs to the reſt of the Flock: whereof if the contrary appear, they muſt be admoniſhed by the Miniſter or ſome of their brethren, if the fault be ſecret; but if it be open and known, they muſt be openly rebuked, and the ſame order kept with them that is preſcribed againſt Miniſters offending. We think it not neceſſary that any publick ſtipend be appointed either to the Elders or Deacons, becauſe their travel continueth but for a year; as alſo becauſe they are not ſo occupied with the affairs of the Church, but that they may have leiſure to attend their private buſineſs.

Of the Cenſure and Depoſition of Miniſters.

If a Miniſter be of a looſe converſation, negligent in his ſtudy, and one that waiteth not on his Charge and Flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful Doctrine to his people, he ought to be admoniſhed by the Elders; and if he amend not, the Elder may complain to the Miniſtery, till his repentance appear: but if any Miniſter be deprehended of any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, murther, man-ſlaughter, perjury, hereſie, or any ſuch as deſerveth death, or any infer the note of infamy, he ought to be depoſed for ever. By Hereſie we underſtand pernicious Doctrine plainly taught and obſtinately defended againſt the foundation and principal grounds of Chriſtian Faith. Such a crime we judge to deſerve perpetual Depoſition from the Miniſtery, knowing it to be a thing moſt dangerous to commit a Flock unto a man infected with Hereſie.

Some faults deſerve depoſition for a time: as if a Miniſter be deprehended drunken, if he be a brawler or fighter, an open ſlanderer, a defamer of his neighbours, factious and a ſower of diſcord, till he declare himſelf penitent, and give ſome aſſurance of better converſation, upon which the Congregation ſhall attend the ſpace of twenty days or longr, as they ſhall think expedient, before they proceed to a new Election.

Every inferiour Church ſhould notifie by one of their Elders and one of their Deacons to the Superintendent, the life, manners, ſtudy and diligence of their Miniſters, that the diſcretion of ſome may correct the levity of others. Neither muſt the life and manners only of their Miniſters come under cenſure, but alſo of their wives, children and family.

It muſt likewiſe be adverted, that the Miniſter neither live riotouſly nor avariciouſly, and a reſpect had how he ſpendeth his Stipend: for if a reaſonable Stipend be appointed him, he muſt live accordingly; becauſe avariciouſneſs and ſolicitude of money is no leſs to be damned in Chriſt's ſervants, eſpecially thoſe who are fed at the charge of the Church, then is exceſs and ſuperfluity.

We judge it unſeemly for Miniſters to live in common Ale-houſes or Taverns; neither muſt a Miniſter be permitted to frequent the Court, unleſs it be for a time, when he is either imployed by the Church, or called by the Authority to give his counſel and judgement in any matter: Neither yet muſt he be one of the council in Civil affairs, be he never judged ſo apt for the purpoſe; but either muſt he ceaſe from the Miniſtery, (which at his own pleaſure he may not do,) or elſe in bearing charge in Civil affairs, except it be to aſſiſt the Parliament when the ſame is called.

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The Ninth Head, concerning the Policy of the Church.

WE call the *Policy of the Church* the exerciſe of Religion in ſuch things as may help to bring the ignorant to knowledge, or elſe promove in them that are more learned a farther growth of Grace, or otherwiſe ſuch things as are appointed for keeping things in good order within the Church; whereof there be two ſorts: the one utterly neceſſary; as that the Word may be truly preached, the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred, common Prayers publickly made, children and ſimple perſons inſtructed in the chief points of Religion, and offences corrected and puniſhed. Theſe things we ſay are ſo neceſſary, that without the ſame there cannot be any face of a viſible Church.

The other ſort is profitable, but not merely neceſſary; as that Pſalms be ſung, and certain places of Scripture read when there is no Sermon; or that the Church ſhould convene this or that day in the week to hear Sermons. Of theſe and the like we ſee not how a certain Order can be eſtabliſhed: for in ſome Churches the Pſalms may be conveniently ſung, in other perhaps they cannot; ſome Churches may convene every day, ſome twice or thrice in the week, and ſome it may be but once. In theſe and the like every particular Church may appoint their own policy themſelves. Yet in great Towns we think expedient, that every day there be either Sermon or Common-Prayer, with ſome exerciſe of reading the Scriptures. The day of publick Sermon we do not think the common Prayers needful to be uſed, leſt we ſhould foſter the people in Superſtition, who come to the Prayers as they come to the Maſs, or give them occaſion to think that thoſe are no Prayers which are conceived before and after Sermon.

In every famous Town we require that one day beſides the Sunday be appointed for Sermon, during the time whereof men muſt abſtain from all exerciſe of trade and labour, the ſervant as well as the maſter. In ſmaller Towns ſuch order muſt be kept as the Churches within the ſame ſhall appoint; but the Sunday in all Towns muſt preciſely be obſerved, before and after noon. Before noon the Word muſt be preached, Sacraments adminiſtred, and Marriage ſolemnized when occaſion doth offer. After noon the Catechiſm muſt be taught, and the young children examined thereupon, in audience of all the people: In doing whereof the Miniſter muſt have care to cauſe the people underſtand the Queſtions propounded, with the Anſwers and Doctrine that may be collected thereof.

What order ſhall be kept in teaching the Catechiſm, and how much thereof every Sunday ſhall be handled, the diſtinctions of the Catechiſm it ſelf, which is the moſt perfect that ever was yet uſed in any Church, do ſhew. Where there is neither Preaching nor Catechiſm upon Sundays at after noon, the common Prayers ought to be uſed.

It appertaineth to every Church to appoint the times when the Sacraments ſhould be miniſtred. Baptiſm may be miniſtred whenſoever the Word is preached, but we think it more expedient that the ſame be miniſtred upon Sunday; and when occaſion is offered of great travel before noon, the ſame may be miniſtred in the afternoon; upon the week days only after the Sermon, partly to remove that groſs errour which may hold that Children dying without Baptiſm are damned, partly that the people may aſſiſt the miniſtration of the Sacrament with greater reverence then commonly they do.

Four times in the year we think ſufficient for Adminiſtration of the Lord's Table, which we deſire to be ſo diſtinguiſhed that the ſuperſtitious obſervation of times may be avoided ſo far as may be: for it is known how ſuperſtitiouſly people run unto that action upon Eaſter, as if time gave virtue to the Sacraments, whenas the reſt of the whole year they are careleſs and negligent, as though it belonged not unto them but at that time only. Therefore we think it expedient that the firſt Sunday of *March* yearly be kept for one day to that ſervice, the firſt Sunday of *June* for another, the firſt Sunday of *September* for the third, and the firſt Sunday of *December* for the fourth.

An. 1560. Albeit we deny not, but every Church for reaſonable cauſes may change the time, and miniſter the ſame oftner; yet we think the Sacrament of the Supper ought never to be miniſtred without Examination preceding, chiefly of thoſe who are known or ſuſpect to be ignorant; and that none ought to be admitted to that holy Myſtery who cannot formally ſay the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, declare the ſum of the Law, and underſtandeth the uſe and virtue of that holy Sacrament.

We alſo think neceſſary that every Church have a Bible in *Engliſh*, and that the people convene to hear the Scriptures read and interpreted, that by frequent reading and hearing the groſs ignorance of the people may be removed. And we judge it moſt expedient that the Scriptures be read in order; that is, that ſome one Book of the New and Old Teſtament be begun and followed forth to the end. The like we eſteem of Preaching, if the Miniſter remain for the moſt part at one place. For the divagation from one place of Scripture to another, whether it be in reading or preaching, we account not ſo profitable for the Church, as the continual following of one Text.

The Maſters of Families muſt be commanded to inſtruct, or cauſe to be inſtructed, their children and ſervants in the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, without the knowledge whereof they may not be admitted to the Table of the Lord: wherefore we think it needful that every year at leaſt the Miniſters take trial, by publick examination, of the knowledge of every perſon within the Church; and that every Maſter and Miſtreſs preſent themſelves, and ſo many of their family as are come to mature age, before the Miniſter and Elders, to give confeſſion of their Faith, rehearſe the Commandments of the Law, with the Lord's Prayer, and declare what is their underſtanding in thoſe things. If any ſhall ſuffer their children or ſervants to remain in wilful ignorance, the Cenſures of the Church muſt be uſed againſt them unto Excommunication, and then the perſon referred to the Civil Magiſtrate. For ſeeing the juſt man liveth by his own Faith, and that Chriſt *Jeſus* juſtifieth by knowledge of himſelf, it is intolerable that any ſhould be permitted to live as Members of the Church of God, and yet to continue in ignorance.

Moreover, all perſons would be exhorted to exerciſe themſelves in the Pſalms, that when the Church conveneth, and the Pſalms be ſung, they may be the more able with common heart and voice to praiſe God. In private houſes it were expedient that the moſt grave and diſcreet perſon of the family ſhould uſe Common-Prayers at morning and night.

Of the exerciſe of Propheſying or Interpretation of the Scriptures.

It was a cuſtom in the Church of *Corinth* at ſome times when they did aſſemble and meet together, to read a place of Scripture, whereupon one firſt gave his judgement for the inſtruction and conſolation of the Auditors; after whom another did either confirm what the former had ſaid, or add that which he had omitted, or correct and explain more properly the place or text. Liberty was alſo given to a third man to ſpeak, if the whole truth had not been revealed by the former; and above the number of *three*, it ſeemeth, none were allowed to ſpeak, as we read in the 1 *Cor.* 14. 29. where we have theſe words, *Let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and let the other judge. And if any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all propheſie one by one, that all may learn, and all may have comfort. And the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets.* This exerciſe we think to be moſt neceſſary for the Church this day in *Scotland*, becauſe thereby the Church may have trial of the knowledge, gifts and utterance of every man within their own body. The ſimple and thoſe who have ſomewhat profited ſhall be incouraged to proceed in their ſtudies, and the whole Church ſhall be edified, every man that liſt to hear and learn, being permitted to declare his mind and knowledge for the comfort of the reſt.

But leſt this exerciſe that is ſo profitable might turn into debate or ſtrife, theſe Rules muſt be obſerved,

1. All

1. All curious and unprofitable queſtions muſt be avoided. *An.* 1560.
2. All Interpretations that are againſt the Analogy of Faith and againſt charity, or that ſeem to contain an open contradiction to other manifeſt places of Scripture, are to be rejected.
3. The Interpreter may not take to himſelf the liberty of a Preacher, (although he be appointed and received a Miniſter) but he muſt keep him to his Text, and not break out by digreſſion into Common places.
4. He may uſe no invectives in the exerciſe, unleſs it be in confuting of Hereſies.
5. He muſt be ſhort in his Admonitions and Exhortations, and ſpend the time allowed him in opening the mind of the holy Ghoſt in that place, ſhewing the dependence of the Text, and obſerving ſuch notes as may edifie the auditor.
6. Neither he that interpreteth or any of the Aſſembly ought to move any queſtion in open audience, which he doth not preſently reſolve without diſputing with another; but every man muſt ſhew his own judgement, and utter it to the edification of the Church.
7. If any be noted of curioſity, or bringing in of ſtrange Doctrines, he muſt be admoniſhed by the Miniſters and Elders, after the Interpretation is ended.
8. The whole Miniſters, with thoſe that are of the Aſſembly, ought to convene and judge how the perſons have interpreted the Text, and how they have handled and intreated the matter; during which time the perſon ſhould be removed, till every man hath given his cenſure. After which the perſons being called in, they ſhould be gently admoniſhed of their eſcapes, if any they have made; and then ſhould all queſtions and doubts be reſolved amongſt them, without any contention.

The exerciſe would be kept in every Town, where Schools and repair of learned men are, upon a certain day of the week; which, together with the Books of Scripture that they ſhall think moſt profitable to be intreated, we refer to the judgement of the Miniſters and Elders of the particular Church where they convene. The Miniſters to Landwart and Readers, ſo as they have gift of Interpretation, lying within ſix miles of the Town, muſt aſſiſt and be preſent at the exerciſe, that either they may learn themſelves, or others may learn by them.

Moreover, whoſoever are eſteemed to have any gifts that may edifie the Church, muſt be charged by the Miniſters and Elders to joyn themſelves with that company of Interpreters, to the end the Church may know whether they be able to ſerve in the vocation of the Miniſtery or not. And if any be found diſobedient, and unwilling to communicate their gifts with their brethren, the cenſures of the Church ſhould be uſed againſt ſuch, providing that the conſent and authority of the Civil Magiſtrate be interponed thereto: for no man ſhould be permitted to live as it pleaſeth him within the Church, but conſtrained to beſtow their labours where it is thought they may ſerve to the edification of others.

Of Marriage.

Marriage ought not to be contracted amongſt perſons that lack judgement to chuſe. Therefore we think that children and infants cannot be lawfully married in their leſs age, that is, if the man be within 13 years of age, and the woman within 12 at leaſt.

If any have been married within thoſe years, and kept their bodies pure and unconjoyned with others, we think not that ſuch can be compelled to adhere as man and wife by reaſon of any former promiſe; but if after the years of judgement they have embraced one another by vertue of the laſt conſent, having ratified the promiſe made by others for them in their youth, the ſame ſhould be held as married perſons.

Publick inhibitions ſhould be made, that no perſons under the power and obedience of Fathers, Tutors and Curators, either men or women, contract Marriage

An. 1560. privately, and without the knowledge of thoſe to whom they live ſubject under the power of the Church cenſure; for if any ſon or daughter be moved towards a match, they are obliged to ask the counſel and aſſiſtence of their Parents for performing the ſame. And though the Father, notwithſtanding their deſires, have no other cauſe then the common ſort of men have, to wit, lack of money, or becauſe they are not perhaps of a linage and birth as they require; yet muſt not the parties make any Covenant till the Miniſtery or civil Magiſtrate be acquainted therewith, and interpone their requeſt for the Parents conſent: which if they cannot obtain, finding no juſt cauſe why their Marriage ought not to proceed, in that caſe they ſuſtaining the Place of the Parent may conſent to the parties, and admit them to marry; for the work of God ought not to be hindered by the corrupt affections of worldly men. We call that the work of God, when two hearts (without filthineſs before committed) are ſo joyned, that they are content to live together in the holy band of Matrimony.

If any commit Fornication with the woman whom he requireth in marriage, then both of them do loſe the foreſaid benefit, as well of the Church as of the Magiſtrate; for neither of them ought to be interceſſors for filthy Fornicators.

The Father or neareſt friend, whoſe daughter being a virgin is deflowred, may by the Law of God compel the man who hath done the injury to marry his daughter: yet if the Father by reaſon of the offence will not conſent unto the marriage, he may in that caſe require the dowry of his daughter; which if the offender be not able to pay, he ought to be puniſhed in his body by the Magiſtrate, with ſome other puniſhment.

In a reformed Church Marriage ought not to be privately uſed, but in open face and preſence of the Church: Alſo for avoiding dangers, we think it expedient that the Banes be proclaimed three Sundays, unleſs the perſons be well known, and that no ſuſpicion of peril can ariſe, and then may the Proclamation be ſhortned at the diſcretion of the Miniſter. But in no ways can we admit Marriage to be ſecretly uſed, how honourable ſoever the perſons be; and therefore eſteem Sunday before Sermon the moſt convenient time for celebration of Marriage, and that it ought not to be uſed upon any day elſe, without the conſent of the Miniſtery.

Marriage once lawfully contracted may not be diſſolved at mans pleaſure, (as our Saviour doth witneſs) unleſs Adultery be committed; which being ſufficiently proved in the preſence of the Civil Magiſtrate, the innocent party (if they require it) ought to be declared free, and the offender put to death, as God hath commanded. But if the life of the offender be ſpared, yet may not the Church be negligent in their duty, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and pronounce the innocent party free. And nottheleſs, if the offender ſhew any fruits of penitency, and earneſtly deſire to be reconciled to the Church, he may be received to the participation of the Sacraments, and other benefits of the ſame.

If any ſhall demand, whether the offender after reconciliation may again marry or not; we anſwer, that if they cannot live continent, and if the neceſſity be ſuch, as that they fear to fall of new into the offence of God, we cannot deny them the remedy appointed. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then in no caſe we judge it lawful to the offender to marry another, and the ſolemnization of their marriage muſt be of new in the face of the Church, but without the Proclamation of the Banes. This we offer as the beſt counſel that God giveth us in ſo doubtful a caſe; howbeit we judge the beſt reformation were to prefer God's Commandment, and puniſh thoſe crimes, as he requireth, with death.

Of Burial.

Burial hath been had in eſtimation in all ages, to ſignifie that the body which is committed to the earth ſhall not utterly periſh, but riſe again in the laſt day. But this we would have done without vain and ſuperſtitious rites, deviſed for making gain

gain and advantage; ſuch as ſinging of Maſſes, Diriges, and all other prayers for the dead; which cuſtom is plainly repugnant to the Scriptures of God, for it is manifeſt, that they who depart in the faith of Chriſt *Jeſus* reſt from their labours, and ſo go from death to life; as, on the other ſide, they who depart in unbelief ſhall never ſee life, but the wrath of God abideth upon them. For avoiding all inconvenients, we judge it beſt that neither ſinging nor reading be at the Burial; for albeit theſe things may admoniſh the living to prepare themſelves for death, yet ſuperſtitious and ignorant perſons may think that ſome profit thereby cometh to the dead. Herefore we think it moſt expedient, that the dead be accompanied to the place of burial with ſome honeſt neighbours, without either ſinging or reading, and without all kind of Ceremonies formerly uſed; ſo that the Bodies be committed to the Grave in ſuch decent and ſeemly manner, as they who are preſent may be warned to fear the judgements of God, and to hate ſin which is the cauſe of death: yet we are not ſo preciſe in this, but that we are content that particular Churches, with conſent of the Miniſter, do that which they ſhall find moſt fitting, as they will anſwer to God and the Aſſembly of the Univerſal Church within the Realm. *An.* 1560.

We are not ignorant that ſome require a Sermon at the Burial, or elſe ſome places of Scripture to be read for putting the living in mind that they are mortal, and that they likewiſe muſt die: but let theſe men underſtand, that the Sermons which are daily made ſerve for that uſe, which if men deſpiſe, funeral Sermons ſhall rather nouriſh Superſtition then bring ſuch perſons to a right conſideration of their own eſtate. Farther, the Miniſters ſhall this way be for the moſt part occupied in preaching funeral Sermons, or elſe they ſhall have reſpect of perſons, preaching at the funeral of the rich and honourable, and keeping ſilence when the poor and deſpiſed die; which the Miniſter with a good conſcience cannot do, ſeeing there is no reſpect of perſons with God: And what ſoever they do to the rich, in reſpect of their Miniſtery, the ſame they are bound to do to the pooreſt under their charge.

Churches appointed for Preaching and miniſtration of the Sacraments ought not to be made places of Burial: but for that uſe ſome other convenient ground is to be appointed, lying in the moſt free air, and kept to that uſe only; which we think ſhould be well walled and fenced about.

For Reparation of Churches.

Leſt the Word of God and miniſtration of the Sacraments ſhould come in contempt through the unſeemlineſs of the place where theſe exerciſes are uſed; we think it needful that the Churches where the people publickly convene be repaired with expedition, and repaired in ſuch faſhion as may agree with the Majeſty of the Word of God, and ſerve to the eaſe and commodity of the people. The preparation would be according to the poſſibility and number of Churches; every Church having cloſe Doors, Windows of glaſs, Thatch or Slate to defend the people from rain, a Bell to convocate them, a Pulpit, a Baſon for baptizing, and a Table for miniſtration of the Lord's Supper. Where the Congregation is great, reparation muſt be made within the Church for the commodious receiving of the people; and the expenſes raiſed partly of the people, and partly of the Tithes, at the conſideration of the Miniſtery. But becauſe we know the ſloth of men in theſe buſineſſes, and in all other affairs which redound not to their private commodity, ſtrict charge would be given for the reparation aforeſaid within a certain day, and penalties inflicted upon the contemners.

For puniſhment of thoſe that profane the Sacraments.

It hath been the policy of Satan to draw mankind into one of two extremities; either to hold men gazing upon the viſible Elements, ſo as forgetting the end for which they were appointed, they do aſcribe unto them a ſaving virtue and power, which they have not; or then to cauſe them deſpiſe the Ordinance of God, as though there was no profit in the right uſe thereof, nor any danger in the profanation. In

An. 1560. time of blindneſs the holy Sacrament was gazed upon, kneeled unto, carried in proceſſion, and worſhipped as Chriſt himſelf: and then men ſtood in ſuch admiration of the idol in the Maſſe, that none durſt have preſumed to have ſaid Maſſe, nor have miniſtred the Sacraments, but Prieſts and thoſe of the ſhaven ſort. Now men are ſo bold as without all vocation to miniſter the Sacraments in open Aſſemblies; and ſome preſume to do it in houſes without all reverence, where there is neither Miniſter nor Word preached. Our deſire is that ſome ſtrict puniſhment be inflicted upon ſuch abuſers; which albeit we will not take upon us to preſcribe, yet we fear not to ſay that both of them deſerve death. For if he who falſifieth the Seal and ſubſcription of a King be adjudged worthy of death, much more he that falſifieth the Seal of Chriſt *Jeſus*, who is the Prince of all the Kings of the earth. King *Darius* gave out an Edict, that he who did let the re-edifying of the material Temple in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould have ſome wood taken out of his houſe, and be himſelf hanged thereupon: And what ſhall we think thoſe do merit who manifeſtly do hinder the building of the ſpiritual Temple, and the edifying of the Souls of Gods people by the true preaching of the Word, and right adminiſtration of the Sacraments?

The Papiſtical Prieſts have neither power nor authority to miniſter the Sacraments of Chriſt, becauſe in their mouths God hath not put the word of exhortation: And it is not ſhaving of their Crowns, the croſſing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the Biſhops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true Miniſters; but the Spirit of God firſt moving the heart to enter in the holy Calling, then the Nomination of the people, the Examination taken by the learned, and publick Admiſſion in manner aforeſaid, are the things that make men lawful Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments. We ſpeak of the ordinary vocation in Churches reformed, and not of the extraordinary, whereby God is pleaſed ſometimes to raiſe up men by himſelf for doing his work. Therefore notwithſtanding the uſurpation they have made in time of ignorance, inhibition would be given them in the ſtricteſt manner not to preſume upon the like hereafter; as likewiſe to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Miniſtery.

THis was the Policy deſired to be ratified. It had been framed by *John Knox*, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of *Germany*, partly of that which he had ſeen in *Geneva*. Whence he took that device of annual Deacons for collecting and diſpenſing the Church-rents, whereof in the ſixth Head he ſpeaketh, I cannot ſay. A Noble man being ask'd his judgement thereof, anſwered, that it was a devout imagination, wherewith *John Knox* did greatly offend; yet was it no better then a dream, for it could never have taken effect. The Churchmen that went before had been provident enough in theſe matters, and good it had been for theſe that ſucceeded to have kept faſt that which they found eſtabliſhed to their hand, as the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* did at the ſame time adviſe them. For he imploying *John Brand*, a Monk of *Halyrudhouſe*, (who ſerved many years after Miniſter at the *Canongate*) to go unto *John Knox*, willed him to ſay from him, *That albeit he had innovated many things, and made Reformation of the Doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was ſome reaſon; yet he ſhould do wiſely to retain the old Policy, which had been the work of many Ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did ſhake the other. Our Highland-men*, he ſaid, *have a cuſtome, when they will break young Colts, to faſten them by the head with ſtrong tethers, one of which they keep ever faſt till the beaſt be throughly made. The multitude, that Beaſt with many heads, would juſt be ſo dealt with. Maſter* Knox, *I know, eſteemeth me an enemy; but tell him from me, he ſhall find it true that I ſpeak.*

The advertiſement of the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſent to *John Knox*.

A direction for demoliſhing Cloiſters and Abbey-Churches.

The Eſtates always, not thinking it meet to enter at that time in examination of the Policy, deferred the ſame to a more convenient ſeaſon; only an Act was paſſed for demoliſhing Cloiſters and Abbey-Churches, ſuch as were not as yet pulled down; the execution whereof was for the Weſt parts committed to the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile* and *Glencarn*, for the North to Lord *James*, and for the in-Countreys to ſome Barons that were held moſt zealous.

Thereupon

Thereupon inſued a pitiful vaſtation of Churches and Church-buildings throughout all the parts of the Realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner ſort imitating the enſample of the greater and thoſe who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the Churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy Veſſels, and whatſoever elſe men could make gain of, as Timber, Lead, and Bells, were put to ſale. The very Sepulchres of the dead were not ſpared. The Regiſters of the Church and Bibliothekes caſt into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had eſcaped in the time of the firſt Tumult, did now undergo the common calamity; which was ſo much the worſe, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of publick Authority. Some ill-adviſed Preachers did likewiſe animate people in theſe their barbarous proceedings, crying out, *That the places where Idols had been worſhipped ought by the Law of God to be deſtroyed, and that the ſparing of them was the reſerving of things execrable*; as if the commandment given to *Iſrael* for deſtroying the places where the *Canaanites* did worſhip their falſe Gods had been a warrant for them to do the like. The report alſo went that *John Knox* (whoſe ſayings were by many eſteemed as Oracles) ſhould in one of his Sermons ſay, *That the ſure way to baniſh the Rooks was to pull down their neſts:* which words (if any ſuch did eſcape him) were to be underſtood of the Cloiſters of Monks and Friers only, according to the Act paſſed in the Council. But popular fury once armed can keep no meaſure, nor do any thing with advice and judgement. *An.* 1560. All the Churches under this pretext ſpoiled and defaced.

After the Convention diſſolved, notwithſtanding of the anſwer given concerning the Book of Policy, divers Noblemen and Barons moved by *John Knox* did convene and ſet their hands to the ſame. The ſubſcribers were, the Duke of *Chatterault*, the Earl of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Marſhall*, *Menteith*, *Moreton*, and *Rothes*, Lord *James*, the Lord *Yeſter*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltrie*, *Sanquhar*, and *Lindeſay*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, the Dean of *Murray*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrigge*, *Lonchinvar*, *Garlees*, *Bargueney*, and divers Burgeſſes; with this proviſion adjected, *That the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors and other beneficed men who had joyned themſelves to the Religion, ſhould enjoy the Rents of their Benefices during their lives, they ſuſtaining the Miniſters for their parts, as was preſcribed in the ſaid Book.* But all this turned to no effect, for the Church-men that were Popiſh took preſently a courſe to make away all the Manſes, Gleibs, Tithes, and all other Rents poſſeſſed by them, to their friends and kinſmen; and moſt of theſe that ſubſcribed, getting into their hands the poſſeſſions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of Church-Patrimony then were the Papiſts, or any other whatſoever.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

The Fourth Book.

The Contents.

The things that fell out after Queen Mary *her coming from* France *into this Kingdom, unto her Resignation of the Crown to King* James *her Son.*

The Queen prepareth to return from *France.*

THE Queen preparing to return home was taken with the Feaver tertian, and forced to stay at *Janville* some moneths. In the end of *June* she came to *Paris*, where *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* (who was sent from *England* to condole King *Francis* his death) did in the name of his Mistress salute her, and after some gratulatory speeches for her recovery, propone the Ratification of the Contract made at *Leith*, entreating the performance of it. The Queen thanking her Sister for her kindness, answered, *That she was not as yet in perfect health, but hoped shortly to be well. Touching the Ratification,* she said, *that she remembred the business, but could give no resolute answer, till she had the advice of the Nobles and estates of her own Realm. For though the matter concerned her principally, yet the same did touch them also: and they having shewed themselves displeased in former times, because she did not take their advice in affairs, would now be much more offended, if she should proceed in that matter not having first acquainted them therewith. But, as she trusted, the same should not be long a-doing, seeing she intended to make her voyage shortly home.* The Ambassadour replying, *That there was no cause to doubt of their consents in that particular, the Accord being made by themselves: It was made,* said the Queen, *by some of them, not by all; and when I come amongst them, it will appear what mind they are of. But I will send* Monsieur d' Oysell *to my Sister, who shall give her, I trust, good satisfaction; and by him I will signifie that I am to go into* Scotland, *and will require those favours of her that Princes doe one to another in the like cases.*

Her Conference with the Earl of *Bedford.*

Monsieur d' Oysell sent into *England.*

Soon after this she sent *Monsieur d' Oysell* into *England*, with a direction that, after he had done this message unto the Queen, he should go into *Scotland*, and take order that the Garrisons kept in the Castle of *Dunbar* and the Isle of *Inchkeith* should keep those Forts until she were safely arrived. But the Queen of *England* taking ill the delay of the Ratification, answered him in the hearing of all the attendants, *That except the Queen of* Scots *did confirm the Conditions agreed upon at* Leith, *wherein she found her self still frustrated, there could be no perfect amity amongst them; and if she would do that, the kindness which became a Queen her cousen and neighbour should not be wanting on her part.* This she desired him to report, and leave his journey unto *Scotland*, for that she would not permit the same through her Countrey.

The Queen of *Englands* answer.

The

The Queen of *Scots*, highly offended with this answer, did call *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Ambassador Legier of *England*, and kept a long Conference with him about these matters, which out of the Ambassadors own Letters sent to the Queen his Mistress I shall relate. Commanding her attendants to go aside, she brake forth in these speeches: "How great soever my weakness be, I like not to have so many witnesses of it as your Queen of late had, when she talked with *Monsieur d' Oysell*. And now I must tell you, that nothing grieves me more, then that I should have desired a thing of her that I stood in no great need of: having God's favour, I can return to my Countrey without her leave, as I came hither against the will of King *Edward* her Brother. Neither do I lack friends that both will and may convey me safely thither; yet I desire rather to try her friendship then any others. Oftentimes you have said, that it were good both for our selves and for our Kingdoms that we should live friends, and keep kindness one to another; but it seemeth not that she is so minded, otherwise she would never have returned me such an answer. It is like she favoureth my rebellious Subjects more then me; yet she should with reason think that my Subjects who have rebelled against me will never be so trusty and loving to her as I my self. My friends do marvell what her purpose could be in assisting my Subjects against me; and now to hinder my return unto my own Countrey, being a widow, I know not what it should mean. I work her no trouble, I have no medling with the affairs of *England*; and yet I know there be numbers in that Countrey who are not well contented with the present times: I require nothing of her but amity and friendship, And this I cannot have. She objects to me, that I have small experience of the world. It is true, that years bring experience; yet I am of that age that I know how to carry my self towards my friends and well-willers. I will not use many speeches unworthy of her, but let me with her good leave say, that I am a Queen as she is; that I have as good friends and as good a stomach as her self. But comparisons they say are odious, therefore I will contain my self.

An. 1561.

The Queen of *Scots* offended with it.

Her Conference with *Nicholas Throgmorton*.

"For that treaty at *Leith* wherewith she troubleth her self, it was made whilest the King my Husband was alive, to whom according to my duty I was in all things obsequent. That he delayed to ratifie the Accord, it was his fault not mine. After his decease the Council of *France* left me to my own Counsellors, neither would my Uncle meddle in *Scottish* affairs, lest they should offend. The *Scots* that are here with me are not Counsellors, neither can I deliberate with them in weighty matters: assoon as I have consulted with the Estates of my Kingdom, I shall give her a reasonable answer; and that she may have it the sooner, I shall haste my journey homewards. But she perhaps will belay my way, and so impede her own satisfaction; and it may be she desireth no satisfaction of her demands, that there may be alwaies some occasion of jarring and discord amongst us. She casteth often in my teeth, that I am young and unadvised; and so she might justly think me, if I should treat of matters of such importance: but as now I will not reason that point. This I may truly say, that I never did any thing to my Sister which I would not have done to my self. I have always performed the duty of a Kinswoman unto her; but she doth either not believe it, or then despiseth my friendship. Would to God I were as dear to her as I am near of bloud, for this were a precious sort of kindred; but God forgive them, if there be any that stirreth up these contentions amongst us. You are her Ambassador, let me know what it is offendeth her, or in what word or action I have wronged her.

The Queen of *Scots* reasons for delaying the Ratification.

Hereunto *Throgmorton* answered, *Madam, I have no Commission to your Majesty but for the Ratification of the Treaty at* Leith; *yet if you will have me to shew what I think be the cause of my Mistress offence, I will tell it in few words, but not as an Ambassador. How soon the Queen my Mistress was crowned, you usurped the Title and Arms of* England, *which during Queen* Maries *reign you never attempted; and a greater injury could not be offered to a Prince then that was.* But saith she, *My Father-in-law and Husband, who lived both at that time, commanded me so to do: after they were deceased, and since I have been at mine own liberty, I have neither used her Arms nor Titles. And yet I see not what wrong it can be to me, who am a Queen, and had to my Grandmother*

Throgmorton his answer.

An. 1561. *mother the eldeſt Siſter of King* Henry *the Eighth, to uſe the Arms of* England, *ſeeing others more remote in bloud have done the like. The Marqueſs of* Exeter *and Dutcheſs of* Suffolk *Neece unto* Henry *the Eighth by his youngeſt Siſter, did bear the Arms of* England, *with Borders for a difference; and ſhould it be imputed as an injury to me ſo to do? But well I ſee* (ſo ſhe concluded) *that nothing I do is taken in good part.*

The Queen of *Englands* Letter to the Nobility.

The Queen of *England* in the mean time falling in ſome jealouſie of the Lords of *Scotland*, becauſe of that which the Queen had ſaid, that *the treaty at* Leith *was not made by all their conſents, and that when ſhe ſhould be amongſt them, it would appear whether they continued in the ſame mind*, ſent a Letter full of ſharpneſs to the Nobility and Council; wherein, after an ample declaration of the friendſhip done to them in the late aid they received againſt the *French*, ſhe complained of the delays made in the Ratification of the Accord paſt at *Leith*, which, as it ſeemed by their Queen's words, was in their default, ſeeing ſhe had ſaid, that *before ſhe gave a reſolute anſwer in that matter, it behoved her to know their minds*, whereof ſhe could not be ignorant, ſo many of themſelves being with her of late, and meſſengers going daily betwixt them: therefore ſhe deſired to know if they did mind to keep the Peace contracted; and if they continue in that mind, that they ſhould procure the Queen to ratifie it, at leaſt to advertiſe her what ſhe might look for at their own hands.

The Councils anſwer.

This Letter was ſpeedily anſwered by the Council, with great atteſtations that it came never in their minds to break the Peace contracted; for in ſo doing they ſhould make themſelves infamous in the world, and ſin highly againſt their conſciences. Of the delay which their Queen made, and the reaſons thereof, they profeſſed to be ignorant. Therefore intreated her Majeſty to be perſuaded of them, that next to the glory of God they would ſtudy to keep the Peace inviolate, and that there ſhould be no blame in them if the Ratification was not made to her contentment.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed at home, the Queen of *Scots* ſet forward to *Callais*, attended by the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *d' Aumarl*, the grand Prior and the Marqueſs *d' Elbeuf* her Uncles, the Duke of *Nemours*, Monſieur *d' Anvile* the Conſtabl's ſon, and divers others her friends and kinſmen. At *Abbeville*, which is in the way to *Callais*, ſhe ſent for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and asked him by what means ſhe might ſatisfie Queen *Elizabeth*. He anſwered, by ratifying the Treaty of *Leith*. To whom ſhe replied, *I have very juſt reaſons to refuſe it, which ought not to be interpreted as delays. For firſt, that Treaty ſhould have been confirmed by my Husband and me, and cannot now be ratified, unleſs it be concluded in my own name alone, ſeeing the King, then my Husband, is expreſly named in the accord. Next, the moſt of the Articles are performed, for all preparations of War are ceaſed, and the* French *called back from* Scotland. *But the Queen offendeth*, ſaid ſhe, *that I uſe the Title and Arms of* England. *This I have not done ſince my Husband's death. And if it be alledged, that the ſame is uſed in Letters Patents given me through* France; *it is known I cannot hinder that, for they who paſs thoſe Letters are not my Subjects. And for the Articles concerning Religion, I truſt my own ſubjects ſhall have no cauſe to complain of my ſeverity. Thus what I may do I will, to give my Siſter ſatisfaction. And I pray you,* Monſieur l' Embaſſadeur, *do the part of an Ambaſſador, and rather pacifie the Queen, then exaſperate her in any ſort.* So earneſt ſhe was to have all matters of quarrel laid aſide, fearing that the Queen of *England* ſhould ſeek to intercept her by the way: and indeed a Navy was put to Sea, under colour of ſuppreſſing Pirats, but the taking of one of the Ships wherein were the Earl of *Eglinton* and other paſſengers, made it ſuſpected that a worſe thing was meant. Always it fell out ſo, that the Queen of *Scots*, having a proſperous wind, paſſed by the *Engliſh* Ships (the weather being foggy) unperceived, and the ſixth day after her embarking, which was the 20 of *Auguſt*, 1561, did ſafely arrive at *Leith*.

Her Conference with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Abbeville*.

The Queen arriveth at *Leith*.

The Nobility aſſembles to congratulate her return.

The fame of the Queens coming noiſed abroad, the Nobility from all the parts of the Realm aſſembled to congratulate her return, and beſides them numbers of all ſorts of people convened, as unto a joyful ſpectacle: for they had not ſeen the face of their Sovereign for many years, and after her Marriage with the *French* King, had ſcarce any hope of a King to reſide amongſt them: which would moſt certainly

have

have happened, if any ſucceſſion had followed of that Marriage. For *Scotland* in *An.* 1561.
that caſe would have been but an acceſſion to *France*, the mightier Kingdem; as *Henry* the Seventh foretold of *England*, (and we have ſeen it verified in our days) drawing unto it the weaker and leſſer Crown. That the Queen therefore was now returned, and they delivered of the fears of redacting the Kingdom into a Province, they did juſtly eſteem it one of the greateſt benefits that could happen unto them. Then, when they called to mind the variableneſs of Fortune, how ſhe, left a Pupil of ſix daies old only by the death of her Father, was expoſed as a prey to thoſe that were moſt mighty, and partly by civil Seditions at home, partly by the Invaſions of external enemies from abroad, even before ſhe could have any ſenſe of trouble, was forced to forſake her Countrey, and relegated as it were into exile, having hardly eſcaped the hands of enemies that lay in wait to intercept her, and the violence of tempeſtuous and raging ſeas; and again, when Fortune began to ſmile a little upon her, and ſhe was honoured with a royal Marriage, how theſe joyes on the ſuddain came to be changed into extreme ſorrows, being firſt deprived of her Mother, then of her Husband, a new Kingdom loſt, and her ancient Crown which belonged to her by inheritance ſtanding in a ſtate very uncertain; whileſt, I ſay, they called to mind theſe variable fortunes, and therewith conſidered the excellencies that Nature had beſtowed upon her, as the Beauty and comlineſs of her perſon, her mild inclination, and gracious demeanour toward all ſorts of people, it cannot be told what a joy and love this begat in the hearts of all the Subjects.

No change to be made in Religion, and a private Maſſe permitted to the Queen.

The beginning of her Government was likewiſe very gracious; for ſome few days after her arriving, in a Council kept with the Nobility to remove the occaſions of Trouble, ſhe condeſcended that no change nor alteration ſhould be made in the preſent ſtate of Religion; only ſhe would uſe her own Service, as ſhe ſaid, apart with her Family, and have a Maſſe in private. This was thought by many a thing not intolerable, conſidering ſhe was the Sovereign Princeſs of the Realm, and educated from her youth in the *Romane* Faith; from which there was hope, by better inſtruction and humble and courteous behaviour, ſhe might be reclaimed: yet the Preachers in their Sermons did publickly condemn that Toleration as unlawful. And amongſt the Nobility, the Earl of *Arran* did oppoſe it, taking proteſtation that *he did neither agree to private nor publick Maſſe:* which highly diſpleaſed the Queen, and was thought to have alienated her affection, that before ſeemed much inclining towards him.

The Earl of *Arran* oppoſeth.

A Tumult in the Abbey.

There fell out upon this an Accident which was like to have cauſed great trouble. The Queen purpoſing to hear Maſſe the next day in her Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, whileſt the Tapers and other things required to that ſervice were carried through the Court, one of the common ſort invading him that bore the wax-lights, brake them all in pieces, and if by the intervention of ſome more moderate ſpirits the Tumult had not been repreſſed, the reſt of the furniture had been wholly ſpoiled, and that day Maſſe diſappointed. It was held a proud and inſolent fact, and condemned by many: others ſaid that the patience of men was too far tempted; and ſome maintained that if right were done, the Prieſt, according to God's law made againſt Idolaters, ought to ſuffer death. But this ſtir was quickly appeaſed by Lord *James*, much againſt the Earl of *Huntley* his mind, who by this occaſion thought to win credit with the Queen, and in conference with her Uncles bragged, that if the Queen pleaſed to uſe his ſervice, he would reduce all the North-countries to the *Romane* Profeſſion. But his courſes being ſuſpected, and the Queen miſliking all counſels that tended unto trouble, no heed was given to his offers.

The Nobles that came from *France* with the Queen return home.

The moneth following was ſpent in the entertainment of the *French* that had accompanied the Queen homewards. They made but ſhort ſtay in the countrey; for about the middeſt of *September*, Duke *d' Aumarl* returned unto *France* by Sea; the grand Prior and *Monſieur d' Anvile* took their journey through *England*; the Marqueſſe *d' Elbeuf* of all that company only remained, and abode all the Winter with the Queen.

William Maitland directed to *England*

In this mean time was *William Maitland* of *Lethington* directed to the Queen of *England* with Letters both from the Queen and from the Nobility. The Queens Letters

An. 1561. Letters were full of kindneſs, tending all to expreſs the love and affection ſhe bare unto her as to her deareſt Siſter and Kinſwoman, and the deſire ſhe had to continue in true and ſincere friendſhip with her. The Letters ſent by the Nobility were to the ſame effect; but containing this more, *That the ſureſt way to preſerve friendſhip and true amity amongſt them two was, to declare the Queen of* Scots *her neareſt and lawful heir to the Crown of* England, *in caſe ſhe ſhould have no iſſue. Lethington* urging this laſt point ſtrongly, as he was commanded, after he had uſed his beſt perſuaſions to that effect, was anſwered by the Queen of *England* as followeth. *I did expect another meſſage from your Queen then this is which you have brought me, and do marvel that ſhe ſhould forget the promiſe made before her coming out of* France, *touching the Ratification of the Treaty of* Leith; *which was, that how ſoon ſhe returned to her own Countrey, ſhe ſhould give me a full and reſolute anſwer. I have long enough,* ſaid ſhe, *ſuffered my ſelf to be abuſed with fair ſpeeches, and now it had been time, if ſhe had regarded her own honour, to have made good her promiſes. Lethington* replied, that within a few days after the Queen took land he was imployed in this Legation, and that ſhe had no leiſure to deal in any publick matters, being taken up with admitting the Noblemen that came to welcome her into the Realm, and with the ſetling of the eſtate of Religion, which her Majeſty underſtood to be a work of no ſmall weight; neither were all the Noblemen whoſe advice ſhe muſt take in matters of that importance come into the Court before his parting from it. Here the Queen interrupting his ſpeech, ſaid, *What need is there of advice or counſel, to do that which by her Subſcription and Seal ſhe is bound to perform?* He anſwered, that no commiſſion was given him in that matter, nor did his Miſtreſs think that any accompt thereof would have been required of him, but that ſhe might juſtly excuſe her ſelf by the occaſions he had mentioned. Then after a few more ſpeeches of that purpoſe, the Queen returning to the chief point of his Legation, ſaid, *I have obſerved that you have often in your diſcourſe ſaid, that your Queen is deſcended of the Bloud-Royal of* England, *and that I am obliged to love her, as being neareſt to me in bloud of any other; which I neither will or can deny. Neither have I in any of my actions (as the world knoweth) attempted ought againſt the ſafety and tranquillity of her and her Kingdom; yea they that be moſt inward with me can witneſs that even when I had juſt cauſe of offence given me, by her uſurpation of the Titles and Arms of* England, *I could never be induced to think other then that this was the politick device of ſome enemies, to breed diſſention amongſt us. But howſoever that be, I hope ſo long as I live ſhe ſhall not bereave me of my Kingdom, nor yet be able, if God ſhall bleſs me with children, to impede their Succeſſion. And if it ſhall happen otherwiſe that I be taken away, ſhe ſhall never find that I have prejudged the Right which ſhe claimeth to the Kingdom of* England. *What a right it is I have never been curious to know, nor do I purpoſe to ſearch and examine it, but will leave the ſame to the cognition of thoſe whom it concerneth. This your Queen may aſſuredly expect at my hands, that I ſhall never wrong her, nor her cauſe, if it be juſt in the leaſt point. And God I take to witneſs, who heareth this our Conference, that, next my ſelf, I know not any whom I would prefer to her, or who (if the Title ſhould fall to be controverted) might exclude her. You know,* ſaith ſhe, *who the Competitors be: but, alas! what power or force have theſe weak creatures to attempt ſo great an enterpriſe? Always the matter it ſelf is weighty and of great importance, which I will take time to think upon.*

The Queen of *Englands* anſwer.

A ſecond Conference with *Lethington.*

After ſome few days, calling *Lethington* unto her, ſhe ſaid, "That it ſeemed "ſtrange to her, how the Nobility at the Queens firſt coming ſhould put up ſuch "a requeſt to her, ſeeing they knew there was no reparation made of former "wrongs; and to deſire, ſaith ſhe, that I ſhould gratifie their Queen, having received ſo great an injury, without any amends made, is it not in effect as much as to "boaſt and threaten me? If they will take ſuch a courſe, I would have them think "that I am ſtrong enough for them at home, and lack not friends abroad that will "maintain and defend my right. Hereto he replied, That in his firſt ſpeech he had clearly diſcovered the intention of the Noblemen, how partly out of that duty which they owed to their Sovereign and the defence of her honour, partly out of a deſire to confirm and aſſure the Peace begun betwixt the two Realms, they had made this motion; and that the reaſon why they dealt ſo plainly with her, was not only

only the experience they had of her favour in times paſt, but alſo the reſpect of their own ſafety. For if any ſhould oppoſe the Queen's right, and thereupon Wars ſhould ariſe betwixt the two Kingdoms, they muſt needs be driven to hazard their lives and eſtates. Wherefore they thought that their motion was not to be ill taken, ſeeing it tended to the cutting off the occaſions of diſagreement, and compoſing differences by a firm and certain Peace. *An.* 1561.

"True, (ſaith ſhe) If I had attempted any thing to the hurt of your Queen's "right, they might with reaſon have required me to amend it. But when I am yet "in health and life, to deſire me to prepare mine own winding-ſheet, is a thing "without example, nor hath the like ever been required at the hand of any Prince: "yet I take in good part the meaning of your Lords, and am glad of the good affe- "ction they bear to their Queen, and the care they have to advance her honour. "I think it likewiſe wiſdom in them to foreſee the dangers they may run into, and "like well that they do abhor the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, which I confeſs "could not be avoided, if any Faction ſhould ariſe and lay claim to the Crown. "But where, or what is the Faction? or what force can they have? Always lea- "ving theſe things, ſuppoſe I had an inclination to ſatisfie their deſire, think you "that I would rather gratifie your Lords herein then the Queen her ſelf? No, I will "tell you, I have many other reaſons that ſtay me from taking ſuch a reſolution. "Firſt, I know what a dangerous thing it is to touch this ſtring, and I have ever "upon great reſpects abſtained from bringing in queſtion the right of the Crown; "for ſo often hath the controverſie of Marriage lawful and unlawful, of legitimate "and baſe-born children, been agitated according as mens affections and humors "led them, that even in regard of thoſe diſceptations I have hitherto forborn to "match with any Husband. Once at my Coronation I was married to this King- "dom, whereof always I carry this Ring for a pledge; (pointing to a Ring ſhe wore "on her finger) and howſoever things go, I ſhall be Queen of *England* ſo long as "I live: when I am dead, let them ſucceed who have the beſt right. If your Queen "hath it, I ſhall not wrong her in the leaſt point; and if it belong to another, it "were not reaſonable to deſire me to do them an open and manifeſt wrong. If "there be any Law which may bar her Title, it is unknown to me, for I do not "willingly think of theſe matters; but if there be any ſuch, when I received the "Crown, I ſware to my people that I ſhould not change their Laws.

The Queen of *England*'s reply.

"Now where you ſay, that by declaring your Queen my Succeſſor our affection "ſhould become more firm; I rather fear that it ſhould be the ſeed of a moſt bitter "hatred. For think you that I will behold willingly the preparation of mine own "Funerals? It is natural to Princes to be jealous even of the children that by Birth- "right are to ſucceed them. How did *Charles* the Seventh of *France* carry himſelf "towards *Lewis* the Eleventh, and he again towards *Charles* the Eighth, or King "*Francis* of late towards *Henry* who ſucceeded him? and is it probable that I ſhould "be otherwiſe diſpoſed towards my Couſen, if once ſhe ſhall be declared Heir unto "my Crown? No, be ſure I ſhall have the very ſame mind which *Charles* the Se- "venth ſhewed to *Lewis* the Eleventh.

The Queen of *England*'s reaſons for her refuſe.

"There is another thing which I eſteem of an exceeding great weight: I know "the unconſtancy of the people, how they loath always the preſent Government, "and have their eyes continually ſet upon the next Succeſſor; and naturally they "are moe that look, as it is ſaid, to the Sun riſing then to the ſetting of the Sun. "To omit other examples, this I know by mine own experience; when my Siſter "Queen *Mary* reigned, how earneſtly did a number wiſh to ſee me placed in her "Throne? what a deſire had they of my advancement? If I had but given my "countenance to their practices, they would have refuſed no peril in bringing the "ſame to effect. Now it may be the ſame perſons are not of the ſame mind to- "wards me: as children that dream that Apples are given them are greatly joyed, "but in the morning when they are awaked, and find themſelves deceived, they "fall a-weeping; ſo they who loved me exceedingly when I was but called *Eliza- "beth*, and if I perhaps gave them any good countenance, thought with their ſelves, "that how ſoon I was made Queen they ſhould be rewarded rather according to

An. 1561. "their own conceipt then any ſervice done unto me, now when they find that the "iſſue anſwereth not their expectation, ſome of them, it may be, in hope of a better "fortune, would not diſlike a change of the Government. For the greateſt wealth "that ever any Prince had, or can have, is not able to ſatisfie the unſatiable cove- "touſneſs of men. And if this be our caſe, that the affection of our people is ſo ea- "ſily changed, as when we keep a greater moderation in our largeſſes then they "think we ought, or perhaps for ſome other light cauſe, they grow diſcontented; "what may we think ſhall come to paſs when ſeditious people have a certain Suc- "ceſſor deſigned, to whom they may open their griefs, and betake themſelves, if "they be in any ſort diſpleaſed? In what a peril think you I ſhould live, having ſo "mighty neighbour Princes to ſucceed me? to whoſe grandor look how much I "ſhall add by confirming her Succeſſion, ſo much I ſhall detract from mine own ſe- "curity. This peril no caution can aſſure, nor the bonds of any laws avert. Princes "alſo who live in expectation of Kingdoms do hardly contain themſelves within "the limits of right and reaſon: ſurely I my ſelf would never think my eſtate aſſu- "red, if once my Succeſſor were known to the world. This is the Sum of that which "paſſed at this ſecond Audience.

Lethington's third Audience.

Not many days after getting acceſs, he ask'd the Queen what anſwer ſhe would give to the Nobility. She ſaid, *At this time I have no anſwer to give, but that I approve the affection and ſedulous care they have of their Sovereigns good eſtate; but the matter is of ſuch weight, as I cannot on a ſudden or directly anſwer it. When your Queen ſhall perform her promiſe concerning the treaty of* Leith, *it will be time to require a proof of my affection towards her; till then I cannot with ſafety of mine honour gratify her in any thing.*

Lethington replied, as before, that he had no Commiſſion in that buſineſs, and that in the matter of Succeſſion he had ſhewed more his own judgement then the mind of the Queen his Miſtreſs; for he could never think the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Leith* to be a thing of that importance, as for the delay or refuſal of that the Queen of *Scots* and her poſterity ſhould be excluded from the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. "Neither will I now, ſaith he, enquire by whom that Treaty "was concluded; at what time, in what manner, by what authority, and for what "cauſe it was done; for I have no warrant to ſpeak of theſe things: but this I dare af- "firm, that albeit the Queen, following her Husband's direction, had ratified the "Treaty, ſhe ſhould have found her ſelf thereby ſo far interreſſed, as ſhe would "doubtleſs have uſed all means to free her ſelf of the ſame. And this I ſay not in the "Queen's name, but only to make it ſeem that our Noblemen have reaſon to tra- "vel that all debates and controverſies may ceaſe, and a firm and perpetual Peace "may be eſtabliſhed.

The concluſion taken by the Queen of *England*.

This and ſome other ſpeeches interchanged amongſt them touching the Treaty moved the Queen of *England* to agree that the ſame ſhould be reviſed by ſome Commiſſioners, and corrected after this form. *That the Queen of* Scots *ſhould thenceforth abſtain from uſing the* Engliſh *Arms, and from the Titles of the Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *during the life of Queen* Elizabeth *and her poſterity. That on the other part the Queen of* England *ſhould oblige her ſelf, and the children begotten of her, to do nothing in prejudice of the Queen of* Scots *her Succeſſion.* Theſe were the things acted in this Legation.

The Queen of *Scots* her Progreſs in the countrey.

Now at home the Queen keeping a Progreſs in the countrey, went from *Edinburgh* to *Striveling*, from thence to *Perth*, *Dundy* and S. *Andrews*, and other ſpecial Burghs, where ſhe was receeived with much honour and triumph, returning to *Edinburgh* a little before the feaſt of *Michaelmas*, at which time the Burgeſſes are wont to elect their annual Magiſtrates, and to ſet down Statutes for the good of the Town; Amongſt other Acts, one was publiſhed, inhibiting that *any Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Maſſe-Prieſt, or obſtinate Papiſt, ſhould be received in the Town, under ſuch pains as the Law did preſcribe.* The Queen interpreting that to be an uſurpation of Royal power, did commit *Archibald Douglas* Provoſt to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, charging the Council of the Town to make a new election: which they obeyed, chuſing Mr. *Thomas* ..... in his place. A Proclamation was likewiſe made,

Archibald Douglas Provoſt of *Edinburgh* committed.

granting

granting liberty to all good and faithful ſubjects to repair and remain within the Burgh at their pleaſure, for doing their lawful and ordinary buſineſs. An. 1561.

Theſe things miniſtred great offence, eſpecially to the Preachers, who ſeeing the Queen take more liberty then ſhe did in the beginning, keeping her Maſſes more publick, and cauſing them to be celebrated with a greater pomp, did mightily complain thereof in their Sermons, but profited little; for ſome of the Noblemen, who had in former times ſhewed themſelves moſt jealous againſt the toleration of Idolatry, were grown a little more cold by the flatteries of Court, and all of them, emulous of others greatneſs, were ſtriving who ſhould be in moſt favour with the Queen. The Preachers are diſpleaſed.

She had ſome while before this taken to be of her privy Council the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Marſhall*, *Glencarn*, *Monroſſe* and *Arroll*, Lord *James* her Brother, the Lord *Ereskin*, and Mr. *John Leſley*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*. *Huntley* was created Chancellor, one that in matters of Religion had behaved himſelf very unconſtantly, and to win the Queen's favour was now become altogether Popiſh. This animated the Prieſts and others of that faction, which before were quiet and put them in ſome heart. The Queen Maketh choice of a Council.

One *Ninian Winyet*, Schoolmaſter at *Linlithgow*, a man of reaſonable learning, ſet forth a Book of Queſtions againſt the Confeſſion of Faith; which went currant in the Court, and was much eſteemed by them of his Profeſſion. Being cited, and divers conferences kept with him to make him acknowledge his Errors, he continued obſtinate, and was therefore ſentenced by the Church; wherefore he forſook the Countrey, and flying to *Germany* was preferred to be Abbot of the *Scottiſh* Monaſtery at *Ratisbone*, where he lived many years. The Abbot of *Corſragnell* in the Weſt publiſhed about the ſame time another Faith. Whereunto *John Knox* having made a reply, the Author, in regard of his age and quality of birth, (for he was of the houſe of *Caſſils*) was thought fit to be overſeen. *Ninian Winyet* a Prieſt exiled.

Meanwhile the Court was buſied in a conſultation how to ſupply the charge of the Queens Houſe, which the ordinary Revenues of the Crown could not ſo honourably maintain as was required. Divers being thought upon, the readieſt ſeemed to fall upon the Church-rents, and draw ſomewhat from the Prelates and beneficed Perſons. To this purpoſe they were convened before the Council, and after a long Treaty, and many perſuaſions uſed, conſidering with themſelves how they ſubſiſted merely by the Queens favour, and that by refuſing a part they might endanger the whole, they were induced to yield the third part of their Benefices to be diſpoſed of at the Queens pleaſure, and aſſumed forth of what places her Collectors ſhould chuſe, her Majeſty ſecuring them of the two parts during their lives, and liberating them of the Miniſters, with whoſe maintenance they were continually boaſted. It carried ſome ſhew of commodity this at firſt, but turned to little or nothing; the Prelates and beneficed men undervaluing their Rents, and making up a third, which did afterwards, when the number of Miniſters increaſed, ſcarce ſuffice to their proviſions. The thirds of Benefices granted to the Queen.

Much about this time a rumour was raiſed in the Court, and went a while uncontrolled, that the Earl of *Arran* intended to raviſh the Queen, whom he was known to love moſt paſſionately. She, whether counterfeiting a fear, or that there was any cauſe given that way, it is not known, did levy a guard of horſe and foot to attend her perſon: which put divers in fear, and opened the mouths of diſcontented people, as if ſome grounds of Tyranny had been thereby laid. But ſhe not regarding theſe ſurmiſes, and careful only of the Countreys quiet, laboured earneſtly to have juſtice take place; and the Borders then being unquiet, ſent her Brother, Lord *James*, thither with a Commiſſion of Lieutenantry, which he faithfully diſcharged, uſing exemplary puniſhment upon a number of broken men, and taking pledges of others for living obedient to the Laws. For this ſervice at his return he was preferred firſt to the Earldom of *Marre*, and a little after to the Earldom of *Murray*: for the Lord *Ereskin*, having claimed title to the Countrey of *Marre*, was by the Queen made Earl of the ſame. A Guard of horſe and foot levied to attend the Queen. Lord *James* ſent to the Borders is at his return made Earl of *Marre*. He is preferred to the Earldom of *Murray*, and the Lord *Ereskin* made Earl of *Marre*.

Huntley offending that theſe honours ſhould have been conferred without his conſent, *Huntley* offendeth with theſe preferments.

An. 1561. conſent, and he thereby put from the poſſeſſion firſt of *Marre*, then of *Murray*, which he had injoyed ſince the death of King *James* the Fifth, and becauſe of that long poſſeſſion was reckoned to be a part of his own Patrimony, reſolved, ſince he ſaw his own credit & authority waning, before that of *Murray*'s was fully ſetled, to undermine him by one mean or other: whereupon by ſcandalous detractions, and other the like courſes familiar in the Courts of Princes, he laboured to diſgrace him; and finding that theſe prevailed not, preſented to the Queen a Libel written with his own hand, wherein he charged the Earl of *Murray* with ambitious affectation of the Royal authority. Yet the proofs he brought being weak, the Queen made no accompt thereof. This alſo failing, he incited *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell*, (one that had debauched his patrimony, and had all his hopes depending upon the publick diſturbance) to ſet the Earl of *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* by the ears: which he aſſayed to do firſt, by perſuading the Earl of *Murray* to ruine Duke *Hamilton*, who, as he ſaid, lay waiting on the Queens death, and aimed at no leſs then the Crown, and beſides bare a particular enmity againſt himſelf. This he ſaid could not but be acceptable to the Queen, ſeeing that beſides the natural hatred that all Princes have to their Succeſſors, ſhe did bear a ſpecial grudge to the Earl of *Arran* for his love to the Reformed Religion, and becauſe of ſome hard ſpeeches that fell out in a Conference betwixt him and her Uncle the Marqueſs *d' Elbeuf*.

He chargeth *Murray* with the affectation of the Crown.

Bothwell ſtirreth up the Earl of *Murray* againſt the *Hamiltons*.

The Earl of *Murray* abhorring ſuch unhoneſt practices, and refuſing to hearken thereto, his next addreſs was to the *Hamiltons*, offering to take part with them in cutting off the Earl of *Murray*, (whoſe credit with the Queen he knew they diſliked) and ſhewing how eaſily it might be done. By this means, he ſaid, they ſhould have the Queen in their own hands, and be rid of him who chiefly ſtood in their way. The time and place of the murther being conſidered upon, *Bothwell* and *Gawin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwining*, are ſaid to have taken the matter in hand. The device was to kill the Earl whilſt the Queen was at hunting in the Park of *Falkland*, and that performed, to carry the Queen along with them for their greater ſurety, and the countenancing of the fact.

Practice againſt the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earl of *Arran*, who had withſtood the Conſpiracy, perceiving them reſolute in that they had undertaken, and fearing it might take effect, advertiſeth the Earl of *Murray* of the plot laid againſt his life. *Murray* rendring him many thanks, the Letter was intercepted by ſome that diſliked the intelligence they kept with others, and finding by the anſwer what advertiſement he had made, perſuaded the Duke his Father to ſend him with ſome Keepers to the Houſe of *Kinneill*. But he making an eſcape in the night came to the houſe of *Grange* in *Fife*, and ſending to the Earl of *Murray* to ſhew what had happened, was the next morning conveyed by him to the Queen in *Falkland*; and at his coming he diſcovered the whole practice unto her; whereupon *Bothwell* and *Kilwining* were both apprehended, for they were come to *Falkland* of intent to clear themſelves. *Arran* being brought before the Council to be examined, was obſerved to be in ſome perturbation of mind, and being dimitted for that time, was at his next appearing clearly perceived by his words and countenance to be taken with a phrenſie; yet when he came to himſelf, as he did ſometimes in the beginning of the diſeaſe, he wrote to the Queen and others ſo judiciouſly, as many thought he did only fain himſelf mad, to free his Father of the Conſpiracy. The reſt he accuſed ſo conſtantly and with ſuch eagerneſs, that in preſence of the Council he made offer, ſince the accuſation could not be made out by Witneſſes, to try in ſingle combat with *Bothwell*. But the Queen, miſliking that form of trial, made *Bothwell* to be ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Abbot of *Kilwining* to the Caſtle of *Striveling*, committing *Arran* to the cuſtody of ſome perſons at Court.

The practice diſcovered by the Earl of *Arran*.

Arran becometh diſtracted.

And now *Huntly* imagining that he had a fair occaſion to put *Murray* out of the way, and that he might do the ſame more ſafely, having two of the greateſt Families in the Kingdom partners with him in the quarrel, fell into other devices; and firſt ſtirring up a trouble in S. *Andrews*, where the Queen then remained, and thinking that *Murray* would come forth upon the noiſe to pacifie the Tumult, he reſolved

New devices for cutting off *Murray*.

by

by ſome whom he had ſuborned to cut him off in the fray. This not ſucceeding, *An.* 1562. ſome armed men were laid to intercept him as he came from the Court at night; for the Queen detaining him late, he was wont to go accompanied with one or two only in moſt quiet manner to his lodging. But this being likewiſe fruſtrated by advertiſement given to *Murray*, and he having tried it to be ſo, (for, upon the notice given him, he went and found them ſtanding armed in the Porch of the Abbey, which was the place deſigned to him) delated the matter to the Queen. *Huntly* excuſing his men, ſaid that they were ſome only of his company, who being to go home that day, had put on their arms, and being ſtayed by ſome occaſion till the next morning were there attending his coming.

This excuſe, albeit nought and frivolous, was accepted for the time; which gave many to think, that the Queens affection to her Brother was not ſo great as it was commonly taken to be. And it is true that about the ſame time the Queen had received Letters from the Pope, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and her Uncles in *France*, adviſing her to entertain *Huntly*, as the man moſt powerful and beſt inclined towards the advancing of the *Romiſh* Religion, and to give him ſome hopes of her Marriage with *John Gordon* his ſecond Son, whereby he ſhould be made more forward in the purpoſe. Great promiſes were made beſides of money and other neceſſary ſupplies for War, but ſo always, as theſe were made away that were enemies to the Catholick Faith; of whoſe names a Roll was ſent unto her, and the Earl of *Murray* placed in the firſt rank. But what impreſſion theſe Letters made in the Queen's mind, ſhe ſhewed the ſame to her Brother, and uſed him with no leſs reſpect then before. Letters ſent from beyond ſea in favour of *Huntley*.

In the beginning of the next Summer there was a great ſpeech of the Interview of the Queens of *England* and *Scotland*, and meſſengers to and fro ſent to agree upon the place, the time and manner of the meeting. The motion came from the Queen of *Scots*, who, as it was thought, greatly affected the ſame out of a deſire ſhe had to live in a firm peace with the Queen of *England*, and make her ſelf known to the ſubjects of that Countrey. Neither was the meeting diſliked of the better ſort, as thinking it would ſerve, beſides the preſervation of the common Peace, to bring her unto a liking of the Reformed Religion. But they who were Popiſhly ſet, fearing greatly the Conference, ſpake openly againſt it, ſaying, *That of ſuch Interviews there was never ſeen any good fruit, and that it would not be ſafe for the Queen of* Scots *to put her ſelf in the power of her whoſe Kingdom ſhe had claimed.* Not the leſs the Treaty went on, and was concluded, *York* condeſcended to be the place of meeting, the numbers on either ſide agreed unto, and the time deſigned about the end of *June*. But whileſt all things were in readineſs for the journey, the Queen of *England* excuſed her ſelf by Letters, deſiring the Interview ſhould be put off till the next year: which the Queen of *Scots* was not ill pleaſed to hear, for ſhe feared if the ſame had held, that the *French* King and her Uncles ſhould have been much offended. An Interview of the two Queens moved. The Interview ſtayed.

This journey being ſtayed, the Queen took her progreſs unto the North. Being at *Striveling*, ſhe was petitioned by certain Commiſſioners of the Church for aboliſhing the Maſs, and other Superſtitious Rites of the *Roman* Religion, and for inflicting ſome puniſhment againſt Blaſphemy, againſt the contempt of the Word, the profanation of the Sacraments, the violation of the Sabbaths, Adultery, Fornication, and other the like vices condemned by the Word of God, whereof the Laws of the Countrey did not take any hold. For actions of Divorce, it was likewiſe deſired that they ſhould be remitted to the judgment of the Church, or at leaſt truſted to men of good knowledge and converſation; and that Popiſh Church-men might be excluded from places in Seſſion and Council. To theſe Petitions exhibited in writing, the Queen, after ſhe had peruſed the ſame, made anſwer, *That ſhe would do nothing in prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſſed, and hoped before a year was expired to have the Maſſe and Catholick profeſſion reſtored through the whole Kingdom:* and thus parted from them in a choler. Petitions of the Church to the Queen.

About the midſt of *Auguſt* ſhe entred into *Aberdene*, and was met by the Lady *Huntly*, a woman of an haughty diſpoſition, wiſe and crafty withall in ſifting the minds of others: ſhe, knowing the mutability of Princes favours, laboured to inſi- The Queen goeth to *Aberdene*.

An. 1562. nuate her ſelf in the Queens affection, uſing all ſervile flattery, extolling the power of her Husband, and repeating the offer he had made for re-eſtabliſhing the *Romane* profeſſion in theſe North parts. Then falling to intercede for her ſon *John Gordon*, (who had offended the Queen by his eſcape forth of the ward, in which he was put for wounding the Lord *Ogilvie* upon the high ſtreet of *Edinburgh*) ſhe intreated her Majeſtis favour for that overſight, and that he might be licenſed to attend her Majeſty during her abode in thoſe quarters. The Queen underſtanding what they went about, and how they flattered themſelves with a conceipt of her Marriage, anſwered, that it ſtood not with her honour to admit him in her preſence, unleſs he ſhould re-enter himſelf into the place from which he had eſcap'd. The Lady thanking her Majeſty, and promiſing obedience in her Son's behalf, did only intreat that the place of his Ward might be changed to the Caſtle of *Striveling*: whereunto the Queen having yielded, the Lord *Glames* was appointed to convey him thither: and he indeed went ſo far on the way as to the Nobleman his houſe of *Glames*; but whether called back by his Father and friends, or of his own private motion, it is uncertain, there he changed his mind, and returned to the North, where gathering ſome forces, a thouſand horſe or thereabout, with them he drew near to *Aberdene*.

The Lady *Huntley* intercedes for her Son.

The Queen highly commoved with his contempt, yet diſſembling her anger, did after a day or two keep on her journey towards *Innerneſs*, whither ſhe intended. The eighth of *September*, the night before her ſetting forth, were ſeen in the firmament great inflammations and lightnings extraordinary, which continued the ſpace of two hours and above. It feared the common ſort, who do always interpret ſuch accidents to be prognoſticks of ſome Trouble: But the Queen contemning theſe things as caſual, would not hear of altering her journey; ſo the firſt day ſhe went to *Buquhaine*, the next to *Rothemay*, and the third day being invited by *Huntley* to his houſe of *Straithbogie*, where great preparations were made for her receipt, ſhe denied to go with him, or grace him in any ſort, till his Son gave obedience; and ſo kept on her way.

The Queen taketh journey to *Innerneſs*.

The day following ſhe came to *Innerneſs*, and thinking to lodge in the Caſtle, the Keeper *Alexander Gordon* refuſed to give her entry. Thereupon ſhe began to ſuſpect ſome treachery. In the Towns-men ſhe could repoſe no aſſurance, as being all vaſſals and dependers of *Huntley*. The Town it ſelf was unfenced with walls, and the countrey all in Arms, (as ſhe was advertiſed) to attend his coming. Yet diſpoſing of things in the beſt ſort ſhe could, order was given to keep a ſtrong watch, to fortifie the paſſages into the Town, and have Ships prepared in the Road, whereunto, if need were, ſhe might take her refuge. About midnight ſome ſpies ſent from *Huntley* unto the Town were apprehended, who diſcovering his numbers and enterpriſe, were made faſt. And the next morning, upon a rumour that went of her danger the Queen ſtood in, there flocked out of all quarters unto her numbers of High-land men, the *Fraſers* and *Monroes* chiefly, with their followers and friendſhip. The *Clanchattan* in *Huntley*'s company, how ſoon they knew that the enterpriſe was againſt the Queen, forſook him, and ſlipped aſide, came and yielded themſelves unto her. She, finding her forces increaſed, commanded to lay ſiege to the Caſtle, which rendred upon the firſt aſſault. The Captain and principal Keepers were executed, but the lives of the common ſouldiers ſpared. After ſome four daies abode in the Caſtle, the Queen returned to *Aberdene*, accompanied with all the Noblemen and Clans of the Countrey; and thither came the Lady *Huntley* with offers of ſubmiſſion for her Husband, but was denied acceſs.

The Caſtle of *Innerneſs* denied to the Queen.

The Caſtle beſieged and rendred.

Huntley perceiving the world thus altered, and himſelf faln into the Queens diſpleaſure, ſo as there was no hope of regaining her favour, betook himſelf to deſperate courſes, and aſſembling his friends and others that would run hazard with him, he approached to *Aberdene*, preſuming much of the affection of the inhabitants. At Court he had the Earl of *Sutherland*, and *John Leſly* of *Buquhaine*, men of no mean power, who made him daily advertiſed of things that paſſed there, and the ſmall numbers that were with the Queen, willing him to take the opportunity.

Huntley reſolves to invade the Queen.

Whereupon

Whereupon reſolving to follow his enterpriſe before the forces of the Queen were farther increaſed, (for charge was gone to all that could bear Arms in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne* and *Mernis*, to come and attend her at *Aberdene*) he advanced with ſome 800 in company, looking to find no reſiſtence. And like enough the enterpriſe had ſucceeded to his mind, but that the ſame morning Letters were intercepted, ſent by *Sutherland* and *Buquhaine* to *Huntley*, which detected all their counſel. *Sutherland* upon diſcovery eſcaped: *Buquhaine* was pardoned upon his confeſſion, and from thenceforth ſerved the Queen faithfully. *Huntley* advertiſed of theſe things, was adviſed by his friends to turn back; yet hearing the Earl of *Murray* was coming againſt him, he made a ſtay, reſolving to fight. *An.* 1562.

The place of ſtanding he chuſed was naturally fenced with moſſe and quagmire, and ſo of difficult acceſs; 300 they were in all, for many of his followers the night preceding were ſlipt from him. Neither had the Earl of *Murray* any great number, and few whom he might truſt: for howbeit of the countrey about divers gathered unto him, moſt of them were corrupted by *Huntley*, as appeared when the companies came in ſight one of another, all of them in ſign of treaſon, and that they might be diſcerned by the enemy, putting a buſh of heath or header in their helmets, and how ſoon they came to joyn, giving back, and retiring in great diſorder. The Earl of *Murray*, who ſtood a little off with an hundred in a troop, diſcovering the Treaſon, called aloud to his men, that they ſhould bend their Spears, and not ſuffer them that fled to enter amongſt them. So forced to take another courſe they went aſide, leaving him and his troup, when they had taken their ſtanding. *Huntley* imagining upon that flight & diſorder the day to be his, commanded his men to throw away their lances, and with drawn ſwords to run upon them as to a ſlaughter. But when they were come to the place where *Murray* with his company ſtood, they were born back and compelled to fly as faſt as before they followed. They who had played the Traytors ſeeing this, to clear themſelves, turned upon *Huntley*, and made all the ſlaughter which was committed that day. The Battel of *Corrichie*.

There fell in the conflict on *Huntley*'s ſide 120, near as many were taken priſoners; on the other party not a man died. Amongſt the priſoners was the Earl of *Huntley* himſelf, with two ſons, *John* and *Adam Gordon*. The Earl was aged and corpulent, and, by reaſon of the throng that preſſed him, expired in the hands of his takers; the reſt were carried to *Aberdene* late in the night. The Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and Lord *Lindeſay* (for theſe laſt two had been in the field with *Murray*) went firſt into the Church, where Mr. *John Craige*, Miniſter of that City, gave ſolemn thanks to God for the Victory and their ſafety. This ended, they went unto the Queen, who received them graciouſly, yet expreſſed no motion of a mind either troubled or much joyed. The next day was ſpent in taking counſel concerning the priſoners: the concluſion whereof was, that puniſhment ſhould be taken according to the Laws of *John Gordon*; that *Adam* his brother ſhould be ſpared, becauſe of his tender age; the other captives fined according to their wealth, and thoſe of meaner eſtate baniſhed the Countrey. The day following, *John Gordon* upon a Scaffold erected in the ſtreet of *Aberdene* was publickly executed. His death was much lamented, not by his friends only, but even by ſtrangers and perſons unknown; for he was a youth of moſt brave and manlike countenance, of a valorous ſpirit, and one who by his noble behavior had raiſed great expectation of himſelf. Abuſed he was by the hopes of a Royal match, and, which grieved all the beholders, pitifully mangled by an unskilful Executioner. The Earl of *Huntley* taken priſoner, and dieth. Thankſgiving for the Victory. *John Gordon* beheaded at *Aberdene*.

This defeat of *Huntley* brought the North parts in a great obedience, and mightily diſcouraged thoſe of the Popiſh faction throughout the whole Realm; for all that ſort had placed their hopes on him and his greatneſs both in the Court and Countrey. The eldeſt of his ſons, named *George*, after the loſs of that field fled to the Duke his Father-in-law, and was delivered by him to the Queen, who ſent him priſoner to *Dumbar*. In the end of *January* he was accuſed and convicted of Treaſon, his lands declared to be forfeited, and himſelf committed to priſon. Shortly after *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for ſaying and hearing of Maſſe. The Abbot of *Corſragnel* and Prior of *Whithern* The Lord *Gordon* forfeited and committed. The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* committed.

An. 1563. *Whithern* were uſed in the like ſort, and divers Prieſts and Monks for the ſame cauſe cenſured. The ſevere proceeding againſt Papiſts put many in hope that the Queen ſhould be brought to embrace the Religion: which was farther aſſured by the countenance ſhe gave unto the Church in the Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* the *May* following, wherein divers Statutes paſſed upon their Petitions, as in the Acts of that time may be ſeen. In this Parliament was the *Act of Oblivion* (agreed unto at the Treaty of *Leith*) firſt ratified; but without any reſpect to that Treaty, which the Queen would never acknowledge. Wherefore it was adviſed that the Lords in the Houſe of Parliament ſhould upon their knees entreat the paſſing of ſuch an Act, which accordingly was done. The reſt of this Summer the Queen ſpent in hunting in the countreys of *Athol* and *Argile*.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

A trouble at *Halirudhouſe*.

But in *Auguſt* the ſame year there happened a thing that was like to have cauſed much trouble. Certain of the Queens family that remained in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe* had a Prieſt attending them, who did his ordinary ſervice in the Chappel; divers of the Town of *Edinburgh* reſorting unto it, great offence was taken, and the diſorder complained of by the Preachers. The Citizens being informed that many of their people were gone thither, one day went down, and being denied entry, forced the gates. Some were taken and carried to priſon, many eſcaped the back way with the Prieſt himſelf. The uproar was great, and advertiſement gone to the Queen thereof, ſhe was mightily incenſed, avowing not to come to the Town till ſome exemplary puniſhment were inflicted upon the doers; yet by the mediation of the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* ſhe was pacified. *John Knox* only was called before the Council, and charged to have been the author of the Sedition, as likewiſe for convocating the ſubjects by his miſſive letters whenſoever he thought meet. He anſwered, *That he was never a Preacher of Rebellion, nor loved to ſtir up Tumults: contrariwiſe, he taught all people to obey their Magiſtrates and Princes in God. As to the convocation of the ſubjects, he had received from the Church a command to advertiſe his Brethren when he ſaw a neceſſity of their meeting, eſpecially if he ſaw Religion to be in peril: and had often craved to be exonerated of that burthen, but ſtill was refuſed.* Then directing his ſpeech to the Queen with a wonderful boldneſs, *He charged her in the name of the Almighty God, and as ſhe deſired to eſcape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forſake that Idolatrous Religion which ſhe profeſſed, and by her power maintained againſt the Statutes of the Realm.* And as he was proceeding, he was required by the Earl of *Morton* then Chancellor (fearing the Queens irritation) to hold his peace, and go away. After which time matters were carried more peaceably betwixt the Queen and the Church, the Earl of *Murray* alwaies interpoſing himſelf, and propounding the Petitions of the Church unto her, as likewiſe returning her anſwers to their ſatisfaction.

John Knox called before the Council.

The Earl of *Lenox* reſtored.

In the end of this year *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the permiſſion of the Queen, returned into *Scotland*, and in a Parliament called to that effect in *January* next had the proceſs of forfeiture laid againſt him whileſt the Duke was Governour reduced, and ſo reſtored to his lands and poſſeſſions, after 22 years exile. *Henry* his Son followed him ſome moneths after, and came to *Edinburgh* in the beginning of *February*. A young man not paſt 21 years, of comely perſonage, and of a milde and ſweet behaviour. He had preſence of the Queen in the place of *Weymis*, and was received with great demonſtrations of favour. Nor was it long that ſhe was perceived to bear ſome affection unto him: whereupon a ſpeech went that ſhe would take him unto her Husband. And indeed, beſides the love ſhe carried to the young Nobleman, there was great reſpects that led her that way. He was deſcended of the Royal bloud of *England*, and next unto her ſelf the apparent Heir of that Crown. If it ſhould fall him to marry with one of the greateſt Families of *England*, it was to be feared that ſome impediment might be made to her in the Right of Succeſſion, which ſhe thought was a wiſe part in her to prevent. Again, the Queen of *England* had adviſed her by *Thomas Randolph* her Ambaſſador, to chuſe unto her ſelf a Husband in *England*, for the better conſervation of the Peace contracted betwixt the Kingdoms, and had of late recommended the Earl of *Leiceſter* as a worthy match to her. She therefore, as well to ſatisfie the Queen of *England*'s

Henry Lord *Darnly*, ſon to *Lenox*, cometh into *Scotland*.

The Queen intendeth to take him to Husband.

land's deſire, in not matching with a ſtranger, but with ſome *Engliſh*-man born, as likewiſe to cut off all debates of Succeſſion, reſolved to take the Nobleman to her Husband. *An.* 1564.

But no ſooner was her intention diſcovered, then on all ſides enemies roſe up againſt her. Of the Nobility at home ſome oppoſed the Marriage under pretext of Religion, (for the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son were both eſteemed to be Popiſh.) The Queen of *England*, by *Nicholas Throgmorton* her Ambaſſador, adviſed her not to uſe haſte in a buſineſs of that importance; and (to interpoſe ſome impediment) charged the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son to return into *England*, the time being not yet expired contained in their licenſes. And univerſally amongſt the ſubject the queſtion was agitated, *Whether the Queen might chuſe to her ſelf an Husband; or it were more fitting that the Eſtates of the Land ſhould appoint one unto her.* Some maintaining, that the liberty could not be denied unto her which was granted to the meaneſt ſubject; others excepting, that in the Heirs of the Kingdom the caſe was different, becauſe they in aſſuring an Husband to themſelves, did withall appoint a King over the people; and that it was more reaſon the whole people ſhould chuſe an Huſband to one Woman, then that one Woman ſhould elect a King to rule over the whole people. It was objected alſo by ſome, that the Marriage was unlawful, and contrary to the Canon law, Lady *Margaret Douglas* his Mother being Siſter uterine to King *James* the Fifth her Father. But for this the Queen had provided a remedy, having ſent *William Chiſholin* Biſhop of *Dumblane* to bring a diſpenſation from *Rome*. And, to ſtrengthen her ſelf at home, ſhe reſtored *George Gordon*, ſon to the Earl of *Huntley*, unto his lands and honours, recalled the Earl of *Sutherland* who lived an exile in *Flanders*, and *Bothwel* that was baniſhed in *France*. This wicked man was not well returned into the Countrey, when he deviſed a new plot againſt the Earl of *Murray* his life, for which being called in queſtion he forſook the Countrey, and fled again unto *France*.

Enemies raiſed up againſt the Queen.

An. 1564. The Lord *Gordon* reſtored.

The only man that ſeemed to ſtand for the Marriage, and uſed his beſt means to promove it, was an *Italian* called *David Riſio*, who had great credit that time with the Queen. This man had followed the *Savoyan* Ambaſſadour into *Scotland*, and in hope of bettering his fortune gave himſelf to attend the Queen at firſt in the quality of a Muſician; afterwards growing in more favour he was admitted to write her *French* Letters, and in the end preferred to be principal Secretary to the Eſtate. It grieved many to ſee a Stranger thus advanced: *Lethington* chiefly was diſpleaſed, for that he found his credit this way impaired; yet being one that could put on any diſguiſe on his nature, of all others he moſt fawned on this *Italian*, and ſhewing him, as it was truth, that he was the object of divers Noblemens envy, did perſuade him by all means to work the Match, and procure (if it could be) the conſent of the Queen of *England* thereto: wherein offering his own ſervice, (for he longed after ſome employment abroad) he procured to himſelf a meſſage towards the Queen of *England*. By him the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son did excuſe their not returning into *England* as they were charged; beſeeching Queen *Elizabeths* favour unto the Match intended, and that which might prove more profitable to her and her Realm then any other courſe the *Scottiſh* Queen ſhould take.

Seigneur Davie, an attendant on the Queen, favoureth the Marriage.

Secretary *Lethington* ſent into *England*.

Seigneur Davie (for ſo he was commonly called) did after this labour with all his power to have the Marriage perfected; and as he was of a politick wit, the more to bind the young Nobleman and his friendſhip unto him, ſtudied to have the ſame finiſhed before the return of the Queen of *Englands* anſwer, either fearing that her diſaſſent might work ſome delay in the Match, or that the Nobleman's obligation to himſelf ſhould be the leſs in caſe ſhe conſented. For this purpoſe a Convocation of the Eſtates was kept at *Striveling* in the moneth of *May*, where the matter being propounded, and the advice of the Eſtates craved, many did yield their conſents, with a proviſion that no change ſhould be made in the preſent eſtate of Religion. The greater part, to gratifie the Queen, without making any exception, agreed that the Marriage ſhould proceed. Of the whole number *Andrew* Lord *Ochiltrie* did only oppoſe, plainly profeſſing, that *he would never conſent to admit a King of the Popiſh Religion.* Shortly after was *Henry* Lord *Darnly* created Lord of *Ardmanoch*,

A Convocation of the Eſtates at *Striveling*.

An. 1564. *manoch*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rotheſay*, that honoured with theſe Titles he might be thought more worthy of the Royal Match. This determination of the Eſtates publiſhed, the Earls of *Murray*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, and *Rothes* aſſiſted by the Duke of *Chattelerault*, whom they had drawn to be of their Faction, meeting at *Striveling* after that the Queen was parted, did joyn in a Confederacy for reſiſting the Marriage, pretending the danger, and other inconveniences that might ariſe to the Eſtate. In the Town of *Edinburgh* the people began to mutiny, and aſſembling themſelves in companies on S. *Leonards* Crags took counſel to put their Burgeſſes in arms, to aſſign them Captains, and to diſarm ſuch of the Townsmen as they knew to be affected to the Marriage.

The Lord *Darnley* created Duke of *Rotheſay*.

A Mutiny at *Edinburgh*.

The Queen highly incenſed at this Mutiny did haſte to the Town, at whoſe coming the heads of the faction, *Andrew Slater*, *Alexander Clerk*, *Gilbert Lauder*, *William Harlaw*, *Michael Rind*, *James Ingliſh*, *James Young*, and *Alexander Gouthrie*, fled forth of the Town, and were denounced Rebels. Their houſes poſſeſſed by the Theſaurer, and their goods put under Inventary, were after ſome few days, at the interceſſion of the Magiſtrates, (ſo great was the Queens clemency) reſtored, and themſelves pardoned.

The Queen cometh to *Edinburgh*, and the mutiners fly.

An Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*.

The Aſſembly of the Church meeting at the ſame time in *Edinburgh* preſented to the Queen by their Commiſſioners the Petitions following.

Petitions of the Church.

1. That the Papiſtical and blaſphemous Maſſe, with all Popiſh Idolatry, and the Pope's Juriſdiction, ſhould be univerſally ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed through the whole Realm, not only amongſt the ſubjects, but in the Queens Majeſties own Perſon and Family; and ſuch as were tried to tranſgreſs the ſame, puniſhed according to the Laws.

2. That the true Religion formerly received ſhould be profeſſed by the Queen, as well as by the ſubjects, and people of all ſorts bound to reſort upon the Sundays at leaſt to the Prayers and Preaching of God's Word, as in former times they were holden to hear Maſſe.

3. That ſure proviſion ſhould be made for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery, as well for the time preſent as for the time to come, and their livings aſſigned them in the places where they ſerved, or at leaſt in the parts next adjacent; and that they ſhould not be put to crave the ſame at the hands of any others. That the Benefices now vacant, or that have fallen void ſince the moneth of *March* 1558, and ſuch as ſhould happen thereafter to be void, ſhould be diſponed to perſons qualified for the Miniſtery upon trial and admiſſion by the Superintendents.

4. That no Biſhoprick, Abbacy, Priory, Deanry, Provoſtry, or other Benefice having more Churches then one annexed thereto, ſhould be diſponed in time coming to any one man, but that the Churches thereof being diſſolved, the ſame ſhould be provided to ſeveral perſons, ſo as every man having charge may ſerve at his own Church, according to his vocation. That Gleibs and Manſes might be deſigned for the reſidence of Miniſters, as likewiſe the Churches repair; and an Act made in the next Parliament to that effect.

5. That none ſhould be permitted to have charge of Schools, Colleges and Univerſities, or to inſtruct the youth either privately or publickly, till they were tried by the Superintendents in the Viſitation of the Churches, and after trial admitted to their Charge.

6. That all Lands founded of old to Hoſpitality ſhould be reſtored, and applied to the ſuſtentation of the poor; and that Lands, annual Rents, or other emoluments belonging ſometime to the Friers of whatſoever Order, as likewiſe the Annuities, Aultrages, Obits and other duties pertaining to Prieſts, be imployed to the ſame uſe, and to the upholding of Schools in the places where they lie.

7. That horrible crimes abounding in the Realm, ſuch as Idolatry, Blaſphemy of God's Name, manifeſt Violation of the Sabbath or Lord's day, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Inchantment, Adultery, Inceſt, open Whoredom, maintaining of Brothels, Murther, Slaughter, Theft, Reif and Oppreſſion, with all other deteſtable crimes, be ſeverely puniſhed, and Judges appointed in every Province for executing the ſame.

8. That

8. That ſome order ſhould be deviſed for the relief of the poor labourers of the ground, who are oppreſſed in their Tithes by Leaſes ſet over their heads, and they thereby forced to take unreaſonable conditions. *An.* 1564.

To theſe petitions the Queen made Anſwer by writing in this ſort. Firſt, ſhe ſaid, *That where it was deſired that the Maſſe ſhould be ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed as well in her Majeſtie's own Perſon and Family as amongſt the Subjects, her Highneſs did anſwer for her ſelf, that ſhe was no ways perſwaded that there was any Impiety in the Maſs; and truſted her Subjects would not preſs her to do againſt her Conſcience. For not to diſſemble, but to deal plainly with them,* ſhe ſaid, *ſhe neither might nor would forſake the Religion wherein ſhe had been educated and brought up, believing the ſame to be the true Religion, and grounded upon the Word of God. Beſides ſhe knew that if ſhe ſhould change her Religion, it would loſe her the Friendſhip of the King of* France, *and other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, upon whoſe diſpleaſure ſhe would be loath to hazard, knowing no friendſhip that might countervail theirs. Therefore deſired all her loving Subjects, who have had experience of her goodneſs, how ſhe had neither in times paſt nor yet in time coming did intend to force the Conſcience of any perſon, but to permit every one to ſerve God in ſuch manner as they are perſuaded to be the beſt, that they likewiſe would not urge her to any thing that ſtood not with the quietneſs of her Mind.* The Queens anſwer to the Petitions.

As for the eſtabliſhing the Religion in the body of the Realm, ſhe ſaid, *That they knew the ſame could not be done but by the conſent of the three Eſtates in Parliament: And how ſoon the ſame ſhould be convened, whatſoever the Eſtates did condeſcend unto, her Majeſty ſhould thereto agree; aſſuring them in the mean while, that none ſhould be troubled for uſing themſelves in Religion according to their Conſciences, and ſo ſhould have no cauſe to fear any peril to their lives or heritages.*

To the third and fourth Articles it was anſwered, *That her Majeſty did not think it reaſonable, that ſhe ſhould defraud her ſelf of ſo great a part of the Patrimony of the Crown, as to put the Patronages of Benefices forth of her own hands, ſeeing the publick neceſſities of the Crown did require a great part of the Rents to be ſtill retained. Notwithſtanding, her Majeſty was pleaſed that, her own neceſſity being ſupplied, after it ſhould be conſidered what might be a reaſonable ſuſtentation to the Miniſters, a ſpecial aſſignation ſhould be made to them forth of the neareſt and moſt commodious places, wherewith her Majeſty ſhould not intermeddle, but ſuffer the ſame to come to their uſe.*

Touching the ſuſtentation of the poor her Majeſty ſaid, *That her Liberality towards them ſhould be as far extended as with reaſon can be required.*

And for the reſt of the Articles, *Her Highneſs promiſed to do therein as the Eſtates convened in Parliament ſhould appoint.*

About the midſt of *July* (the diſpenſation of the Marriage being brought from *Rome*) the Queen was eſpouſed to the Lord *Darnly* after the Popiſh manner in the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, by the Dean of *Reſtalrig*; and the next day was he by the ſound of the Trumpet proclaimed King, and declared to be aſſociated with her in the Government. The Queen married to the Lord *Darnly*.

The diſcontented Lords ſent forth their complaints upon this, alleging, *That the Kingdom was openly wronged, the Liberties thereof oppreſſed, and a King impoſed upon the people without advice and conſent of the Eſtates, (a thing not practiſed before at any time, and contrary to the Laws and received cuſtom of the Countrey:) deſiring therefore all good ſubjects to take the matter to heart, and joyn with them in reſiſting theſe beginnings of Tyranny.* But few or none were thereby won to ſhew themſelves openly of their party, ſo as when the Queen with her Husband went againſt them, they left the Town of *Striveling*, where they firſt convened, and fled into *Paiſlay*. The complaints of the diſcontented Lords.

The King, to make himſelf more popular, and take from the Lords the pretext of Religion wherewith they coloured their deſigns, took purpoſe to go unto Saint *Giles* Church in *Edinburgh* and hear a Sermon. *John Knox* (either doubting his ſincerity, or favouring the faction of the Noblemen) fell upon him with a bitter reproof; for which being cited before the Queen and Council, he not only ſtood to that he had ſpoken, but added, *That as the King for her pleaſure had gone to Maſs, and diſhonored the Lord God, ſo ſhould he in his Juſtice make her the inſtrument of his ruin.* The King heareth a Sermon at St. *Giles*. *John Knox* cited before the Council.

An. 1564. The Queen, incenſed with this anſwer, burſt forth in tears: whereupon he was inhibited preaching by the Council, and ſilenced for ſome moneths. Mr. *John Craig* (who a little before was brought to *Edinburgh*) becauſe of the prohibition given to his Collegue, refuſed to do any ſervice there, which put the people in a ſtir; yet upon better advice he was moved to continue in his Charge.

The Lords purſued by the King and Queen.

In the end of *Auguſt* the King and Queen, accompanied with five thouſand or thereabouts, went to *Glaſgow* to purſue the Lords. They removing from *Paiſly* to *Hamilton*, an Herald was ſent thither to ſummon the Caſtle, which they denied to render, giving out that they would try the matter in battel the next day. But the manifold diſtractions amongſt themſelves did let this reſolution, and divers falling away from their ſide, they went to *Edinburgh*, where ſuppoſing to find aſſiſtance, the Captain of the Caſtle forced them by his continual playing on the Town to quit it. After which they took their courſe to *Dumfreis*, allured by the fair promiſes of *John* ℭ *Maxwell* Lord *Hereis*.

A new Expedition upon this was concluded, and the Lieges warned to meet at *Bigger* the 9 of *October*: in the mid time the King and Queen, leaving the Earl of *Lenox* Lieutenant in the Weſt parts, made a Progreſs through *Fife*, to puniſh thoſe that had aſſiſted the Lords. The Lairds of *Grainge*, *Balcomie*, *Pitmillie* and *Ramormie* were fugitive, ſome others of meaner ſort taken priſoners, and the Towns of *Perth*, *Dundy* and St. *Andrews* fined in great ſums. This done they returned to *Edinburgh*, and from thence went into *Dumfreis*, where the Lords had ſtayed all that while: The Lord *Hereis* pretending to make their peace, concluded his own,

The Lords flie into *England*.

adviſing them to fly into *England*, as they did. Thither went the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earl of ℭ *Murray*, *Glencarn* and *Rothes*, the Lord *Ochiltrie*, the Commendatory of *Kilwinning*, and divers others of good note. A few days they abode in *Carlile* with the Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant at that time in the North. Then

The Queen of *England* intercedeth for the Lords.

going to *Newcaſtle*, they ſent the Earl of *Murray* to the *Engliſh* Court, to intreat the Queen's interceſſion for them. She incontinent diſpatched a Gentleman of her Privy-chamber, named *Tamerorth*, with Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, requeſting that ℭ *Murray* and the reſt might be received in favour. The Gentleman not vouchſafing to give her Husband the title of a King, nor bringing any Commiſſion to him, was denied preſence, and had his anſwer delivered him in writing, to this effect: *That Queen* Elizabeth *ſhould do well to have no medling with the ſubjects of* Scotland, *but leave them to their Princes diſcretion, ſeeing neither ſhe nor her Husband did trouble themſelves with the cauſes of her ſubjects.*

The Duke received in favour.

The Duke perceiving that by theſe means their peace would not be haſtily made, and knowing his reconcilement to be more eaſie, reſolved to ſever his cauſe from the reſt, and ſent the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to entreat favour to himſelf and his friends: which he eaſily obtained, for he was known to be nothing ſo guilty as the others, and to have been craftily drawn upon that faction; ſo he returned into *Scotland*, in *December* following.

A general Aſſembly of the Church. A reply to the anſwer of their laſt Petitions.

In this moneth a general Aſſembly of the Church convened again at *Edinburgh*, where the anſwer made by the Queen to their laſt Petitions was preſented, and replied unto by the ſame Aſſembly in this manner. Firſt, they ſaid, *That it was no ſmall grief to the hearts of good and Chriſtian ſubjects to hear, that notwithſtanding the Evangel of Chriſt had been ſo long preached in the Realm, and his mercy ſo plainly offered, her* ℭ *Majeſty ſhould yet continue unperſwaded of the truth of that Religion which they preached and profeſſed, it being the ſame which Chriſt* Jeſus *had revealed to the world, which he commanded his Apoſtles to preach, and ordained to be received of all the faithful, and firmly retained by them until his ſecond Coming; a Religion that had God the Father, his only Son Chriſt* Jeſus *and the Holy Spirit for the Authors thereof, and was moſt clearly grounded upon the Doctrine and practice as well of the Prophets as Apoſtles, which no other Religion upon the face of the earth could juſtifie, alledge or prove. For whatſoever aſſurance the Papiſt had or could alledge for his Profeſſion, the ſame the* Turk *had for his Alcoran, and the* Jews *more probably might alledge for their Rites and Traditions, whether it be antiquity of time, or conſent of people, or authority of Princes, or multitudes and number of Profeſſors, or any the like cloaks they do pretend. Wherefore*

in

in the Name of the eternal God (with the reverence that became them) they required her Highneſs to uſe the means whereby ſhe might be perſuaded of the Truth, ſuch as the Preaching of the Word of God, the ordinary mean that he hath appointed for working Knowledge and begetting Faith in the hearts of his choſen ones, conference with learned men, and diſputation with the adverſaries, which they were ready to offer when and where her Grace ſhould think expedient. An. 1565.

Next, where ſhe could not believe any Impiety to be in the Maſs, they made offer *to prove the whole Maſs from the beginning to the ending to be nothing elſe but a maſs of Impiety, and that the Prieſt his actions, the opinion which the hearers or rather the gazer upon it had of the ſame, were blaſphemous and groſly idolatrous.* And where her Majeſty ſaid, *ſhe would not hazard the diſpleaſure of the King of* France *and other Princes, with whom ſhe was confederated*; they to the contrary did aſſure her, *That true Religion is the only bond that joyneth men with God, who is the King of Kings, and hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, whoſe favour ought to be unto her more precious then the favour of all the Princes on earth, and without which no friendſhip or confederacy could poſſibly endure.*

Thirdly, touching her anſwer to the Article for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery, they ſhew, *It was never their meaning, that her Majeſty or any other Patron ſhould be defrauded of their juſt rights. Only they deſired, when any Beneſice was void, that a qualified perſon ſhould be preſented to the Superintendent of the bounds, to be tried and examined by him. For as the Preſentation belongeth to the Patron, ſo doth the Collation belong to the Church. Otherwiſe, were it in the Patrons power ſimply to preſent whom they pleaſed, without trial or examination, there ſhould be no order in the Church, and all be filled with ignorance and confuſion.*

Fourthly, to that which her Majeſty ſpake of retaining a great part of the Beneſices in her own hands, they anſwered, *That ſuch doing was againſt the Law both of God and man, and could not ſtand with a good Conſcience, ſeeing it tendeth to the deſtruction of many poor ſouls that by this means ſhould be defrauded of inſtruction.* And for the offer ſhe made to provide the Miniſtery by aſſignations in places moſt commodious, her own neceſſities being firſt ſupplied, they ſaid, *That good order did require Miniſters firſt to be provided, Schools for inſtructing the youth maintained, the fabrick of Churches repaired and upheld, and the poor and indigent members of Chriſt ſuſtained; all which ought to be furniſhed out of the Tithes, which are the proper Patrimony of the Church. Theſe things done, if any thing were remaining, that her Majeſty and Council might uſe it as they ſhould think expedient.* In end, giving thanks to her Majeſty for the offer of aſſignations, they humbly deſired the general offer to be made more particular, and that it might pleaſe ~~her~~ to reform the anſwer given to the Articles of the Church in all the aforeſaid points.

After this ſort did the Church inſiſt with the Queen, but with ſmall ſucceſs: for the proviſion of Miniſters ſome ſmall ſupply was obtained. But in the point of Religion they found no contentment. During the reſt of this Winter matters were quiet: but the next year had a foul beginning; *Seigneur Davie*, who governed all affairs at Court, had only the Queens ear, being ſlain upon the occaſion and after the manner you ſhall hear. There had fallen out a little before ſome private diſcontents betwixt the King and Queen, whereupon firſt ſhe cauſed change the order which was kept in the Proclamations and publick Records, placing the name of her Husband after her own name, that the Royal Authority might be known to belong unto her ſelf wholly. And after a little time, upon a colour that the diſpatch of buſineſs was much hindred through the King's abſence, ſhe had appointed, in ſtead of his hand, a Cachet to be uſed in the ſigning of Letters, which was committed to the cuſtody of *Seigneur Davie*. This being noted, (as there are never wanting ſome in Court to ſtir the coals) divers tales were brought to the King of the neglect and contempt that he was held in, and of the great reſpect carried to the Stranger. The vanity and arrogancy of the man himſelf was likewiſe ſo great, as not content to exceed the chief of the Court, he would outbrave the King in his apparel, in his domeſtick furniture, in the number and ſorts of his horſes, and in every thing elſe: ſo as no ſpeech was for the time more common and current in the Countrey, then

An. 1565. The ſlaughter of *Seigneur Davie* conſpired.

An. 1565. that of *Davie*'s greatneſs, of the credit and honour whereunto he was riſen, and of the ſmall account that was taken of the King. This the King taking in heart, he did open his grief unto his Father, who adviſed him to aſſure the Nobility at home, and to recall thoſe that were baniſhed into *England*; which done, he might eaſily correct the inſolency and aſpiring pride of that baſe fellow.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh* deſerted.

A Parliament being then called to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12 of *March*, for pronouncing ſentence of forfeiture againſt the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencarn*, *Argile*, *Rothes*, and other Noblemen that were fled into *England*, as the time of meeting drew nigh, the Queen laboured earneſtly to have the Proceſs laid againſt them found good; and that matters might go to her mind, ſhe deſigned *Davie* to exerciſe the office of Chancellour in that meeting. The Earl of *Morton*, who after *Huntley*'s death had ſupplied the place unto that time, interpreted this as a diſgrace offered unto him, dealt with the King (with whom he was grown familiar) to make him ſenſible of his own contempt and miſregard; and finding him apprehenſive enough that way, drew him to a meeting in the Lord *Ruthvens* lodging, upon pretext of viſiting the Nobleman who lay then diſeaſed; where breaking forth in a ſpeech of the preſent Miſgovernment, the blame of all was caſt upon the King, as having for the pleaſure of a wicked Villain chaſed his Couſins and beſt friends out of the Realm, and helped to raiſe a baſe fellow to ſuch a height of credit, as now himſelf was become by him deſpiſed. The King, that could not deny it to be his fault in a great part, profeſſed his readineſs to joyn with them for remedying thoſe evils, and from thenceforth promiſed to do nothing but by the conſent of the Nobility. Yet they not eſteeming it ſafe to truſt his promiſes, whom they knew to be facile and ſomewhat uxorious, leſt afterwards he ſhould go from that agreement, did exhibit to him a Bond in writing, wherein they were all ſworn to joyn for maintaining Religion, reducing the Noblemen lately exiled, and making *Davie* out of the way. Unto this the King did wittingly ſet his hand, and with him ſubſcribed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay*, for he alſo was preſent and upon the plot.

The ſlaugh. ter of *Davie*.

The night following, becauſe matters could not be long kept cloſe, and needful it was to go preſently through with the deſign by reaſon of the Parliament approaching, they prepared to execute the ſame. *Morton*, whoſe forces were greateſt, was appointed to guard the utter Court of the Palace, if perhaps any ſtir ſhould be made. For there lodged within, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol*, *Bothwell*, *Sutherland* and *Cathneſſe*, with the Lords *Flemyn* and *Levingſton*, a force to have reſiſted any ſudden attempt. The King taking the Lord *Ruthven* with him, who was but lately recovered of a Feaver, and followed by four or five men at moſt, entered into the room where the Queen ſate at ſupper. *Ruthven* ſeeing *Davie* at the table, (for the Queen was accuſtomed when ſhe ſupped private to admit others to ſit by her, and that night the Counteſs of *Argile*, and beneath her *Davie* was placed) commanded him to ariſe and come forth, for the place where he ſate did not beſeem him.

The Queen, ſtarting up haſtily, went between *Davie* and *Ruthven* to defend him; and *Davie* claſping his hands about her middle, the King laboured to looſe them, willing her not to be afraid, for that they were come only to take order with that Villain. Then was he dragged down the ſtairs to the gallery where *Morton* with his company was walking. There they fell upon him, and ſtriving who ſhould give the firſt ſtroak, killed him with many wounds.

Damiott a *French* Prieſt willed him to be gone.

It was conſtantly reported that he had warning given him oftner then once by *John Damiott* a *French* Prieſt, who was thought to have ſome skill in Magick, to do his buſineſs and be gone, for that he could not make good his part; and that he anſwered diſdainfully, *The* Scots *are given more to brag then to fight*. Some few dayes again before his death being warned by the ſame Prieſt to take heed of the baſtard, he replied, *That whileſt he lived, he ſhould not have credit in* Scotland *to do him any hurt*. For he took the Earl of *Murray* to be the man of whom he was advertiſed to take heed. But that prediction either fulfilled or eluded, the firſt ſtroak was given him by *George Douglas*, baſe ſon to the Earl of *Angus*; after whom ſuch others as were in place, either ſerving their private malice, or deſiring to be eſteemed aſſociates in that conſpiracy, inflicted every man his wound, till he was diſpatched:

diſpatched: yet had they no commandment from the contrivers ſo to kill him; it being their purpoſe to have brought him to publick execution, which they knew would have been to all the people a moſt grateful ſpectacle. And good it had been for them ſo to have done, or then to have taken him in another place, and at another time, then in the Queen's preſence. For beſides the great peril of Abortion which her fear might have cauſed, the falſe aſperſions caſt upon her fame and honour by that occaſion were ſuch as ſhe could never digeſt, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that afterwards enſued. The Queen burſting forth in many tears, after a great chiding ſhe kept with the Lord *Ruthven*, ſent one of her Maids to enquire what was become of *Davie*; who quickly returning, told that he was killed; having asked her how ſhe knew it, the maid anſwered that ſhe had ſeen him dead. Then the Queen wiping her eyes with her handkerchief, ſaid, *No more Tears; I will think upon a Revenge.* Neither was ſhe ſeen after that any more to lament. *An.* 1565.

The Queen's behaviour after *Davie's* murther.

The rumour of this deed ran ſoon through the Town, whereupon the people did arm, and go to the Palace. But they were pacified by the King, who calling to them from a window, ſhewed that the Queen and he were well, and that they needed not to fear, becauſe that which was done was done by his own commandment. The Noblemen that lodged within the Palace were charged to keep within their Chambers; yet the Lords *Huntley* and *Bothwell* eſcaped the ſame night by a window at the back of the Palace. *Athol* and the reſt had licence to depart the next morning. Upon Tueſday thereafter (for the ſlaughter was committed upon Saturday the ninth of *March*) the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, with thoſe that were exiled in *England*, returned to *Edinburgh*; and going firſt to the Parliament-houſe, took documents, that they were ready to anſwer the ſummons of forfeiture directed againſt them, and that none did inſiſt to purſue.

The exiled Lords return.

In this doubtful eſtate of things the Queen, not knowing whom to truſt, ſent for her brother the Earl of *Murray*, and having conferred familiarly a while with him, by his means had her ſervants and guards reſtored; for after the ſlaughter they were all put from her. The night following ſhe went from the Palace to *Seaton*, and from thence to *Dumbar*, taking the King with her in company; who repenting the fact, and forſaking the other Conſpirators, did openly by ſound of Trumpet at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh* proteſt his innocency, denying that ever he gave his conſent to any thing, but to the returning of the Lords that were baniſhed in *England*. Yet was the contrary known to all men, ſo as this ſerved only to the undoing of his reputation, and made him find few or no friends thereafter to aid him in his neceſſity.

The King proteſteth his innocency.

Upon the Queen's departing the Conſpirators, and whoſoever were thought privie thereto, fled ſome to *England*, others to the borders and High-lands, and ſuch a change you ſhould have ſeen, as they who the night preceding did vant of the fact as a goodly and memorable Act, affirming ſome truly, ſome falſely, that they were preſent thereat, did on the morrow forſwear all that before they had affirmed. The Earl of *Morton*, with the Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindeſay*, and young *Lethington*, remained at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, where the Lord *Ruthven* falling again in the Fever departed this life. Mr. *James Macgill*, Clerk of Regiſter, with divers Citizens of *Edinburgh* that were eſteemed favourers of the fact, left the Town, and lurked privately amongſt their friends. After ſome four days ſtay at *Dumbar* the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with many of the Nobility, and then began Inquiſition to be made for the Murtherers. *Thomas Scot*, Sheriff depute of *Perth*, and ſervant to the Lord *Ruthven*, with Sir *Henry Yair*, ſometimes a Prieſt, being apprehended, were after trial hanged and quartered. *William Harlaw* and *John Mowbray*, Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, convicted and brought to the place of execution, had their lives ſpared by the interceſſion of *Bothwel*. The Lairds of *Calder*, *Ormeſton*, *Halton*, *Elphingſton*, *Brunſton*, *Whittingham*, *Shirrefhall*, and many others being cited, as conſcious of the murther, for not appearing were denounced Rebels. The office of the Clerk Regiſter was conferred upon Sir *James Balfour*, and a concluſion taken in council, that they who ſhould be tried to have either deviſed or to have been actual committers of the ſaid Murther, ſhould be purſued by order of Juſtice, and the ſame

The Conſpirators fly into *England*.

Inquiſition of the Murtherers.

An. 1566. executed with all ſeverity: but that the Commons and others that came to the Palace accidentally, ſhould upon their ſupplication be uſed with more clemency. In all this proceeding there was none more earneſt or forward then the King; notwithſtanding whereof the hatred of the fact lay heavy upon him, nor could he ever after this time recover his former favour with the Queen. The reſt after a little time were reconciled; *Lethington* by the means of *Athol* was firſt called home, albeit *Bothwell* did ſtrongly oppoſe it. The Barons addreſſed for themſelves, by means of their friends that were in credit. *Morton* and *Lindeſay* in the Winter following were pardoned at the requeſt of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argile*.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* made choice of for the Queen her lying in.

Now the time of the Queens lying in drew nigh; whereupon the Council meeting to adviſe upon the place where her Majeſty ſhould ſtay, made choice of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as the part moſt commodious, and ordained the Earl of *Arran*, who was there kept priſoner, to be removed to the Caſtle of *Hamilton*, with a liberty to travel by the ſpace of two miles about, providing he ſhould do nothing to the prejudice of his houſe, and enter himſelf unto 20 days warning in the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbar*, and *Dumbarton*, or any of them; for obſervance whereof the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* became ſureties.

An. 1566. The Queen feaſts the Noblemen.

The Queen at her firſt entry into the Caſtle did feaſt the Nobility, and made them all friends. *Argile*, *Murray* and *Athol* had lodgings aſſigned them within the Caſtle; *Huntley*, *Bothwell*, and others of the Nobility remained in the Town. The 19 of *June*, betwixt nine and ten of the clock in the evening, ſhe was brought to bed of a Son, to the exceeding joy of the ſubjects, for which the Nobles and whole people, aſſembled the next day in the Church of S. *Giles*, gave ſolemn thanks to God. Preſently was Sir *James Melvil* ſent to carry the news to the Queen of *England*, who to congratulate her ſafe and happy delivery ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to *Scotland* by Poſt. The Aſſembly of the Church convened the ſame time in *Edinburgh* ſent the Superintendent of *Lothian* to teſtifie their gladneſs for the Princes birth, and to deſire that he ſhould be baptized according to the form uſed in the Reformed Church. To this laſt ſhe gave no anſwer, otherwiſe the Superintendent and his Commiſſion were very graciouſly accepted. The Queen calling to bring the Infant, that the Superintendent might ſee him, he took him in his Arms, and falling upon his knees conceived a ſhort and pithy prayer, which was very attentively heard by her: having cloſed his prayer, he took the Babe, and willed him to ſay *Amen* for himſelf; which ſhe took in ſo good part, as continually afterwards ſhe called the Superintendent her *Amen*. This ſtory told to the Prince when he came to years of underſtanding, he alwaies called him his *Amen*; and whileſt he lived did reſpect and reverence him as his Spiritual Father.

The Queen delivered of a Son.

Sir *Henry Killigrew* ſent from *England*.

The deſire of the Church for the Baptiſm of the Prince.

The Queen goeth to *Alloway*.

The Queen waxing ſtrong went by water to *Alloway*, a Houſe pertaining to the Earl of *Marre*, and kept private a few days. In that place brake out firſt her diſpleaſure againſt the King her Husband; for he following her thither, was not ſuffered to ſtay, but commanded to be gone; and when at any time after he came to Court, his company was ſo loathſome unto her, as all men perceived ſhe had no pleaſure nor content in it: ſuch a deep indignation had poſſeſſed her mind, becauſe of the diſgrace offered to her in the ſlaughter of her ſervant *Davie*, the envy whereof was all laid upon the King, as ſhe could never digeſt it.

Secretary *Lethington* foſtereth her Majeſties anger againſt the King.

Secretary *Lethington* (who by his ſubtle flatteries was crept again into favour) did wickedly foſter this paſſion, by putting in her head a poſſibility to divorce from the King, which he ſaid was an eaſie work, and a thing that might be done, only by abſtracting the Pope's Diſpenſation of their Marriage, and the Earl *Bothwell* (a man ſold to all wickedneſs) did likewiſe by himſelf and by his inſtruments (of whom Sir *James Balfour* was the chief) take all occaſions to incenſe her, and, by exaggerating the King's ingratitude towards her, wrought her mind to an hatred implacable.

The Queen goeth to *Jedburgh*.

In the beginning of *October* the Queen went to *Jedburgh*, to keep ſome Juſtice Courts, where ſhe fell dangerouſly ſick: the King coming there to viſit her, had no countenance given him, and was forced to depart. At her return from the Borders, being in *Craigmillar*, *Lethington* renewing the purpoſe of Divorce in the hearing of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, did perſuade her to take ſome courſe for her ſepara-

Lethington reneweth the purpoſe of Divorce.

tion

tion from the King, ſeeing they could not live together in *Scotland* with ſecurity. The Queen asking him how that could be done without ſome blemiſh to her honour: he replied, that none would think ill of her part therein, ſhe being ſo ungratefully uſed by him; but that all might know the murther of *Davie* to have been his fact, her Majeſty ſhould do well to pardon the Lords that were fled to *England*, and call them home. Nay, ſaid the Queen, I will rather have matters to continue as they are, till God remedy them. Yet within few days *Morton* and *Lindeſay* were recalled at the intreaty of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, as was touched before. *An.* 1566.

Preparation was then making for the Baptiſm of the Prince, who about the end of *Auguſt* had been tranſported to *Striveling*. To honour this Solemnity the *Counte de Briance* was ſent Ambaſſadour from the *French* King, *Monſieur de Croke* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Earl of *Bedford* from the Queen of *England*, who brought with him a Font of gold weighing two ſtone weight, with a Baſon and Ewer for the Baptiſm. At the day appointed for the Solemnity (which was the fifteenth of *December*) they all convened in the Caſtle of *Striveling*. The Prince was carried by the *French* Ambaſſadour, walking betwixt two ranks of Barons and Gentlemen that ſtood in the way from the Chamber to the Chappel, holding every one a proket of wax in their hands. The Earl of *Athol* went next to the *French* Ambaſſadour, bearing the great ſierge of wax. The Earl of *Eglinton* carried the Salt, the Lord *Semple* the Cude, and the Lord *Roſs* the Baſon and Ewer: all theſe were of the *Roman* profeſſion. In the entry of the Chappel the Prince was received by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, whoſe Collaterals were the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, and *Roſs*: there followed them the Prior of *Whithern*, ſundry Deans and Archdeans, with the Gentlemen of the Chappel, in their ſeveral Habits and Copes. The Counteſs of *Argile* by Commiſſion from the Queen of *England* did hold up the Prince at the Font, where the Archbiſhop did adminiſter the Baptiſm with all Ceremonies accuſtomed in the *Roman* Church, the Spittle excepted, which the Queen did inhibit. The Earl of *Bedford* entered not in the Chappel during the ſervice; and without the doors ſtood all the Noblemen profeſſors of the Reformed Religion. The Rites performed, the Prince was proclaimed by his name and Titles, *CHARLES JAMES, Prince and Stewart of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rotheſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of the Iſles, and Baron of* Renfrew. Then did the Muſick begin, which having continued a good ſpace, the Prince was again conveighed to his chamber. Preparation for the Prince's Baptiſm.

It was night before the Solemnity took end, for it was done in the afternoon. The Feaſting and triumphal Sports that followed were kept ſome daies with exceeding coſt and magnificence; yet the content the people received thereby was nothing ſo great as their offence for the King's neglect; for neither was he admitted to be preſent at the Baptiſm, nor ſuffered to come unto the Feaſt. To ſome his ill diſpoſition was given for an excuſe; others more ſcornfully were told that his faſhioners had not uſed the diligence they ought in preparing his apparel. Meanwhile the Ambaſſadours had a watchword given them, not to ſee nor ſalute him. And ſuch of the Nobility as were known to bear him any favour, or out of their compaſſion did vouchſafe him a viſit, were frowned upon by the Court. His Father advertiſed of theſe things, ſent for him to come unto *Glaſgow*, where he then remained; but ſcarce was he paſt a mile from *Striveling*, when a vehement pain ſeiſed on all the parts of his body, which at his coming to *Glaſgow* was manifeſtly perceived to proceed of poiſon that treacherouſly had been miniſtred unto him: for through all his body brake out bliſters of a blewiſh colour, with ſuch a dolour and vexation in all his parts, as nothing but death was a long time expected. Yet his youth and natural ſtrength vanquiſhing the force of the poiſon, he began a little to convaleſce, and put his enemies to other ſhifts, wherein ſhortly after (but to their own undoing) they prevailed. The King withheld from the Solemnity. The King falleth ſick in the way to *Glaſgow*.

The report of what paſſed at *Striveling* coming to *Edinburgh*, where the Aſſembly of the Church was then gathered, did greatly offend the better ſort; yet nothing grieved them ſo much, as a Commiſſion granted to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, whereby he was reponed to his ancient juriſdiction in confirming Teſtaments, giving The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* reſtored to his priviledges.

An. 1566. ving collation to Benefices, and other ſuch things as were judged in the Spiritual Courts. The Aſſembly taking this greatly to heart, ordained a Supplication to be made to the Nobility and Lords of ſecret Council, *profeſſing Chriſt with them, and who had renounced the Roman Antichriſt,* (I uſe the words of the Superſcription) for impeding the ſaid Commiſſion, & letting it to take effect. In this Supplication they ſaid, "That the cauſes judged in theſe Courts did for the moſt part pertain "to the true Church; and that howſoever, in hope of ſome good effect to have fol- "lowed, the Church had overſeen the Commiſſion granted by the Queen in theſe "matters to men who for the greater number were of their own Profeſſion, they "would never be content that he, whom they knew to be an enemy to Chriſt and "his Truth, ſhould exerce that juriſdiction, ſeeing under the colour thereof he "might uſurp again his own authority, & take upon him the judgement of Hereſie, "in which caſe none could be ignorant what his ſentence could be: wherefore their "deſire was, the Queen ſhould be informed that this was a violation of the Laws of "the Realm, and the ſetting up again of the *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe Authority "and uſurped power in an open and free Parliament had been condemned, which "her Majeſty alſo at her firſt arriving into this Realm, and ſince that time by di- "vers Proclamations, had expreſly forbidden to be acknowledged. Hereof, they "ſaid, if their honours ſhould plainly and boldly admoniſh the Queen, uſing that "reverence which was due from ſubjects, and doing nothing in a tumult, they "did perſuade themſelves ſhe would do nothing againſt Juſtice, and that ſuch "Tyrants ſhould not dare once to appear in Judgement. But howſoever matters "went, they humbly craved to underſtand their minds, and what they would do, "if it ſhould happen ſuch wolfs to invade the flock of Chriſt. This the ſum of the Supplication. I find not what anſwer it received, nor that the Biſhop made any uſe of his Commiſſion; but the change it ſeems which ſhortly after happened in the State did quite fruſtrate the ſame.

The Churches complaint for the ſame.

Maſter *Knox* goeth into *England.*

Maſter *Knox* being licenced at this time to viſit his ſons who were following their ſtudies at *Cambridge,* did move the Aſſembly to write unto the Biſhops of *England* in favour of ſome Preachers, who were troubled for not conforming themſelves to the Orders of that Church. Becauſe it will appear by the Letter in what eſteem our Reformers did hold the Church of *England,* and how far they were from accounting the Government thereof Antichriſtian, I thought meet to inſert the ſame word by word.

A Letter from the Aſſembly of the Church to the Biſhops of *England.*

The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, *to their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, *who have renounced the* Roman *Antichriſt, and do profeſs with them the Lord* Jeſus *in ſincerity, wiſh the increaſe of the holy Spirit.*

"BY word and writing it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Paſtors, that "divers of our brethren (amongſt whom ſome be of the beſt learned with- "in that Realm) are deprived from all Eccleſiaſtical function, and forbid- "den to preach, and ſo by you are ſtayed to promove the Kingdom of *Jeſus* "Chriſt, becauſe their Conſcience will not ſuffer them to take upon them at the "commandment of the Authority ſuch Garments as Idolaters in time of blindneſs "have uſed in their idolatrous ſervice; which rumour cannot but be moſt dolorous "to our hearts, conſidering the ſentence of the Apoſtle, *If ye bite and devour one "another, take heed ye be not conſumed one of another.* We purpoſe not at the preſent "to enter into the Queſtion, which we hear is agitated with greater vehemency by "either party then well liketh us, to wit, whether ſuch apparel is to be accounted "amongſt things indifferent or not: But in the bowels of *Jeſus* Chriſt we "crave, that Chriſtian charity may ſo far prevail with you, that are the Paſtors and "guides of Chriſt's Flock in that Realm, as ye do not to others that which ye "would not others did unto you.

"Ye

"Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing Conſcience is, and all that have *An.* 1566.
"knowledge are not alike perſuaded: your Conſcience ſtirs not with the wea-
"ring of ſuch things, but many thouſands both godly and learned are otherwiſe
"perſuaded, whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtricken with theſe ſentences;
"*What hath Chriſt to do with* Belial? *what fellowſhip is there betwixt light and darkneſs?* If
"Surplice, Corner-cap and Tippet have been the badges of Idolaters in the very
"act of their Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Chriſtian liberty and the rebu-
"kers of Superſtition to do with the dregs of that *Roman* Beaſt? yea, what is he
"that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand or forehead the print and mark
"of that odious Beaſt?

"Our brethren that refuſe ſuch unprofitable apparel do neither damn nor mo-
"leſt you who uſe ſuch vain trifles: if ye ſhall do the like to them, we doubt not
"therein you ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are woun-
"ded with the extremity uſed againſt thoſe godly brethren. Colour of Rhetorick
"or humane perſuaſion we uſe none, but charitably we deſire you to call to mind
"the ſentence of S. *Peter, Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your charge, ca-*
"*ring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as being Lords of God's heritage, but be-*
"*in examples to the Flock.* We farther deſire you to meditate upon that ſentence
"of the Apoſtle, *Give not offence, either to the Jews, or to the Grecians, or to the Church*
"*of God.* In what condition ye and we both travel for the promoving of Chriſt's
"Kingdom, ye are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you
"to deal more wiſely then to trouble the godly with ſuch vanities. For all things
"which ſeem lawful edifie not. If the commandment of the Authority urge the
"Conſciences of you and your brethren farther then they can bear, we pray you re-
"member that ye are called *the Light of the world, and the Salt of the earth.* All Civil
"Authority hath not ever the light of God ſhining before their eyes in their Sta-
"tutes & Commandments, but their affections ſavour too much ſometimes of the
"earth, and of worldly wiſdome. Therefore we think that ye ought boldly op-
"pone your ſelves, not only to all power that dare extol it ſelf againſt God, but al-
"ſo againſt all ſuch as dare burthen the Conſciences of the faithful, farther then
"God hath burthened them in his own Word.

"But we muſt confeſs our offence, in that we have entered in reaſoning far-
"ther then we purpoſed and promiſed in the beginning: Now therefore we return
"to our former humble ſupplication, which is, that our brethren who amongſt you
"refuſe theſe *Romiſh* rags may find of you, who are Prelates, ſuch favour, as our
"Head and Maſter commandeth every one of his members to ſhew to another:
"which we look to receive from your humanity, not only becauſe ye will not of-
"fend God's Majeſty in troubling of your brethren for ſuch vain trifles, but alſo
"becauſe ye will not refuſe the humble requeſt of us your brethren and fellow-
"Preachers; in whom albeit there appear no worldly Pomp, yet we ſuppoſe ye
"will not ſo far deſpiſe us, but that ye will eſteem us in the number of thoſe that
"fight againſt the *Roman* Antichriſt, and travel that the Kingdom of *Jeſus* Chriſt
"may be every where advanced. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and cha-
"rity (alas!) is waxed cold: therefore ought we to watch the more diligent-
"ly, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear; before whom ye,
"your brethren and we muſt give an account of our adminiſtration. And thus in
"concluſion we once again crave favour to our brethren; which granted, ye ſhall
"command us in the Lord things of double more importance. The Lord *Jeſus*
"rule your hearts in his true fear unto the end, and give unto you and us victory
"over that conjured enemy of all true Religion, the *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe woun-
"ded head Satan by all means laboureth to cure again; but to deſtruction ſhall he
"and all his maintainers go by the power of our Lord *Jeſus*, to whoſe mighty pro-
"tection we heartily commit you. From our General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh* the
"twenty ſeventh of *December*, 1566.

To quiet the Miniſters, who were daily complaining of their lack of proviſion, the Court made offer to the ſame Aſſembly of certain Aſſignations for their preſent relief; which were accepted under proteſtation, that the ſame ſhould not prejudge

Aſſignation of Miniſters Stipends.

An. 1566. judge their right to the Tithes, nor be accompted as a ſatisfaction for the ſame. For theſe they held to be the proper Patrimony of the Church, and ſo juſtly belonging thereto, as that they ought not to be paid to any others, under whatſoever colour or pretext. But this proteſtation availed not, only it ſheweth what was the judgement of the Church in that time concerning Tithes.

The Queen viſiteth the King at *Glaſgow.*

The Queen in *January* following went to viſit the King, who lay ſick at *Glaſgow.* After ſome complainings he made of her unkindneſs, and a little chiding they kept for diſcontents paſſed, they did ſo lovingly reconcile, as the King, though he was not as yet fully recovered, was content to be tranſported to *Edinburgh*, and had a lodging prepared in a remote place of the Town, for his greater quiet, as was pretended. But he had not ſtayed there a fortnight, when *Bothwell*, having conſpired his murther, did come upon him in the night, as he lay aſleep, and ſtrangled him with one of his cubiculars that lay in the chamber by him. The Murther committed, the two Corpſes were carried forth at a gate in the Town wall, and laid in an Orchard near by, and thereafter the houſe blown up with powder; the noiſe whereof did awake thoſe that were ſleeping in the fartheſt parts of the Town. The Queen, not gone as yet unto her reſt, convened the Noblemen that lodged within the Palace, and by their advice ſent *Bothwell* with ſome others to enquire what the matter was, (for he was returned to his Chamber before the blowing up of the houſe, having left ſome to fire the train when he was paſt and gone away.) Many of all ſorts did accompany him to the place, where finding the body of the King naked, only the upper part covered with his ſhirt, the reſt of his apparel and even his pantofles near by him, each one making a ſeveral conjecture, *Bothwell* would have it believed, that the violence of the powder had carried his body forth at the roof of the houſe unto that place: but this was againſt all ſenſe, for not a bone of his whole body was either broken or bruiſed, which muſt needs have been after ſuch a violent fall. Nor could it be perceived that either the corps or garments were once touched with the powder. So it was manifeſt that his body and all were laid there by the hands of men. *Bothwell* returning, ſhewed the Queen what a ſtrange thing had happened, admired how it could be, and who they were committed the Murther. She hearing it, retired to a private room, and went preſently to bed.

He cometh to *Edinburgh*, and there is murthered by *Bothwell.*

A rumour diſperſed by *Bothwell* that *Murray* and *Morton* had murthered the King.

Now he had provided ſome to carry the news unto the Borders, and to give out that the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton* were the chief contrivers of the Murther: which rumour went currant in *England* for a while. Yet ere a long time paſſed all was laid open, and he known to have been the principal actor himſelf. Proclamations were made promiſing large ſums of money to thoſe that would detect the Murtherers: whereunto the next night by a Placard affixed on the Market-Croſs anſwer was made, *That if the money ſhould be conſigned in the hands of an indifferent perſon, the Murtherers ſhould be revealed, and the delator ſet to his name, and juſtifie his accuſation.* No notice being taken of this offer, voices were heard in the dark of the night, crying, that *Bothwell* had murthered the King: ſome drawing his pourtraict to the life, ſet above it this ſuperſcription, *Here is the Murtherer of the King*, & threw the ſame into the ſtreets. And there were ſome that in all the publick places of the Town affixed the names of the Murtherers, the principal as well as the acceſſaries. For the principal they named *Bothwell*; as acceſſaries, Sir *James Balfour*, and *Gilbert Balfour* his brother, Mr. *David Chalmours* Black, Mr. *John Spence*, *Seigneur Francis Sebaſtian*, *John de Burdeaux*, and *Joſeph* the brother of *Davie*; which laſt four were of the Queens houſhold. Theſe things did ſo offend the Court, as neglecting the trial of the Murther, they fell to the drawers of theſe Pourtraicts and the authors of the Libels. All the Painters and Writers were called for dignoſcing the letters and draughts: when nothing could be tried, to provide for afterwards againſt the like, by a new Edict it was made capital to diſperſe Libels for defaming any perſon in that ſort, and to have, keep or read any ſuch that ſhould happen to be affixed, or caſt into the ſtreets.

The names of the Murtherers caſt forth in the ſtreet.

The Earl of *Lenox* ſolicireth the Queen to take trial of the Murther.

The Earl of *Lenox*, whileſt theſe things were adoing, ceaſed not to ſolicit the Queen by his Letters for taking trial of the Murther, without delaying the ſame unto the time of Parliament, as ſhe had purpoſed. Particularly he deſired the Earl

of

of *Bothwell*, and others named in the Libels and Placard affixed on the door of the Senate-houſe, to be apprehended, and the Nobility aſſembled for their examination. *Bothwell*, perceiving that he was now openly attached, did offer hemſelf to trial, for which the 12 of *April* was aſſigned, and the Earl of *Lenox* cited by the Juſtice to purſue according to the delation he had made. In the mean time to fortifie himſelf, he got the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* in his cuſtody, upon the Earl of *Marre* his reſignation, placing therein Sir *James Balfour*, whom he eſpecially truſted. The Earl of *Marre* for his ſatisfaction had the Prince delivered in his keeping, and carried unto *Striveling*, where the Earl then lay heavily ſick. *An.* 1567.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to *Bothwell*, and the Prince delivered to the Earl of *Marre*.

The Diet appointed for the Trial being come, and the Court fenced as uſe is, *Bothwell* was empannelled. The Earl of *Lenox* being called, compeired *Robert Cuningham*, one of his domeſticks, who preſented in writing the Proteſtation following. *My Lords, I am come hither ſent by my Maſter, my Lord of* Lenox *to declare the cauſe of his abſence this day, and with his power, as my Commiſſion beareth. The cauſe of his abſence is the ſhortneſs of time, and that he could not have his friends and ſervants to accompany him to his honour, and for the ſecurity of life, as was needfull in reſpect of the greatneſs of his party. Therefore his Lordſhip hath commanded me to deſire a competent day, ſuch as he may keep, and the weight of the cauſe requireth; otherwiſe, if your Lordſhips will proceed at this preſent, I proteſt, that I may uſe the charge committed to me by my Lord my Maſter, without the offence of any man. This is, that if the perſons who paſs upon the Aſſiſe and enqueſt of theſe that are entered on pannel this day ſhall cleanſe the ſaid perſons of the Murther of the King, that it ſhall be wilful errour, and not ignorance, by reaſon it is notoriouſly known that theſe perſons did commit that odious Murther, as my Lord my Maſter alledgeth. And upon this my Proteſtation, I require an inſtrument.*

Bothwell put to a trial. *Robert Cuningham* proteſteth againſt the proceedings in the name of the Earl of *Lenox*.

The Juſtice by the advice of the Noblemen and Barons appointed to aſſiſt in that judgement did, notwithſtanding the ſaid Proteſtation, grant proceſs, whereupon the Noblemen choſen for the Jury were called. Theſe were *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*, *George* Earl of *Cathnes*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Caſſils*, Lord *John Hamilton* Commendator of *Aberbrothock*, *James* Lord *Roſs*, *Robert* Lord *Semple*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *John* Lord *Hereis*, *Laurence* Lord *Oliphant*, *John* Maſter of *Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Langton*, *Cambuſnetham*, *Barnbowgall*, and *Boyne*. The Earl of *Caſſills* excuſed himſelf, offering the penalty which by the Law they pay that refuſe to paſs upon Aſſiſe, but could not obtain himſelf freed, the Queen threatning to commit him in priſon; and when he ſeemed nothing terrified therewith, commanding him under pain of Treaſon to enter and give his Judgement with the reſt. Thus were they all ſworn and admitted, as the manner is: After which *Bothwell* being charged with the Inditement, and the ſame denied by him, they removed forth of the Court to conſult together; and after a little time returning, by the mouth of the Earl of *Cathnes* their Chancellour, declared him acquit of the Murther of the King, and of all the points contained in the Inditement, with a proteſtation, *That ſeeing neither her Majeſties Advocate had inſiſted in the purſuit, nor did* Robert Cuningham, *Commiſſioner for the Earl of* Lenox, *bring any evidence of* Bothwell's *guiltineſs, neither yet was the Inditement ſworn by any perſon, and that they had pronounced according to their knowledge, it ſhould not be imputed to them as wilful errour which they had delivered.* Mr. *David Borthwick* and Mr. *Edmund Hay*, who in the entry of the Court were admitted as his Prolocutors, ask'd Inſtruments upon the Jury's declaration: ſo he went from that Court abſolved, yet the ſuſpicions of the people were nothing diminiſhed. And ſome indeed were of opinion, that the Judges could give no other deliverance, nor find him guilty of the Inditement as they had formed it; ſeeing he was accuſed of a Murther committed on the 9 day of *February*, whereas the King was ſlain upon the 10 of that moneth. But he for a farther clearing of himſelf ſet up a paper in the moſt conſpicuous place of the Market, bearing, That albeit he had been acquitted in a lawful Juſtice-court of that odious crime laid unto his charge; yet to make his Innocency the more manifeſt, he was ready to give trial of the ſame in ſingle combat with any man of honourable birth and quality that would accuſe him of the Murther of the King. The next day in the ſame place, by

The perſons choſen upon the Jury.

Bothwell acquitted with a proteſtation of the Jury.

Bothwell offereth to try his Innocency by combat.

An. 1567. by another writing, anſwer was made, that the Combat ſhould be accepted, ſo as a place were deſigned wherein without danger the undertaker might profeſs his name.

The offer accepted upon ſecurity of the place.

The 13 of *April* a Parliament was kept for reſtoring the Earl of *Huntley* & others to their eſtates and honours, which was not as yet done with the ſolemnity requiſite. In this Parliament the Commiſſioners of the Church made great inſtance for ratifying the Acts concluded in favour of the true Religion, yet nothing was obtained; the Queen anſwering, that the Parliament was called for that only buſineſs, and that they ſhould have ſatisfaction given them at ſome other time. The Parliament being broke up, *Bothwell* inviting the Noblemen to ſupper did liberally feaſt them; and after many thanks for their kindneſs, fell in ſome ſpeeches for the Queens marriage, ſhewing the hopes he had to compaſs it, ſo as he might obtain their conſents. Some few to whom he had imparted the buſineſs before-hand made offer of their fartherance; the reſt fearing to refuſe, and ſuſpecting one another, ſet all their hands to a Bond, which he had ready formed to that purpoſe.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

Bothwell ſeeketh the conſent of the Lords to the Queens Marriage.

A few days after, feigning an expedition into *Liddiſdale*, he gathered ſome forces, and meeting the Queen on the way as he returned from *Striveling*, whither ſhe had gone to viſit her Son, he took her by way of rape and led her to the Caſtle of *Dumbar*. No men doubted but this was done by her own liking and conſent; yet a number of Nobleman convening at *Striveling*, leſt they ſhould ſeem deficient in any ſort of their duties, ſent to ask whether or not ſhe was there willingly detained: for if ſhe was kept againſt her will, they would come with an Army and ſet her at liberty. She anſwered, *That it was againſt her will that ſhe was brought thither, but that ſince her coming ſhe had been uſed ſo courteouſly, as ſhe would not remember any more that injury.*

He raviſheth the Queen in her return from *Striveling*.

Now this Rape (as afterwards came to be known) was deviſed to ſecure the Murtherers of the King. For it being held ſufficient by a cuſtome commonly received, that in remiſſions granted for crimes committed, the moſt hainous fact being particularly expreſſed, others of leſs moment might be comprehended in general words, they were adviſed to paſs a remiſſion for violence offered to the Queen, and the laying of hands upon her perſon, then to ſubjoyn, [*And for all other crimes and nefarious acts whatſoever:*] under which clauſe they eſteemed the Murther of the King might be compriſed, which otherwiſe was neither ſafe for them to expreſs, nor could the Queen with her honour pardon. Thus did they think both that *Bothwell* himſelf ſhould be ſecured, and ſafety to all his partakers in the Murther.

His deſign in committing this Rape.

Whileſt the Queen was detained at *Dumbar*, a divorce was ſued for *Bothwell* from Lady *Jeane Gordon* his Wife in two ſeveral Courts. In the one ſate, by Commiſſion from the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, Mr. *Archibald Crawford* Parſon of *Egilſham*, Mr. *John Manderſtor* Canon of the College Church of *Dumbar*, Mr. *Alexander Chrichton* and Mr. *George Cooke*, Canons of the Church of *Dunkeld*; In the other Court Mr. *Robert Martland*, Mr. *Edward Henryſon*, Mr. *Alexander Sim*, and Mr. *Clement Little*, Judges conſtitute by the Queens authority in all cauſes Conſiſtorial: and in both Courts was the ſentence of Divorce pronounced, but upon divers grounds. In the Archbiſhop's Court ſentence was pronounced upon the Conſanguinity ſtanding betwixt *Bothwell* and his Wife at the time of her Marriage, they mutually attinging others in the fourth degree, and no diſpenſation granted by the Pope for conſummating the ſame. In the other Court the ſentence was grounded upon Adultery committed by him, which theſe Judges held to be the only lawful cauſe of divorce. Both the proceſſes were poſted, and ſuch feſtination made in them, as in the ſpace of ten days they were begun and concluded.

Bothwell his divoree from his wife.

The Divorce paſſed, the Queen came to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the next morning *Bothwell* ſent to ask his Banes with the Queen. The Reader *John Cairnes*, whoſe office it was, did ſimply refuſe; thereupon Mr. *Thomas Hepburn* was directed to the Miniſter Mr. *John Craig*, to deſire him to publiſh the ſame. The Miniſter likewiſe refuſing, as having no warrant from the Queen, and for that the rumour went that ſhe was raviſhed and kept captive by *Bothwell*, upon wedneſday thereafter

The Queen cometh to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

ter the Juſtice Clerk came unto him with a Letter ſigned by the Queen, wherein ſhe declared that ſhe was neither raviſhed nor detained captive, and therefore willed him to publiſh the Banes. His anſwer was, *that he could ask no Banes, eſpecially ſuch as theſe were, without the knowledge and conſent of the Church.* The matter being motioned in the Seſſion of the Church, after much reaſoning kept with the Juſtice Clerk, it was concluded that the three next preaching days the Queen's mind ſhould be intimated to the people. *An.* 1567.

The Banes of *Bothwell* with the Queen asked.

The Miniſter proteſted, *that in obeying their deſire it ſhould be lawful to him to declare his own mind touching the Marriage, and that he ſhould not be tied by that asking of their Banes to ſolemnize the ſame.* The firſt preaching day falling to be Friday, in the hearing of divers Noblemen, and Counſellors he ſhewed what he was enjoyned to do; *That he held the Marriage betwixt the Queen and* Bothwell *unlawful, whereof he would give the reaſons to the parties themſelves, if he might have hearing: and if this was denied,* he ſaid, *that he would either ceaſe from proclaiming their Banes, or declare the cauſe of his diſallowance in the hearing of all the people.*

Mr. *John Craig* proteſted.

The ſame day at after-noon being called before the Council, and required by *Bothwell* to ſhew what reaſon he had to oppoſe his Marriage, he anſwered, *Firſt, that the Church had in the laſt Aſſembly inhibited the Marriage of perſons divorced for Adultery.* Next he alledged *the Divorce from his Wife to have proceeded upon colluſion betwixt them, which appeared,* as he ſaid, *by the precipitation of that ſentence, and the Contract made ſo ſuddenly after his Divorce with the Queen.* Thirdly, he laid to his charge *the Rape of the Queen, and the ſuſpicion of the King's Murther, which that Marriage would confirm.* For theſe reaſons he moſt gravely admoniſhed him *to ſurceaſe and leave that courſe, as he would eſchew the wrath and indignation of Almighty God.* He deſired alſo the Lords preſent to advertiſe the Queen of the infamy and diſhonour that would fall upon her by that Match, and to uſe their beſt means to divert her from it.

Mr. *Craig* called before the Council with the reaſons of his oppoſition.

The Sunday following publickly he declared what he had ſpoken in Council, and that it ſeemed to him they would proceed in the Marriage, what miſchief ſoever ſhould enſue. *For himſelf,* he ſaid, *that he had already liberated his Conſcience, and yet again would take Heaven and earth to record, that he abhorred and deteſted that Marriage as ſcandalous and hateful in the ſight of the world. But ſeeing the great ones, as he perceived, did approve it, either by their flattery or by their ſilence, he would beſeech the faithful to pray fervently unto God, that he might be pleaſed to turn that which they intended, againſt Law, Reaſon and good Conſcience, to the comfort and benefit of the Church and Realm.* Theſe ſpeeches offended the Court extremely; therefore they ſummoned him to anſwer before the Council, for paſſing the bounds of his Commiſſion. *For the bounds,* ſaid he, *of my Commiſſion, they are the Word of God, good Laws, and natural Reaſon; and by all three I will make good that this Marriage, if it proceed, will be hateful and ſcandalous to all that ſhall hear of it.* As he was proceeding in his diſcourſe, *Bothwell* commanded him ſilence, and thus was he dimitted.

His publication thereof to the people.

Nottheleſs of this oppoſition the Marriage went on, and was celebrated the 15 of *May* by *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, after the manner of the Reformed Church. Few of the Nobility were preſent, (for the greater part did retire themſelves to their houſes in the Countrey) and ſuch as remained were noted to carry heavy countenances. *Monſieur le Crock* the Ambaſſadour, being deſired to the Feaſt, excuſed himſelf, thinking it did not ſort with the dignity of his Legation to approve the Marriage by his preſence which he heard was ſo univerſally hated. His Maſter the *French* King, as likewiſe the Queen of *England*, had ſeriouſly diſſuaded the Queen from the ſame by their Letters: but ſhe, led by the violence of paſſion, and abuſed by the treacherous counſel of ſome about her, who ſought only their own ends, would hearken to no advice given her to the contrary. Yet was it no ſooner finiſhed then the ill fruits thereof began to break out: for the wonted acclamations and good wiſhes of the people were no more heard when ſhe came in publick; and divers that had ſet their hands and ſeals to the Marriage, fell now openly to condemn it, as that which miniſtred too juſt a ſuſpicion that ſhe was conſenting to the death of the King her Husband.

The Marriage of the Queen with *Bothwell* celebrated.

The

An. 1567. The Earl of *Athol* immediately after the Murther of the King had forſaken the Court, and lived at home, waiting ſome occaſion to be revenged of the doers; and now eſteeming it fit to ſhew himſelf, he came to *Striveling*, where, in a meeting of Noblemen that were deſired to come thither, upon his motion a Bond was made for the preſervation of the young Prince, leſt *Bothwell* getting him in cuſtody, ſhould make him away; as no man doubted he would, as well to advance his own Succeſſion, as to cut off the innocent childe, who in all probability would one day revenge his Father's death.

The Noblemens bond for preſervation of the young Prince.

The principals of this Combination were the Earls of *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Boyd*. But *Argile* out of a facility (which was natural unto him) detected all their counſels to the Queen; and the Lord *Boyd* with great promiſes was won to the adverſe party. *Bothwell* ſuſpecting ſome Inſurrection, adviſed the Queen, for ſaving her Reputation in forein parts, to acquaint the *French* King and her kinſmen of the Houſe of *Guiſe* with her Marriage, and the reaſons thereof, deſiring them, ſith that which was done could not be again undone, to favour her Husband no leſs then they did her ſelf. And to this effect the Biſhop of *Dumblane* was ſent into *France*, with Letters to all her friends.

The Biſhop of *Dumblane* ſent to *France*.

Neither did he omit to do at home what he thought might ſerve to fortifie himſelf; for divers Noblemen and Barons were invited to Court, and at their coming ſolicited to enter into Bond for the defence of the Queen and *Bothwell*, who ſhould on the other part be obliged to protect them in all their affairs. Some of theſe being wrought to the purpoſe did ſet their hands willingly to the Bond: the reſt, though they would gladly have ſhunned it, yet becauſe they held it dangerous to refuſe, ſubſcribed in like ſort. Only the Earl of *Murray*, of all that were called, denied *to enter in any Bond with the Queen*; it being *neither lawful for him*, as he ſaid, *nor honourable for her, whom in all things it was his duty to obey*. Concerning *Bothwell*, he ſaid, that *he was reconciled unto him by the Queen's mediation, and would faithfully keep all that he had promiſed: but to enter in Bond with him or any other, he did not think it the part of a good ſubject*. Shortly after this he obtained leave, howbeit not without ſome difficulty, to go into *France*; for he ſaw Troubles breeding, in which he loved not to have an hand.

Noblemen ſolicited to enter into Bond with the Queen and *Bothwell*.

The Earl of *Murray* refuſed, and is licenſed to go into *France*.

The Queen maketh choice of a Council.

How ſoon he was gone choice was made of a new Council, and the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, with the Lords *Oliphant* and *Boyd*, received into the number: for their better and more eaſie attendance, they had their times of waiting particularly aſſigned.

The order of their attendance.

The Earls of *Crawford*, *Arroll* and *Caſſils*, with the Biſhop of *Roſs* and the Lord *Oliphant*, were appointed to begin, and attend from the 1 of *June* to the 16 of *July*. The Earls of *Morton* and *Rothes*, with the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Fleming*, were to ſucceed, and remain from the 16 of *July* to the penult of *Auguſt*. After them the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Cathnes*, with the Lord *Hereis*, to the 15 of *October*. And from that day to the 1 of *December*, the Earl of *Huntley*, (who was then created Chancellour) the Earls of *Athol*, *Marſhall*, and Lord *Boyd* were appointed to wait. At which time *Crawford* and *Arroll* were again to begin, and the reſt to follow in their order for the ſame ſpace. So as during the whole year the Counſellours ſhould be tied to the attendance of 3 moneths only. It was alwaies provided, that ſo many of the forenamed perſons as happened to be at Court ſhould, during their abode, notwithſtanding of their ſeveral aſſignments, be preſent with the others; and that it ſhould be lawful for the Queen to adjoyn at any time ſuch as ſhe thought worthy of that honour. The ſame day a Proclamation was given out, *Declaring all Writings purchaſed from the Queen for permitting Papiſts to uſe the exerciſe of their Religion to make no faith, her Majeſty being no way minded to violate the Act made at her firſt arrival, and often ſince that time renewed in favours of the true Religion*. But this did not repreſs the murmurs of the people, for which it was ſpecially intended.

A Proclamation to accompany the Queen to the borders.

Wherefore ſome few days after the Queen by *Bothwel*'s perſuaſion taking purpoſe to viſit the Borders, and having charged the ſubjects to accompany her thither with

with a proviſion for 15 days, according to the cuſtome, it was publickly rumored that theſe forces were gathering for ſome other buſineſs, and that the intention was, to have the Prince her Son in her own cuſtody, and taken out of the Earl of *Marre* his hands. So as a new Declaration came forth, "To certify the people of "her good affection, and that ſhe never meaned to make any Novations in the "Kingdom by altering the Laws thereof, nor do any thing in the publick affairs, "but by the advice of the Noblemen of her Council. And for her Son, as ſhe "had truſted him to ſuch a Governor as other Princes in former times were "cuſtomed to have, ſo her Motherly care for his ſafety and good education ſhould "be made apparent to all. But no regard was had to theſe Declarations, and the Noblemen who had combined themſelvs at *Striveling* taking Armes, and being aſſiſted by the Lord *Home*, environed on the ſuddain the Caſtle of *Borthwick*, wherein the Queen and *Bothwel* were then remaining: yet their Companies not ſufficing to incloſe the Houſe, (for *Athol* did not keep the Diet) *Bothwel* firſt eſcaped, and after him the Queen diſguiſed in mans apparel fled to *Dumbar*,

An. 1567.

The Caſtle of *Borthwicken.* vironed.

The Queen & *Bothwell* eſcape.

The Lords upon their eſcape retired to *Edinburgh*, where they expected the reſt of their forces would meet. There lay in the town at that time by the Queens direction, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Boyd*. How ſoon they heard of the Lords coming, they went to the Street, offering themſelves to conduct the people, and to aſſiſt them in the defence of the Town; but they found few or none willing to joyn with them, and the peoples affections wholly inclining to the Lords. The Magiſtrates gave order to ſhut the Gates, but no farther reſiſtance was made; ſo as the Lords entering by the Gate called S. *Mary Port*, which was eaſily broke up, they made themſelves Maſters of the Town. *Huntley* and the reſt taking their refuge to the Caſtle, were received by the Keeper, (Sir *James Balfour*, a man much truſted by *Bothwel*) though at the ſame time he was treating with the Lords for delivering the Caſtle into their hands.

The Lords retire to *Edinburgh*.

The next day, being the 12 of *June*, the Lords gave out a Proclamation, wherein they declared, "That the Earl of *Bothwell* having put violent hands in the "Queens perſon, warded her Highneſs in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and retaining her "in his power, had ſeduced her, being deſtitute of all counſel, to an unhoneſt "and unlawful Marriage with himſelf, who was known to have been the principal "author, deviſer and actor in the cruel Murther committed upon the late King's "perſon; and that he was dayly gathering forces, and ſtrengthening himſelf by "all means, of purpoſe, as appeared, to get in his hands the young Prince, that he "might murther him in the like ſort as he had done his Father: which the No-"bility of the Realm had reſolved to withſtand, and to diliver the Queen out of "his bondage. Therefore did they charge all and ſundry the Lieges within the "Kingdom to be in readineſs upon three hours warning, to aſſiſt the ſaid Noble-"men for delivering the Queen from captivity, and bringing the ſaid Earl and "his Complices to underly the tryal and puniſhment of Law for the foreſaid "Murther. Commanding all ſuch as will not joyn with the ſaid Noblemen, to "depart forth of the Town of *Edinburgh* within four hours after the publication "made, under the pain to be reputed as enemies, &c.

A Proclamation given out by the Lords.

But the Queen having eſcaped, as we ſhewed, there reſorted to her from all quarters numbers of people, ſo as within few hours ſhe had an Army about her of 4000 men and above, a force ſufficient to oppoſe the enterpriſers. The Lords, on the other ſide, were caſt into many difficulties; for the heat of the common ſort of people being quickly cooled, as ordinarily it happeneth, and the greater part of the Nobility being either enemies, or behaving themſelves as Neuters, few of them came to offer their aſſiſtance: yea had they been never ſo many, lacking munition & other neceſſary proviſions for the beſieging of Forts, they ſaw no way to attain to their purpoſe: whereupon they began to think upon diſſolving their forces and quitting the enterpriſe, at leaſt for that time. But the reſolution which the Queen took altered their counſels, and gave them the opportunity they wiſhed for. She partly confiding in her power and numbers, and partly animated by a ſort of flatterers,

The Queen gathereth forces.

Difficulties amongſt the Lords.

An. 1567. who made her believe that the Lords would flee upon the firſt bruit of her coming, reſolved to march with her Army to *Leith:* whereas nothing had been ſo much to her advantage as a little protracting of time; for had ſhe remained three days longer at *Dumbar*, the Lords without all peradventure had retired every one to his home. But where mutations are deſtined, the worſt counſels ſeem ever the beſt, and are moſt readily embraced.

The Queen giveth them the opportunity they wiſhed for.

The Proclamation of *Glaidſmoore.*

Being advanced ſo far as *Glaidſmoore*, (where ſhe cauſed muſter her forces) a Proclamation was made, bearing, *That a number of Conſpirators having diſcovered their latent malice born to her and the Duke of* Orkney *her Husband, after they had failed in apprehending their perſons at* Borthwick, *had made a ſeditious Proclamation, to make people believe that they did ſeek the revenge of the Murther of the King her late Huſband, and the relieving of her ſelf out of bondage and captivity, pretending that the Duke her Husband was minded to invade the Prince her Son; all which were falſe, and forged inventions, none having better cauſe to revenge the King's death then her ſelf, if ſhe could know the authors thereof. And for the Duke her preſent Husband, he had uſed all means to clear his Innocency, the ordinary Juſtice had abſolved him, and the Eſtates of Parliament approved their proceedings, which they themſelves that made the preſent Inſurrection had likewiſe allowed. As alſo he had offered to maintain that quarrel againſt any Gentleman on earth undefamed, then which nothing more could be required. And as to her alledged Captivity, the contrary was known to the whole ſubjects, her marriage with him being publickly contracted, and ſolemnized with their own conſents, as their hand-writs could teſtifie. Albeit to give their Treaſon a fair ſhew, they made now a buckler of the Prince her Son, being an Infant, and in their hands; whereas their intention only was to overthrow her and her poſterity, that they might rule all things at their pleaſure and without controlment. Seeing therefore no wilfulneſs nor particularity, by very neceſſity had forced her to take Arms for defence of her life, as her hope was to have the aſſiſtance of all her faithful ſubjects againſt thoſe unnatural Rebels, ſo ſhe doubted not but ſuch as were already aſſembled, would with good hearts ſtand to her defence, conſidering eſpecially the goodneſs of her cauſe, promiſing them in recompence of their valorous ſervice the lands and poſſeſſions of the Rebels, which ſhould be diſtributed according to the merit of every man.*

The Lords caſt themſelves in the Queens way.

This proclaimed, the Army did ſet forward, the Queen lodging that night in *Seaton:* a little before midnight word was brought to *Edinburgh* of the Queen's approach, who without long ſuſpence made to their Armour. And at Sun-riſing, putting themſelves in order, they marched directly to *Muſſilburgh*, a Village two miles diſtant from *Preſton:* there they refreſhed themſelves with food, and a little reſt; for the Queens Camp was not as yet ſtirring. About the midſt of the day the horſemen who were ſent to obſerve when the Queens Army did advance.

The order of the Lords Army.

brought word that they were marching. The Lords thereupon made haſte, and drawing their Companies forth of the Village, ranged them in two battels. The firſt was conducted by the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home*; the ſecond by the Earls of *Athol*, *Marre*, & *Glencarn*, the Lords *Lindſay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple*, and *Sanghuar*, with the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Tulibardin*, *Selfourd*, *Grange*; & divers others of good ſort were aſſiſting, in number not much inferiour to the Queens Army, and in this ſuperiour, that the moſt part of them were Gentlemen practiſed and of good experience in War. The Queen ſtood with her Army on the top of the hill called

The meeting at *Carberry* hill.

Carberry hill, which the Lords, becauſe of the aſcent wherewith it riſeth, could not come at in a direct courſe, but to their diſadvantage; wherefore they inclined a little to the right hand, both to find a more plain way, and to get the Sun in their backs, when they ſhould come unto the fight. This deceived the Queen, who ſuppoſed they were flying towards *Dalkeith*, a little Village pertaining to the Earl of *Morton*; but when they were paſt the ſtraight of the hill, and that ſhe ſaw them making directly to the place where ſhe with her Army ſtood, ſhe perceived her errour.

The *French* Ambaſſador laboureth to compoſe matters.

The *French* Ambaſſadour, ſeeing them ready to joyn, interpoſed himſelf, and coming to the Lords, deſired that matters might be compoſed without bloudſhed, for the good of both parties; ſaying, that he found the Queen peaceably inclined, and diſpoſed both to forgive the Inſurrection they had now made, and to forget all by-paſt offences. The Earl of *Morton* replied, *That they had taken Arms,*

not

not againſt the Queen, but againſt the Murtherer of the King, whom if ſhe would deliver to be puniſhed, or then put him from her company, ſhe ſhould find nothing more deſired of them and all other ſubjects, then to continue in their dutiful obedience towards her; otherwiſe no Peace could be made: Neither are we come, ſaid he, *to ask pardon for any offence that we have done, but rather to give pardon to thoſe that have offended.* The Ambaſſador perceiving this to be their reſolution, and judging it reaſonable which they required, but not like to be obtained, took his leave and departed to *Edinburgh.* An. 1567.

During the Treaty of the *French* Ambaſſador, the Queen's Army keeping within the trenches that the *Engliſh* of old had made, *Bothwell* advanced himſelf upon a ſtrong and luſty horſe, appealing any one of the adverſe party to ſingle combat. *James Murray*, brother to *Tulibardie*, (he that before had offered himſelf to fight, but ſuppreſſed his name, as we ſhewed) made anſwer that he would accept the Challenge. *Bothwell* refuſing to hazard with him, as not being his equal in honor and eſtate, *William Murray* his eldeſt brother made offer to take his place, ſaying, that in wealth he was not inferior to *Bothwell*, and for antiquity of his Houſe, and honeſty of reputation he eſteemed himſelf more then his equal; yet he likewiſe was refuſed, as being a Knight only, and of a lower degree. Divers Noblemen did thereupon offer themſelves; the Lord *Lindeſay* eſpecially ſhewed a great forwardneſs, deſiring he might be permitted to try himſelf with *Bothwell*, which he would take as a ſingular honor, and eſteem it as a recompence of all his ſervice done to the State. Here whenas *Bothwell* could not honeſtly ſhift the combat, the Queen interpoſing her Authority did prohibit him to fight. Thereafter taking a view of the Army on horſeback, and incouraging them to battel, ſhe found *Bothwell*'s friends & followers very deſirous to fight; but in the reſt there appeared no ſuch willingneſs: ſome ſaying that the Battel would prove dangerous to the Queen, becauſe howſoever Gentlemen were ready to hazard themſelves, the Commons, who were the greateſt number, ſeemed not to be ſo diſpoſed, nor well affected to the cauſe: others more plainly declaring their minds, ſaid that it were much better that *Bothwell* ſhould defend his own quarrel by combat, then to expoſe the Queen and ſo many Gentlemen to peril. And there were ſome that counſelled to delay the Battel to the next day, for that the *Hamiltons* were ſaid to be coming, who would greatly increaſe her forces.

Bothwell offereth to try the cauſe in Combat.

It is accepted, and the Queen inhibiteth the fight.

The Queen's Army unwilling to fight.

All theſe things the Queen heard impatiently, and burſting forth in many tears, ſaid, they were but Cowards and Traitors. After which, perceiving divers of the Army to ſteal away, ſhe adviſed *Bothwell* to look to his own ſafety, for ſhe could render her ſelf to the Noblemen. Then ſending for *William Kircaldy* of *Grange*, ſhe talked with him a good ſpace, and when ſhe thought *Bothwell* was paſt all danger, went with him to the Lords, unto whom ſhe ſpake on this manner. *My Lords, I am come unto you not out of any fear I had of my life, or yet doubting of the Victory if matters had gone to the worſt; but I abhor the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, eſpecially of thoſe that are my own ſubjects; and will therefore yield unto you, and be ruled hereafter by your counſels, truſting you will reſpect me as your born Princeſs and Queen.* They receiving her with the wonted reverence, anſwered dutifully at firſt; but when ſhe could not be permitted to go unto the *Hamiltons*, (whom ſhe had a deſire to ſee) although ſhe gave her promiſe to return, and ſo found her liberty reſtrained, ſhe waxed angry, and fell a complaining of their ingratitude. They replied nothing, but taking their way towards *Edinburgh*, led her along with them, and kept her that night in *Craigmillar* his lodging, who was then Provoſt of the Town. It was night before they came thither, albeit the day was then at the full length, becauſe of the ſtays ſhe made by the way, either looking for ſome relief by the *Hamiltons*, as many ſuppoſed, or not liking to be gazed on by the multitude, and ſeen in the eſtate of a priſoner. The next day towards the evening ſhe was by the direction of the Noblemen ſent to be kept in the houſe of *Lochlevin*, and conveighed thither by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay*, becauſe *Balfour* had not as yet tranſacted with the Lords upon the delivery of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, though

Bothwell flyeth, and the Queen rendereth her ſelf to the Lords.

The Queen ſent priſoner to *Lochlevin*.

An. 1567. though even then he betrayed the truſt which *Bothwell* had in him. For how ſoon it was known that the Queen was made priſoner, *Bothwell* having ſent one of his ſervants to the Caſtle to bring a little ſilver Cabinet which the Queen had given him, and wherein he reſerved all the Letters ſhe had written unto him at any time, *Balfour* delivered the Cabinet to *Bothwell*'s ſervant, but withal advertiſed the Lords what he carried, and made him to be apprehended. Theſe Letters were afterwards divulged in Print, and adjected to a Libel intituled, *The Detections of the doings of Queen Mary*, penned with great bitterneſs by Mr. *George Buchannan*.

Sir *James Balfour* betrayed his truſt to *Bothwell*.

Some two days after the Queen was committed, the Earl of *Glencarn*, taking with him his domeſticks only, went to the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, and demoliſhed the Altar, breaking the Pictures and defacing all the ornaments within the ſame. The Preachers did commend it as a work of great piety and zeal; but the other Noblemen were not a little diſpleaſed, for that he had done it without direction, and before they had reſolved how to deal with the Queen: neither did matters frame with them according to their expectation, divers of the Nobility, of whoſe aſſiſtence they held themſelves aſſured, lying back, and giving no concurrence; and thoſe that favored the Queen (of which number were the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, and many others who were at the ſame time at *Hamilton*,) profeſſing open enmity, and condemning the action as a crime of the higheſt Treaſon that could be committed. The common people alſo, who a little before ſeemed moſt incenſed, pitying the Queens eſtate, did heavily lament the calamity wherein ſhe was fallen. In this uncertainty of things they reſolved to write unto the Lords convened at *Hamilton*, and intreat their concurrence for re-ordering of the Eſtate, and eſtabliſhing of matters by a common conſent. But neither would they admit the meſſenger, nor receive their Letters, ſo highly did they offend with their proceedings, and ſo confident they were to repair things by their own power.

The Earl of *Glencarn* demoliſheth the Altar.

The Lords write to the Noblemen of the Queen's party.

The Noblemen hereupon made a motion to the Aſſembly of the Church, which was then convened at *Edinburgh*, to deal with thoſe of the other Faction, and perſuade them to a general Meeting for matters of the Church, wherein they hoped ſome good might be done, and all occaſions of civil diſcord removed. The Aſſembly liking well the motion, condeſcended to prorogue their Meeting unto the 20 of *July* next, and in the mean ſeaſon to direct Letters to the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, *Cathnes*, *Rothes*, *Crauford*, and *Menteith*: the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Hereis*, *Cathcart*, *Yeſter*, *Fleming*, *Levingſton*, *Seaton*, *Glammis*, *Ochiltrie*, *Gray*, *Oliphant*, *Methven*, *Innermaith* and *Sommervaile*, and to the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, *Kilwinning*, *Dunfermlin*, St. *Columb*, *Newbottle*, and *Halirudhouſe*, who did either aſſiſt the adverſe party, or then behaved themſelves as Neuters. To procure the greater reſpect to theſe Letters, *John Knox*, Mr. *John Douglas*, Mr. *John Row*, and Mr. *John Craig*, were choſen Commiſſioners, and had inſtructions given them to this purpoſe. "That Satan by his inſtruments had of long time and by ma-
"ny ſubtile ways laboured to hinder the progreſs of true Religion within this
"Realm, and that now the ſame was in hazard to be utterly ſubverted, chiefly
"through the poverty of the Miniſters that ought to preach the word of life un-
"to the people: ſome being compelled to leave their Vocation, and betake
"them to civil Callings; others ſo diſtracted through worldly cares, as they could
"not wait upon the Preaching of the Word ſo diligently as they wiſhed. In con-
"ſideration whereof the Aſſembly of the Church being convened at *Edinburgh*
"had thought it neceſſary to prorogue their Meeting to the 20 of *July*, and
"to intreat and admoniſh all perſons truly profeſſing the Lord *Jeſus* within
"the Realm, as well Noblemen as Barons, and thoſe of the other Eſtates, to
"meet and give their perſonal appearance at *Edinburgh* the ſaid day, for giving
"their advice, counſel and concurrence in matters then to be proponed; eſpe-
"cially for purging the Realm of Popery, the eſtabliſhing of the Policy of the
"Church, and reſtoring the Patrimony thereof to the juſt poſſeſſors. Aſſu-
"ring

The Noblemen made a motion to the Aſſembly, & the Aſſemblie's Commiſſion to the Lords.

Inſtructions given to thoſe that were ſent from the Aſſembly.

"ring thoſe that ſhould abſent themſelves at the time, due and lawful advertiſe- *An.* 1567.
"ment being made, that they ſhould be reputed hinderers of the good work intend-
"ed, and as diſſimulate profeſſors be eſteemed unworthy of the fellowſhip of
"Chriſts Flock: conſidering chiefly that God in his mercy had offered a bet-
"ter occaſion for effecting theſe things then in times paſt, and that he
"had begun to tread down Satan under foot. This they were willed to ſpeak, and by all fair perſuaſions, to move them to keep the day and place appointed.

The miſſive Letters were for the moſt part to the ſame effect; but in theſe, beſides the proviſion of the Miniſters, I find the *poor and indigent members of Chriſt* alſo mentioned, and ſomewhat ſaid concerning an *union to be made amongſt the Profeſſors, and ſuch a conjunction as might make them able to withſtand the craft and violence of their enemies.* But neither did the Letters nor the credit given to the Commiſſioners prevail with thoſe to whom they went, all almoſt excuſing themſelves (ſome by word, others by letter) and ſaying, "That in re-
"gard of the preſent diviſion cauſed by the Queens impriſonment, and that
"the Town of *Edinburgh*, where they were required to meet, was ſtraightly
"kept by a part of the Nobility and ſome hired ſouldiers, they could not come
"to the place appointed without trouble and danger of their lives. Not-
"theleſs they did aſſure the Church of their willingneſs to every thing that
"might ſerve to advance the Goſpel, and further the proviſion of the Miniſters;
"for the better and more diligent attendance on their Callings. The Earl of *Argile* did anſwer more particularly, and touching the Policy deſired, that *no Novations nor alterations ſhould be made before a general Meeting of the Eſtates.* In like ſort the Lord *Boyd* did by his anſwer promiſe *to hold hand to the forth-ſetting of the Policy*, but with an exception, *ſo far as it might ſtand with Law.* Yet had both the one and other ratified the book of Policy by their Subſcriptions long before, and made no ſcruple either of Law or Cuſtome at that time. The Noblemen that remained at *Edinburgh*, perceiving they could not be drawn to a meeting, reſolved to proſecute their purpoſe at all hazards, and joyning with the Aſſembly, condeſcended to all the Articles proponed for the good of the Church, and made great promiſes of performance; howbeit, having once attained their ends, they did forget all, and turned adverſaries to the Church in the ſame things whereunto they had conſented. Always the Articles agreed unto were as followeth.

The Earl of *Argile* his anſwer.

The Lord *Boyd* his anſwer.

1. That the Acts made in the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, 1560 touching Religion and the aboliſhing of the Pope's Authority, ſhould be extracted forth of the Regiſters, and have the force of a publick Law; and that the ſaid Parliament, in ſo far as concerning Religion, ſhould be maintained and defended by them, as a Parliament lawful, and holden by ſufficient commiſſion from the Queen then being in *France*, and be ratified in the firſt Parliament which ſhould happen to be kept within the Realm.

Articles agreed in the Aſſembly of the Church.

2. That until perfect order might be taken for reſtoring the Patrimony of the Church, the Act of Aſſignation of the thirds of Benefices for the ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery ſhould be put in due execution.

3. That an Act of Council made with conſent of her Majeſty touching the conferring of ſmall Benefices within the value of 300 Marks to Miniſters, ſhould be put in practice; as likewiſe the Act for Annuals, Obits, and Aulterages, eſpecially within Burghs.

4. That in the firſt lawful Parliament which ſhould be kept, or ſooner if occaſion might ſerve, the Church of Chriſt within this Kingdome ſhould be fully reſtored unto the Patrimony belonging to the ſame, and nothing be paſt in Parliament before that and other matters of the Church were firſt conſidered and approved. In the mean while the Noblemen, Barons and other Profeſſors then preſent did willingly offer and conſent to reform themſelves in the matter of the Church-Patrimony according to the Book of God, and to put the ſame in practice

An. 1567. for their own parts, ordaining the refuſers and contraveners of the ſame to be ſecluded from all benefits of the Church. It was farther agreed, That in the next Parliament, or otherwiſe at the firſt occaſion, order ſhould be taken for the eaſe of the labourers of the ground in the payment of their Tithes, and that the ſame ſhould not be diſponed to any others without their advice and conſent.

5. That none ſhould be permitted to bear charge in Schools, Colleges and Univerſities, nor allowed publickly or privately to inſtruct the youth, except ſuch as ſhould firſt be tried by the Superintendents and Viſitours of the Church, who being found meet ſhould be admitted by them to their Charges.

6. That all crimes and offences committed againſt the Law of God ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed according to the Word of God, and Judges deputed for execution thereof; or if there be no Laws as yet made nor Judges appointed for the puniſhment of ſuch crimes, that the ſame ſhould be done in the firſt Parliament.

7. That ſeeing the horrible Murther of the King her Majeſties Husband is a crime moſt odious before God, and tending to the perpetual ſhame and infamy of the whole Realm, if the ſame ſhould not be exemplary puniſhed; the Noblemen, Barons and other Profeſſors ſhould imploy their whole forces, ſtrength and power for the juſt puiſhment of all and whatſoever perſons that ſhould be tried and found guilty of the ſame.

8. Sith it hath pleaſed God to give a native Prince unto the Countrey, who in all appearance ſhall become their King and Sovereign, leſt he ſhould be murthered and wickedly taken away as his Father was; the Nobility, Barons and others under ſubſcriving ſhould aſſiſt, maintain and defend the Prince againſt all that ſhould attempt to do him injury.

9. That all Kings and Princes that in any time hereafter ſhall happen to reign and have the rule of the Realm, ſhould in their firſt entry, and before they be either crowned or inaugurated, give their oath and faithfully promiſe unto the true Church of God, for maintaing and defending by all means the true Religion of Chriſt preſently profeſſed within the Kingdom.

10. That the Prince ſhould be committed to the education of ſome wiſe, godly and grave man, to be trained up in vertue and the fear of God; that when he cometh to years, he may diſcharge himſelf ſufficiently of that place and honour whereunto he is called.

11. That the Nobility, Barons and others underſcribing, ſhould faithfully promiſe to convene themſelves in arms for the rooting out of Idolatry, eſpecially the blaſphemous Maſs, without exception of place or perſon. And likewiſe ſhould remove all Idolaters, and others not admitted to the Preaching of the Word, from the bearing of any function in the Church, which may be a hinderance to the Miniſtery in any ſort; and in their places appoint Superintendents, Miniſters, and other needful members of the Church. And farther, ſhould faithfully bind themſelves to reform all Schools, Colleges and Univerſities throughout the Realm, by removing all ſuch as be of contrary profeſſion, and bear any charge therein, and planting faithful Teachers in their rooms; leſt the youth ſhould be corrupted with poiſonable Doctrine in their leſſer years, which afterwards would not eaſily be removed.

The Articles ſubſcribed. Theſe were the Articles agreed unto by a common conſent, and ſubſcribed in the preſence of the Aſſembly, by the Earls of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Marre*, the Lords *Home*, *Ruthven*, *Sanghuar*, *Lindeſay*, *Grahame*, *Innermaith*, and *Ochiltrie*, and many Barons, beſides the Commiſſioners of Burgeſſes.

The Queen moved to make Reſignation of the Crown. Upon the diſſolving of this Aſſembly, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay* were directed to *Lochlevin* to deal with the Queen for Reſignation of the Government in favours of the Prince her Son, and the appointing of ſome to be Regent, who ſhould have

have the adminiſtration of affairs during his Minority. At firſt ſhe took the propoſition grievouſly, anſwering in paſſion, that ſhe could *ſooner renounce her Life then her Crown:* yet after ſome rude ſpeeches uſed by the Lord *Lindeſay*, ſhe was induced to put her hand to the Renunciation they preſented, by the perſuaſion chiefly of *Robert Melvil*, who was ſent from the Earl of *Athol* and *Lethington*, to adviſe her as ſhe loved her life not to refuſe any thing they did require. He likewiſe brought a Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Ambaſſadour of *England*, (who was come a few daies before to viſit her, but was denied acceſs) to the ſame effect, declaring that *no Reſignation made in the time of her captivity would be of force, and in Law was null, becauſe done out of a juſt fear*; which having conſidered with her ſelf a while, without reading any one of the writs preſented, ſhe ſet her hand to the ſame, the tears running down in abundance from her eyes. One of the Writs contained a Renunciation of the Crown and Royal dignity, with a Commiſſion to inveſt the Prince into the Kingdome by the Solemnities accuſtomed. And to that purpoſe a Procuration was given to the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay* for dimitting and reſigning in preſence of the three Eſtates the Rule and Government; and to the Earls of *Morton*, *Athol*, *Marre*, *Glencarne* and *Menteith*, and to the Lords *Grahame* and *Home*, with the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Provoſt of *Dundy* and *Montroſs*, for inaugurating the Prince her Son. The other Writ did appoint the Earl of *Murray* Regent during the Prince his Minoritie, if at his return he ſhould accept of the Charge. And in caſe of his refuſe, the Duke of *Chatterault*, the Earls of *Lenox*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*, who ſhould joyntly govern and adminiſtrate the publick affairs. *An.* 1567.

Both the Renunciation and Commiſſion for Government of the Realm were the next day publiſhed at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*; and the third day after the publication (which was the 29 of *July*) was the Prince crowned and anointed King in the Church of *Striveling* by the Biſhop of *Orkney*, aſſiſted by two of the Superintendents. The Sermon was made by *John Knox:* the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home* took the Oath for the King, that he ſhould maintain the Religion received, and miniſter juſtice equally to all the ſubjects. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, though he was in town, refuſed his preſence to that Solemnity, leſt he ſhould ſeem to approve the abdication of the Queen's Government. Now how ſoon the news came to *France*, (and they came in great haſte) the Earl of *Murray* prepared to return; whereof the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* getting intelligence, (who lay there Ambaſſadour for the Queen) he laboured earneſtly to have him detained, informing that he was the head of the Faction raiſed againſt the Queen, and that he was called home to be their Leader. But he had taken his leave ſome hours before of the Court, and uſed ſuch diligence, as they who were ſent to ſtay him found that he was looſed from *Diep* before their coming. The King crowned at *Striveling*. The Earl of *Murray* returneth from *France*.

Returning by *England*, he came the 11 of *Auguſt* to *Edinburgh*, where he was received with a wonderful joy. Great inſtance was uſed to have him accept the Regency; at which they ſaid no man would grudge, he being named by the Queen, and having given all good men experiments of his worth. Some few daies he deſired to adviſe, in which time he viſited the Queen at *Lochlevin*, and ſent Letters to the Noblemen of the other Faction, eſpecially to the Earl of *Argile*, with whom he had kept an intire friendſhip of a long time, ſhewing in what ſort he was preſſed by the Lords that maintained the King's authority, and intreating him by the bonds of kindred, the familiarity they had long kept, and by the love he bare to his native Countrey, to appoint a place where he might confer with him, and have his counſel in that buſineſs. He viſiteth the Queen at *Lochlevin*.

To the reſt he wrote according to the acquaintance he had with them, and as their place and dignity required. Of them all in common he deſired that they would be pleaſed to deſign a place of meeting, where they might by common advice provide for the ſafety of the Kingdome, which in that

An. 1567. that troubled time could not long ſubſiſt, without ſome one to rule and govern.

But finding them all to decline the meeting, and being importuned on the other ſide by thoſe of the King's Faction to undertake the charge, he reſolved to accept the ſame; and in a Convention of Noblemen and others of the Eſtates kept at *Edinburgh* the 20 of *Auguſt*, was elected Regent with a great applauſe of all that were preſent. The ſame day was his Election publiſhed, and charge given to all the ſubjects for acknowledging and obeying him as Regent and Governour of the Realm unto the King's Majority.

The Earl of *Murray* elected Regent.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

The Contents.

How matters paſſed in the State and Church during the Government of the four Regents, his Majeſty being yet minor.

Bothwell after his flight at *Carberry*, having ſtayed a few days in the Fort of *Dumbar*, for that he feared to be incloſed, made to the Sea with two or three Ships which he had prepared, and went into *Orkney*; his purpoſe was to have remained in the Caſtle of *Kirkwall*, and if any did purſue him to take himſelf to the Ships; but the keeper *Gilbert Balfour* would not receive him, ſo as he was forced to return to Sea, and there playing the Pirate made ſpoil of all that came in his way. The Regent, advertiſed of this, ſent *William Kircaldy* of *Grange* with five Ships well manned to purſue him; who coming upon him unlooked for, as he lay in one of the Creeks of *Orkney*, gave him the chaſe, and had certainly taken him, if they had not been hindered by Rocks and ſhallow waters. The Unicorn, one of *Grange*'s beſt Ships, was caſt away upon a Rock; *Bothwell* with his, that were not of ſuch a burthen, eſcaping. Shortly after he was taken upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, and conveighed to *Denmark*, where being detected by ſome *Scottiſh* Merchants, he was put in a vile and loathſome priſon, and falling in a frenſie, which kept him ſome ten years, made an ignominious and deſperate end, ſuch as his wicked and flagitious life had deſerved.

Bothwell taketh the Sea, and is purſued by *Grange*.

His death.

Grange at his return had the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* committed to his keeping, which a little before was ſold by Sir *James Balfour* to the Regent for the ſum of 5000 pounds, and the gift of the Priory of *Pittinweeme*. At the ſame time *Patrick Whitlaw*, keeper of *Dumbar* Caſtle, being charged to render the ſame, did at the perſuaſion of his friends yield up the Fort, which otherwiſe was held impregnable.

The cuſtody of *Edinburgh* Caſtle committed to *Grange*.

The Lords who were convened at *Hamilton*, perceiving how matters went, and that all things grew ſtrong on the Regent's ſide, upon a new deliberation did write unto him and the reſt that ſtood for the King's Authority, deſiring a Conference, and offering to ſend the Earl of *Argile* with ſome others to any place they would for meeting. But becauſe in the Superſcription they gave not the Regent his due title, ſtyling him only *Earl of Murray*, the Letter was rejected by the Council, and the meſſenger dimitted without anſwer. *Argile*, knowing what had given the offence, reſolved to go unto the Regent, and taking with him the Lord *Boyde* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* came to *Edinburgh*. There it being declared that the election of the Regent was not made upon any contempt or miſregard of the Noblemen who were abſent, but upon neceſſity to keep the Realm in order, it was agreed that a Parliament ſhould be called for ſetling all affairs by advice and conſent

The Lords convened at *Hamilton* write to the Regent.

An. 1567. conſent of the Eſtates, and that the ſame ſhould be kept at *Edinburgh* the 15 day of *December* next.

The firſt Parliament of King *James* the Sixth.

When the Diet appointed for Parliament came, it was kept with ſuch a frequency, as the like was not remembred to have been ſeen a long time. The honors accuſtomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, were carried by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Argile*, and every thing done with the greateſt ſhew of Solemnity that could be uſed. Beginning was made at the affairs of the Church, and divers Acts concluded in their favors. As an Act aboliſhing the Pope his Juriſdiction and uſurped Authority within the Realm; another for repealing the Statutes made in former times for maintenance of Idolatry and Superſtition, with the ratifying of the Confeſſion of Faith; and ſome others, which may be ſeen in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the Sixth. The matter of Policy and Juriſdiction of the Church was referred to the conſideration of certain Lords delegated by the Eſtates; but for the reſtitution of the Patrimony, which was promiſed to be the firſt work of the Parliament, though the Regent did what he could to have the Church poſſeſſed with the ſame, it could not be obtained. Only the thirds of Benefices were granted to the Church, for proviſion of the Miniſters; the *ſuperplus*, or what ſhould be found remaining after the Miniſters were provided, being applied to the ſupport of the publick affairs of the Eſtate. Touching the Queen, a long conſultation was held what courſe ſhould be taken with her. Some urged that ſhe ſhould be arraigned, and puniſhed according to the Law: others reaſoned, that whatſoever Authority was in the Kingdom was derived from her, and was revocable at her pleaſure, ſo as ſhe could not be arraigned or brought to trial before any inferior Judge: and when it was replied, that the *Scots* from the very beginning of the Kingdom had been in uſe to cenſure and puniſh their Kings, in caſe of grievous crimes; the greater number diſliking that courſe, it was concluded that ſhe ſhould be detained and kept in perpetual priſon.

The Acts concluded in Parliament.

The Queen ordained to be kept in priſon.

The Biſhop of *Orkney* depoſed for marrying the Queen.

Some ten days after in an Aſſembly of the Church the Biſhop of *Orkney* was convened for joyning the Queen and *Bothwell* in Marriage, and depoſed from his Function and office. The Counteſs of *Argile* being cited to appear before the ſame Aſſembly for aſſiſting the Baptiſm of the King, and giving her preſence at the Papiſtical Rites then uſed, did ſubmit her ſelf to cenſure, and was ordained to make publick ſatisfaction in the Chappel of *Striveling*, where the offence was committed, upon a Sunday after Sermon, in ſuch manner and at ſuch time as the Superintendent of *Lothian* ſhould appoint.

The confeſſion of thoſe that were executed for the King's Murther.

In the moneth of *January* *John Hepburn* called *Bolton*, *John Hay* younger of *Tallow*, and two Chamber-boys of *Bothwell*'s, *Powrie* and *Dalgleiſh*, were brought to Trial for the King's Murther, and found guilty by their own confeſſions. The ſum whereof was, that they were enticed unto that wicked fact by *Bothwell*, who did aſſure them that moſt of the Noblemen within the Realm had conſented thereto, and that a Contract was ſhewed them ſubſcribed by the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, young *Lethington* and others; but whether theſe Subſcriptions were the Noblemens own or counterfeit, they could not tell. They farther ſaid that *Bothwell* made them believe that the Lords who had ſubſcribed would each of them have one or two of their ſervants preſent at the Murther; yet were they but eight perſons in all, beſides *Bothwell* himſelf, that came unto the place; namely, Sir *James Balfour*, the Laird of *Ormeſton* in *Teviotdale*, *Robert Ormeſton* his Couſen, one *Wilſon* a man of *Hadington*, and the four who were then to ſuffer. The Sentence upon their conviction was, that they ſhould be hanged, their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and caſt into the fire. A manifold execution, which the treacherous Parricide they had committed did well deſerve.

An. 1568. At the opening of the ſpring, the Regent purpoſing to hold juſtice Courts through the whole Kingdom, made his beginning in the Weſt parts, becauſe of ſome broken people in *Lenox* and the Highlands adjoyning. While ſt he remained at *Glaſgow*, (for the firſt Court was there affixed) the Queen made an eſcape from *Lochlevin*, to the great contentment of many who ſtood in fear of the Regent's Severity or (as the vulgar called it) Cruelty. And even ſome that were the principal workers of her Impriſonment,

The Queen eſcapeth from *Lochlevin*.

priſonment, having changed their minds, did earneſtly wiſh her Liberty. *Lethington*, who hating *Bothwell* to the death was enemy to the Queen for his reſpect, as ſoon as he underſtood of his arreſting in *Denmark*, and ſaw that he was no more to be feared, deſiring greatly to have her reſtored, as thinking his credit and ſafety ſhould that way be moſt aſſured. Sir *James Balfour* followed always his courſe. *William Murray* of *Tulibardin*, though he had ſhewed great forwardneſs at the hill of *Carberry*, where the Queen was taken, yet, being Popiſhly ſet, upon ſome private diſcontents forſook the Regent, and carried with him divers of his friendſhip. The *Hamilton*'s were known to deſire nothing more then her Freedom. The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, howbeit they had been preſent at the late Parliament, and giving their aſſiſtence for eſtabliſhing the Kings Authority, turned their Coats and joyned with the reſt for repoſſeſſing the Queen. And beſides theſe many others, ſome led with hopes of advancement, and ſome truſting to have their diſtreſſed eſtates bettered by a change, longed much to have her relieved, which by this means came to paſs. *An.* 1568.

George Douglas, the Regent's youngeſt Brother, a Gentleman of good ſpirit, who remained with her in the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, allured by her courteſies and fair promiſes, having corrupted the Keepers, although he himſelf upon ſuſpicion was ſome days before ſent forth of the Iſle, got her tranſported (whilſt the reſt were at dinner) in a little veſſel to the ſide of the Lake, where he with the Lord *Seaton* and ſome horſemen were attending. The firſt night ſhe lodged at *Nudrie* in Weſt *Lothian*, and the next day was conveighed to *Hamilton*, whither repaired unto her the Earls of *Argile*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Sommervil*, *Yeſter*, *Borthwick*, *Levingſton*, *Hereis*, *Maxwell*, *Sanqhuar* and *Roſs*, with many other Barons and Gentlemen. The Lords meeting in Council, the Queen declared that the Reſignation ſhe had made of the Crown was extorted by fear; as likewiſe the Commiſſion granted for inaugurating the Prince her Son; qualifying the ſame by the teſtimony of *Robert Melvile* there preſent and others. Thereupon was the Reſignation decerned void and null, and Proclamations made in her Majeſty's name, commanding all the Lieges to meet in Arms at *Hamilton* for purſuing the Rebels that had uſurped the Royal Authority. The manner of the Queens eſcape. The Queens reſignation decerned null.

The news hereof brought unto *Glaſgow*, (which is only eight miles diſtant) where the Regent then abode, were ſcarce at firſt believed; but within two hours or leſs being aſſured, a ſtrong alteration might have been obſerved in the minds of moſt that were there attending. The report of the Queens forces made divers to ſlide away; others ſent quietly to beg pardon for what they had done, reſolving not to enter in the cauſe any farther, but to govern themſelves as the event ſhould lead and direct them. And there were that made open defection, not a few, nor of the meaner ſort. Amongſt whom the Lord *Boyd* was eſpecially noted, and in the mouths of all men; for that being very inward with the Regent, and admitted to his moſt ſecret counſels, when he ſaw matters like to turn, he withdrew himſelf and went to the Queen. The Regent advertiſed of the Queens eſcape. The Lord *Boyd* falleth to the Queen.

Yet the Regent nothing diſcouraged, and eſteeming his life could not be more honourably beſtowed then in the defence of the King, albeit many did adviſe him to retire unto *Striveling*, would not condeſcend to ſtir, ſaying, *That his Retreat would be interpreted a Flight, and the adverſaries thereby animated, and his friends diſheartned.* In the mean ſeaſon he ſent advertiſement to his friends in *Mers*, *Lothian*, and *Strivelingſhire*. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Lord *Semple*, with the men of *Lenox*, and others well affected to the cauſe, that lay near to the City, made haſte unto his ſuccourſe, ſo as in a day or two his company increaſed to 4000 and above. There was with the Queen a *French* Ambaſſadour, who had arrived a few days before, and moved the Regent for acceſs to the Queen before the eſcape ſhe made; he was ſtill poſting between *Hamilton* and *Glaſgow*, rather to eſpie and obſerve things, then to make the Peace he pretended; for when he ſaw the Regents forces to be few, as at firſt they were, and that the Queen's power was much greater, he did perſuade her to take the field, and put it to the trial of a day; which ſhe reſolved to do. Thereupon warning given to make ready againſt the next morning, the Earl of The Regent reſolveth to ſtay at *Glaſgow* and aſſemble forces.

Argile

An. 1568. *Argile* was proclaimed Lieutenant, and concluſion taken to march with the Army by *Glaſgow* towards the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, where they purpoſed to place the Queen, and either to give Battel, or draw the War at length as they pleaſed: or if the Regent (which they did not expect) ſhould meet them in the way, to fight him, accounting the victory certain, becauſe of their numbers.

The Battel of *Landſide*. 13. *May* 1568.

The Regent, adverтiſed of the Queen's intentions, took the fields the next day early, and ſtood with his companies ſome hours in battel array upon the Moor of *Glaſgow*, where it was believed the Queens Army ſhould paſs: but when he ſaw them keep the other ſide of the River, he directed the horſemen to paſs the Fords, the water being then ebbed, and leading the foot along the bridge went towards *Landſide*, which lay in the way to *Dumbarton*. This is a little Village upon the water of *Carthe*, ſituated at the foot of a hill towards the Weſt: on the Eaſt and North the aſcent unto it is ſomewhat ſteep, the other parts of the hill are more even and plain. Both Armies contending who ſhould firſt poſſeſs it, that of the Regents prevented the other by occaſion of *Argile's* ſickneſs, who was on the ſuddain taken with a fit of the Epilepſie, and ſo retarded the march of the Queen's Army. When they approched near and ſaw themſelves prevented, they went to a little oppoſite hill, and there ranged themſelves in two battels, placing in the firſt their whole ſtrength almoſt; for if they ſhould at the firſt encounter repulſe their enemies, the reſt they made account would ſoon disband and take the chaſe.

The order of the Regents Army.

The Regent had likewiſe put his troops in two battels: on the right hand were placed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Home*, *Semple* and *Lindeſay*, with their clients and vaſſals; on the left, the Earls of *Marre*, *Glencarn* and *Menteith*, with the Citizens of *Glaſgow*: the Harquebuſiers were planted in the Village beneath, and within the hedges upon the high-way. Before the joyning both ſides played with their Ordnance upon others; but the advantage was on the Regent's part, the Queen's Cannoniers being forced to quit their munition. His Cavalrie, on the other ſide, being much inferior to the Queens, was compelled to give ground: but when they entered upon the foot, thinking to put them in diſorder, the Archers from the Regent's ſide rained ſuch a ſhower of Arrows upon them, as they could not hold up their faces, and were forced to turn back. The left wing of the Queens Army advancing it ſelf in the mean while, howbeit greatly annoyed by the Harquebuſiers, that beat them in the ſtreight on both ſides, got into the plain and diſplayed it ſelf. Then did the Armies joyn and enter into a hot fight, ſtriving in thick ranks to maintain their places, and by force of ſpears to break and bear down one another. For the ſpace of half an hour and more the fight continued doubtful, and ſo eagerly they ſtrove, that they whoſe ſpears were broke ſtood throwing their ponyards, ſtones, and what came readieſt to their hands, in the faces of their adverſaries. The Regent's ſecond battel perceiving that none came againſt them, and fearing the other ſhould be overlaid, (for they ſaw ſome in the laſt ranks recoiling) went unto their aid whereupon the Queens's Army gave back, and ſo were put to rout. The Regent and thoſe on his ſide ſhewed great manhood, all their hopes conſiſting in the victory: nor were his enemies any leſs couragious, but the advantage of the ground were to thoſe of his part no ſmall help. There were not many ſlain on the place, moſt of the ſlaughter being made in the chaſe; and unleſs the Regent had with his preſence whereſoever he came, and by ſending horſe into all parts, ſtayed the fury of thoſe that purſued, the Victory had been much more bloudy. The Queen, who ſtood a mile off from the Battel on a little height, perceiving the field loſt, made towards the Borders. The reſt that eſcaped fled the readieſt way they could find, every man to his own home. The number of the ſlain was about 300. many were taken priſoners; amongſt whom the moſt eminent the Lords of *Seaton* and *Roſs*, the Maſters of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Avendale*, and the Sheriffs of *Aire* and *Linlithgow*. Of the Regent's ſide one only was ſlain, the Lords *Home* and *Ochiltrie* wounded. All the reſt, a few excepted that followed the chaſe too far, returned with him to *Glaſgow*; where they went firſt to Church, and gave thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained almoſt without any effuſion of bloud. This Conflict happened upon the 13. of *May*, the eleventh day after

The number of the ſlain.

The priſoners that were taken.

after her escape from *Lochlevin*. The *French* Ambassador, who had conceived an assured hope of her prevailing, perceiving things fall out otherwise, took horse, and made away to *England*, not once saluting the Regent, to whom, as he pretended, he was sent. By the way he fell in the hands of some robbers that rifled all his baggage; which the Laird of *Drumlanrig*, for the respects he carried to the title of an Ambassador, caused to be restored. *An.* 1568.

The rest of that day the Regent bestowed in taking order with the prisoners: some he freely dimitted, others upon surety; but the Principals were detained (they especially of the Surname of *Hamilton*) and committed to several prisons. The next day, taking with him 500 horse, he rode unto *Hamilton*, and had the Castle thereof, with the house of *Draffan*, another strong hold belonging to the Duke, rendered in his hands. Such a terror this defeat wrought, that the whole inhabitants of *Cluid* did relinquish and forsake their houses. Upon the like fear did the Queen, against the counsel of her best friends, take Sea at *Kirkcadbright*, and sail into *England*, landing at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland* near to the mouth of the river *Derwent*; from which place she sent a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, declaring that she was come into her Kingdom upon hope of aid and assistance from her, requesting she might be conducted to her with all speed, because of her present distress. *John Beaton*, one of her domesticks, was some days before sent with the Diamond she had received from the Queen of *England* for a token of kindness, to signifie her purpose of coming into *England*, if she should be farther pursued by her subjects: who did shortly return with large promises of love and kindness, if she should happen to come. But as soon as her coming was known, the directions sent by Sir *Francis Knowls* were not so loving; for by him she was desired to go unto *Carlile*, as a place of more safety, whither the Lieutenant of the Countrey should conduct her, and stay there till the Queen was informed of the equity of her cause.

The Castles of *Hamilton* and *Draffan* rendered to the Regent.

The Queen flieth to *England*, and writes to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This direction did much displease her, and then began she to see her error: but seeming to take all in good part, she sent the Lord *Hereis* "to intreat the Queen "for an hearing in her own presence, where she might both clear her self, and shew "how injuriously she had been dealt with by those whom at her intercession she "had recalled from Exile; or if that could not be obtained, to crave that she might "be permitted to depart forth of *England*, and not detained as a prisoner, seeing "she came willingly thither, in confidence of her kindness often promised, and "confirmed as well by letters as messages. Queen *Elizabeth* moved with these speeches said, "that she would send to the Regent, and desire him to stay all pro-"ceeding against the subjects that stood in her defence, till matters were brought "to an hearing. For the Regent at the same time had called a Parliament to the 25 of *June*, for proceeding against those that had accompanied the Queen in the fields by course of Law. They of the Queen's Faction were in the mean time preparing to hinder the meeting; and whenas the Diet drew near, the Earl of *Argile* with his forces met Lord *Claude Hamilton* at *Glasgow*; the Earl of *Huntley* brought from the North 1000 foot, with as many horsemen almost, and came as far as *Perth*, but was not permitted to cross the river of *Tay*, the chanels and passages being all guarded by the Lord *Ruthven*, and such in those quarters as maintained the King's Authority. So being forced to return home, the Earl of *Argile* and other Lords, not seeing how they could hinder the meeting of the Parliament, dissolved their Companies, and returned to their own Countrey.

The Queen of *Scots* begins to see her error.

A Parliament called by the Regent.

At this time came the Letters promised by the Queen of *England*, whereby the Regent was desired to delay the Parliament, and not to precipitate the giving of sentence in these matters, till she was rightly informed of the whole cause.

But the Regent, considering that the delay of the Parliament would be constructed to proceed of fear, resolved to keep the Diet. At the meeting it was long disputed, *Whether all they that had taken Arms against the King, and not sued for pardon, should be forfeited; or if sentence should be given against a few only, to terrifie the rest, and hope of favour left unto others upon their obedience.* Secretary *Lethington*,

The Queen of *England* desires the Parliament to be delayed.

The Regent refuseth.

An. 1568. who did ſecretly favor the other Faction, maintained the calmeſt courſe to be the beſt, and, by the perſuaſions he uſed, wrought ſo as the Proceſs againſt the better ſort was continued, and ſome of meaner note only proſcribed; which was interpreted, even as the Regent conceived, to proceed of fear, and not of a mind to reclaim them. The Earl of *Rothes* only of all the Noblemen of that ſide reconciled himſelf, accepting three years exile for his puniſhment. Some others of meaner ſort the Regent received into favour, and ſuch as ſtood out he purſued by force of Arms, making an expedition into the countries of *Nidiſdale*, *Annandale*, and the lower parts of *Galloway*, where he put Gariſons in the Caſtles and ſtrong Forts that were judged neceſſary to be kept; others he demoliſhed and threw to the ground; and had in a ſhort ſpace (as it was thought) reduced the whole Countrey to his obedience, if he had not been ſtayed by other Letters by the Queen of *England*: for ſhe offending that he ſhould have gone on in that manner, whereas ſhe had willed him to defer all things till ſhe was informed of the whole cauſe, ſent by one of her ſervants, called *Middlemore*, a ſharp Letter unto him, declaring that, *She would not endure the ſacred Authority of Kings to be in that ſort abuſed at the appetite of factious ſubjects; and howſoever they had forgot their duties to their Sovereign, ſhe would not neglect her Siſter and neighbour Queen.* Therefore willed him to direct certain Commiſſioners to enform her how matters had paſſed, men that could anſwer the complaints made by the Queen of *Scotland* againſt him and his Complices; which if he failed to do, ſhe would reſtore her to her Kingdom with all the power ſhe could make.

The Queen of *England* writeth to the Regent.

The Regent took it grievouſly, that matters determined in Parliament ſhould be brought again in queſtion, and to plead before forein Judges he held it diſhonourable; yet conſidering the adverſaries he had, (the Cardinal of *Lorain* abroad, who ſwayed all things in the *French* Court, and at home many of the Nobility) and that if he did offend the Queen of *England*, his difficulties ſhould be every way great, he was glad to yield to the conditions required, though againſt his will. Thus it being condeſcended the Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent, whenas they could not agree upon the perſons, (the principal Noblemen refuſing the imployment) the Regent himſelf offered to undertake the journey; and to accompany him, choice was made of the Biſhop of *Orkney* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin* for the ſpiritual eſtate; of the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindeſay* for the temporal, and of Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, Senators of the College of Juſtice: beſides theſe there went with him Secretary *Lethington* and Mr. *George Buchannan*. The Secretary had long withſtood the ſending of any Commiſſioners thither, and ſimply refuſed to go in that journey; yet the Regent not holding it ſafe to leave him at home, whom he knew to be a buſie man, and a practiſer under-hand with the other party, did inſiſt ſo with him, as in end he conſented.

Commiſſioners choſen to go into *England*.

The Commiſſion was given in the King's name, under the Great Seal, to the Regent, the Earl of *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord *Lindeſay*, or to any three of them, "for convening with the Deputies of the "Queen of *England* at *York*, or any other place or places they ſhould think expedi- "ent, there to make plain and ample declarations to them, (I keep the very words of the Commiſſion) "for informing his good Siſter of the true cauſes whereupon "divers of the Nobility and good ſubjects, during the time that the Queen his Mo- "ther was yet poſſeſſor of the Crown, took occaſion to put on Arms, to take, detain "and ſequeſtrate her perſon for a time, with all cauſes, actions, circumſtances, and "other their proceedings whatſoever towards her or any other ſubjects of the Realm "ſince that time, unto the day and date of the ſaid Commiſſion, or that ſhould fall "out until the return of the ſaid Commiſſioners; whereby the Juſtice of their cauſe "and honorable dealing might be manifeſted to the world: As likewiſe to com- "mune, treat, determine and conclude with his ſaid Siſter, or her Commiſſioners "having ſufficient authority, upon all differences, cauſes or matters depending "betwixt the ſubjects of either Realm, or for farther confirmation or augmenta- "tion of any Treaty of Peace heretofore made and concluded betwixt the Realms,

The tenor of the Commiſſion.

"or

"or for contracting and perfecting any other Treaty or Confederation, as well "for maintenance of the true Religion publickly profeſſed by the inhabitants of "both the Realms, as for reſiſting any forein, or inteſtine power that might be "ſtirred up within the ſame, to diſturb the preſent quietneſs that it hath pleaſed "the Almighty God to grant unto both the Kingdoms in the unity of the ſaid "Religion, and for increaſe of amity, peace and concord betwixt him and his ſaid "Siſter, their Realms, dominions, people and ſubjects. And generally to do "and conclude all things which by them, or any three of them, ſhould ſeem conve-"nient and neceſſary for the premiſſes, or any part thereof; promiſing to hold "firm and ſtable, *&c.* This Commiſſion is of the date at *Edinburgh* the 18 of *September*, 1568. *An.* 1568.

In *July* preceding there was an Aſſembly of the Church kept at *Edinburgh*, wherein Mr. *John Willock* Superintendent of the Weſt, being elected to moderate the Meeting, made difficulty to accept the place, unleſs ſome better order was obſerved then had been in former times; for even then the multitudes that convened, and indiſcreet behavior of ſome who loved to ſeem more zealous then others, did cauſe a great confuſion. Obedience being promiſed by the whole number, he aſſumed the Charge. And there it was enacted, *That none ſhould be admitted to have voice in theſe Aſſemblies but Superintendents, Viſiters of Churches, Commiſſioners of Shires and Univerſities, and ſuch Miniſters as the Superintendents ſhould chuſe in their Dioceſan Synods, and bring with them, being men of knowledge, and able to reaſon and judge of matters that ſhould happen to be proponed.* And that the Aſſembly ſhould not be troubled with unneceſſary buſineſs, it was ordained, *That no matters ſhould be moved which the Superintendents might and ought to determine in their Synods.* Some Acts of Diſcipline were alſo concluded: as, *That Papiſts continuing obſtinate after lawful admonitions ſhould be excommunicated*; and *that the committers of Murther, Inceſt, Adultery, and other ſuch hainous crimes, ſhould not be admitted to make ſatisfaction by any particular Church, till they did firſt appear in the habit of penitents before the general Aſſembly, and there receive their injunctions.* A Supplication alſo was put up to the Regent and Council, wherein amongſt other particulars it was deſired, *That the perſons nominated in Parliament for the matter of Policy or Juriſdiction of the Church, ſhould be ordained to meet at a certain day and place for concluding the ſame.* This was promiſed, and the eighth of *Auguſt* appointed to that effect; but the Diet did not hold, and ſo theſe matters continued unreſolved as before. In the end of the Aſſembly the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who had been depoſed from all Function in the Church for the Marriage of *Bothwell* with the Queen, was upon his ſubmiſſion reponed to his place; and, for removing the ſcandal, he was injoyned in his firſt Sermon to make publick acknowledgement of his fault, and crave forgiveneſs of God, the Church and Eſtate which he had offended.

An Aſſembly of the Church.

Who ſhould have voice in Aſſemblies.

Acts of Diſcipline.

The Biſhop of *Orkney* reponed.

About the end of *September* the Regent and thoſe that were joyned with him in Commiſſion took their journey into *England*, and came to *York* the fifth of *October*. The ſame day and almoſt the ſame hour came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, having Commiſſion from the Queen of *England* to hear and determine all queſtions, controverſies, debates and contentions betwixt her Siſter the Queen of *Scots* & the ſubjects adhering unto her, on the one part, and the Earl of *Murray* and others refuſing to acknowledge her Authority and adhering to the Prince her Son, on the other: as likewiſe to decide all matters depending betwixt them two, to confirm the peace before that time contracted, or eſtabliſh a new Confederation betwixt them, their people and ſubjects, as they ſhould think moſt convenient. Some two days after *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawan* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and *James Cockburn* of *Skirling*, Commiſſioners for the *Scottiſh* Queen, came to the City; where being all convened, and the Commiſſions exhibited, an Oath was preſented to both parties by the Commiſſioners of *England*, by which they were required to ſwear, *That they ſhould proceed ſincerely in that Conference and Treaty, and neither for affection, malice, or any other worldly reſpect,*

A meeting of the *Engliſh* & *Scots* Commiſſioners at *York*.

Commiſſioners for the *Scottiſh* Queen.

An. 1568. *respect, propone any thing before the Commissioners which in their Consciences they did not hold to be true, just and godly, and reasonable; as also not to withdraw, hide or conceal any matter fit to be opened and declared for the better knowledge of the truth in the controversies standing amongst them.*

Protestation for the Queen of *Scotland.*

The Commissioners of the Queen of *Scotland*, before they took the oath, protested, "That although the Queen their Mistress was pleased to have the differ-"ences betwixt her and her disobedient subjects considered and dressed by her dea-"rest Sister and Cousen the Queen of *England*, or by the Commissioners authori-"zed by her; yet she did not acknowledge her self subject to any Judge on earth, "she being a free Princess, and holding her imperial Crown of God alone. This their Protestation they desired to be put in record, lest the Queen or her posterity should be prejudiced in their Sovereignty by the present proceedings.

Commissioners of *England* protest in the contrary.

The Commissioners of *England* did contrariwise protest. "That they did nei-"ther admit nor allow that Protestation in any sort, to the hurt or preju-"dice of that right which the Kings of *England* have claimed, had and en-"joyed as Superiors over the Realm of *Scotland*, which Superiority they "protested should belong and appertain to the Queen their Mistress in the "right of the Crown of *England*. These Protestations made, both parties took the oath in manner as was required; and this was the Act of the first meeting.

A Declaration in behalf of the Queen of *Scotland.*

The next day the Commissioners of the Queen of *Scotland* presented a Declaration in writing, bearing, "That *James* Earl of *Morton*, *John* Earl of *Marre*, "*Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, the Lords *Homes*, *Lindesay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple*, "*Cathcart*, *Ochiltree*, and others their assistents, had levied an Army in the "Queen's name against the Queen, taking her most noble person, used her in "vile manner, and thrust into prison in *Lochlevin*, and forcibly broken her Mint-"house, taken away the printing Irons, with all the silver and gold coined and "uncoined which was in the house for the time: and going to the Castle of "*Striveling*, had made a fashion to crown her Son the Prince, being then but thir-"teen moneths old. That *James* Earl of *Murray*, taking upon him the name of Re-"gent, had usurped the Royal Authority, and possessed himself with the whole "Forts, Castles, Munition, Jewels and Revenues of the Kingdom. And when it "had pleased God to relieve her out of that prison, (wherein she was so streightly "detained by the space of eleven moneths, as none of her friends and true subjects "could once be permitted to see or speak with her) and that she had publickly de-"clared by a solemn oath, in the presence of divers of the Nobility, at *Hamilton*, "that whatsoever was done by her in prison was extorted by force, threats and "fear of death; she, out of that natural affection which she carried to her Realm "and subjects, did appoint the Earls of *Argile*, *Eglington*, *Cassils* and *Rothes*, to "agree and make a Pacification with the said Regent and his partakers: but they "were so far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, as they did invade her, in her "passing to *Dumbritton*, with the men of War whom she had hired with her own "moneys, killed divers of her faithful subjects, led others away prisoners, and "banished some of good note for no other cause but for serving faithfully their law-"ful Princess; and so after a great many injuries had forced her to fly into *Eng-*"*land*, to request the help of Queen *Elizabeth* her dearest Sister, and in blood the "nearest Cousen she had in the world, for restoring her in her former estate, "and compelling her rebellious subjects to acknowledge their due obedience "unto her Majesty, which they in her Highness name did most instantly in-"treat.

The Regent's desire to the Commissioners of *England.*

The day following, which was the ninth of *October*, the Regent and rest of the Commissioners for the young King appearing, before they would give any answer to the preceding Writ, craved first to be resolved, *Whether the Duke and those that were appointed with him for hearing their controversies, had power to pronounce in the cause of the King's Mother, guilty or not guilty; and if according to the same they meant to give sentence without delay: As likewise, if it should*

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ſhould appear by the Declaration they were to make, that the Queen of Scots *was guilty, whether ſhe ſhould be delivered in their hands, or detained in* England; *and if the Queen of* England *would from thenceforth maintain the Authority of the King, and the Regency eſtabliſhed in the perſon of the Earl of* Murray. Which points they deſired to have cleared, before they could enter into the Accuſation intended. The Duke of *Norfolk* replied, that they would proceed according to the Commiſſion given unto them, and render an account to her who had truſted them therewith. *Lethington* upon this turning himſelf to the Regent ſaid, *That it ſeemed the* Engliſh *had no other purpoſe but to defame and diſgrace the reputation of the Queen their King's Mother; therefore willed him and his aſſociates to conſider what hurt and danger they ſhould draw upon themſelves, by accuſing her in ſuch a publick form, not only with thoſe of her own Nation that loved the Queen, but alſo with other Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with her Couſins in* France: *and what could they anſwer unto the King, when he being of ripe years ſhould eſteem that manner of doing diſhonorable to himſelf, his Mother and whole Kingdom?*

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s anſwer.

Lethington diſſuadeth the Regent from accuſing the Queen.

They notwithſtanding went on, and preſented their anſwer, conceived in the terms following. "That King *Henry*, Father to their Sovereign Lord the King "now reigning, being horribly murthered in his bed, *James* ſometimes Earl of "*Bothwell*, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, entered in ſuch credit "with the Queen, then their Sovereign, as within two moneths after the Murther "committed he openly attempted a Rape of her Perſon, and carried her to *Dumbar* "Caſtle, where he did keep her as captive a certain ſpace, cauſing a Divorce to be "led betwixt him and his lawful Wife, and upon the concluſion thereof did ſud-"denly accompliſh a pretended Marriage with the Queen: which inſolent pro-"ceedings, together with the ſhameful report that paſſed in all Nations of the "King's Murther, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, ſo "moved the hearts of a good number of them, as they thought nothing could be "performed more honorable to themſelves in the ſight of all the world then, by "puniſhing the ſaid Earl who had committed the Murther, to free themſelves of the "vile reports ſpread every where; to ſet the Queen at liberty from the bondage of "that Traitor, who had ſo preſumptuouſly interpriſed the Rape and Marriage of "her, whoſe lawful Husband he could not be; and to preſerve the innocent perſon of "the King from the hands of him that had murthered his Father. For which pur-"poſe they taking Arms, when the ſaid Earl came againſt them with forces, lead-"ing in his company the Queen to defend his wickedneſs, they offered, for ſpa-"ring the blood of innocent men, to decide the quarrel in a ſingle Combat, "whereof himſelf by Cartel and Proclamation had ſundry times made offer. "But after many ſhifts he in end directly refuſed the ſame, and the Queen pre-"ferring his impunity to her own honor, that he might have leiſure to eſcape, came "willingly to the Noblemen that were in Arms, and conferred with them a certain "ſpace; after which they conveyed her to *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true "cauſes that moved them to that form of dealing, and did humbly intreat her Maje-"ſty to ſuffer the ſaid Earl and others, the King her Husband's Murtherers, to be "puniſhed according to the Laws; and the pretended Marriage, wherein ſhe was "raſhly entered, to be diſſolved, as well for her own honor, as for the ſafety of her "Son and quietneſs of the Realm and Subjects. But having received no other "anſwer but rigorous threats againſt the Noblemen, and ſhe avouching to be re-"venged upon all thoſe that had ſhewn themſelves in that cauſe; they were driven "by neceſſity to ſequeſtrate her Perſon for a ſeaſon from the company of *Both-*"*well*, and the keeping of any intelligence with him, until puniſhment might be "taken of him as Murtherer of the King her Husband. In the mean time ſhe finding "her ſelf wearied with the troubles of Government, and perceiving by things that "had paſſed before that time betwixt her and the people, that neither could ſhe "well allow of their doings, nor they like of her forms, upon theſe and other conſi-"derations ſhe voluntarily reſigned her Kingdom, and transferred the ſame unto "her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* (who was at that time abſent forth of the "Realm) to be Regent during her Son's Minority; and in caſe of the ſaid "Earl's deceaſe or not acceptance of the ſaid Office, divers other Noblemen,

The Information preſented againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

An. 1568. "whoſe names are expreſſed in the Commiſſions ſigned by her ſelf, and ſealed "with the Seals of the Kingdom. The King hereupon being duly, rightly and "orderly Crowned and Anointed, and the Earl of *Murray* after his return lawfully "placed and admitted Regent, all thoſe things were ratified and confirmed by the "three Eſtates of Parliament, moſt of theſe that had withdrawn themſelves from "his Authority being preſent and giving their conſent to the ſame. Nottheleſs, "whenas matters were thus eſtabliſhed, and the King's Authority univerſally obey-"ed without contradiction, certain perſons, envying the publick quietneſs, had by "their ſubtile practices firſt brought the Queen out of *Lochlevin*, and afterwards "by open force againſt their promiſed fidelity gone about to ſubvert the Govern-"ment received; wherein as they were proceeding, it pleaſed God to diſappoint "their enterpriſe, and give unto the King and thoſe who ſtood for his Authority a "notable Victory upon the 13 day of *May* laſt. Wherefore their deſire was, that the "King and the Regent might peaceably rule and govern the ſubjects according to "the Authority they had received of God, and that the ſame might be conſerved and "eſtabliſhed againſt the Factions of turbulent ſubjects.

The Commiſſioners of the Queen of *Scots* reply.

The Commiſſioners of the Queen of *Scots* having ſeen this anſwer made a long and particular reply to all the points thereof, wherein, adhering to their former Pro-"teſtation, firſt they ſaid, "That the pretext of taking Arms againſt the Queen, "becauſe *Bothwell* (the author of her Husband's Murther) was in ſuch favor with "her, could not warrant their Rebellion, ſith it never was made known to the "Queen that he was the Murtherer. But to the contrary, *Bothwell* being indited, "and orderly ſummoned to underly the trial of Law, he was by the judgement of "his Peers abſolved, and the ſame Abſolution ratified by the Authority of Parlia-"ment, where the principals that now accuſe him, and had withdrawn themſelves "from her Majeſtie's obedience, were preſent, and not only conſented to his Pur-"gation, but ſolicited the Queen to take him to her Husband, as the man moſt "worthy to bear rule of any other in all the Realm, giving their Bonds to defend "him againſt all that ſhould purſue him for the ſaid crime, as their Subſcriptions "would teſtifie. And ſo neither before the Marriage with *Bothwell* nor after did "they or any of them (which had been the duty of true ſubjects) ſo much as in "words utter their diſlike of it, or advertiſe her Majeſty of the ſuſpicions that were "taken of him, until they had drawn the keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and "the Provoſt of the Town to their Faction. Then ſecretly putting themſelves "in Arms, they ſuddenly under ſilence of night invironed the Caſtle of *Borthwick*, "where her Majeſty remained; and after ſhe had eſcaped to *Dumbar*, levied an "Army, under pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Perſon "in the way betwixt *Dumbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majeſty cap-"tive.

And where they alledge, That her Majeſty preferring the impunity of *Bothwell* to her own honor, made him to be conveyed ſafely away; "The ſame was moſt "untrue, for they themſelves ſent the Laird of *Grange* to her Majeſty, deſiring her "to cauſe *Bothwell* paſs out of the fields as ſuſpected of the King's Murther, till the "ſame might be tried, and that ſhe would go with them and follow the counſel "of the Nobility; which if ſhe would do, they would honor, ſerve and obey her "as their Princeſs and Sovereign: whereunto her Majeſty, for the love ſhe bare "unto her ſubjects, and to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, did willingly "aſſent. In verification whereof, the ſaid Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Both-*"*well* at the ſame time by the hand, and willed him to depart, giving his word "that no man ſhould purſue him. So as nothing is more clear then that he paſſed "away by their own conſents; for if they had been minded againſt him only, would "they not have purſued him ſo long as he was in the Countrey, for he remained "a great ſpace after that in his own houſe, and might more eaſily have been taken "there then upon the Seas, where they in a coloured manner did purſue him? "Hereby (ſaid they) may all men of ſound judgement perceive that they cared not "what became of him, if ſo they might advance their own ambitious purpoſes "and deſigns.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, where ſhe is charged to have uſed them with threats and menacings; *An.* 1568.
"That (they ſaid) was not to be thought ſtrange, conſidering their undutiful be-
"havior, and the rude and vile uſage her Majeſty ſuffered by them. For when the
"Earl of *Morton*, at her Highneſs firſt coming to them had reverently, as it be-
"came him, ſaid, Madam, here is the place where your Grace ſhould be, and we
"will honor and ſerve you as truly as ever the Nobility of the Realm did any of
"your progenitors in former times, ratifying thereby the promiſe made by the
"Laird *Grange* in their names to her Majeſty, and that ſhe truſting their ſpeeches
"had gone with him to *Edinburgh*; they firſt lodging her in a ſimple Burgeſs houſe,
"contrary to their promiſes did moſt rudely intreat her: Whereupon ſhe ſent
"*Lethington* her Secretary, and made offer unto them, that for any thing where-
"with they or any of the ſubjects were offended ſhe was content the ſame ſhould
"be reformed by the Nobility and the Eſtates of the Realm, her Highneſs being
"preſent, and permitted to anſwer for her ſelf: yet would they not hearken once
"to the motion, but in the night ſecretly and againſt her will carried her to *Loch-
"levin*, and put her in priſon.

As to that they ſay, That ſhe wearied with the moleſtations of Government did make a voluntary Reſignation of the Kingdom in favors of the Prince her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* his Regent during his Minority; "The falſhood
"thereof did (as they ſaid) many ways appear. For firſt, her Majeſty is neither
"decayed by age, nor weakned by ſickneſs, but (praiſed be God) both in mind and
"body able to diſcharge the moſt weighty affairs. As alſo the truth is that the
"Earl of *Athol*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin* and *Lethington* (who were of their Coun-
"cil) ſent *Robert Melvil* with a Ring and ſome other tokens to her Majeſty, advi-
"ſing her to ſubſcribe the Letters of Reſignation, and what elſe ſhould be preſented
"unto her, to ſave her own Life, and avoid the death which was aſſuredly prepared
"for her if ſhe ſhould happen to refuſe the ſame; and at the ſame time the ſaid
"Gentleman did bring unto her Majeſty a Letter written by Sir *Nicholas Throg-
"morton*, Ambaſſador of *England*, requeſting her Highneſs to ſet her hand to
"whatſoever they ſhould deſire of her. To whom her Majeſty anſwered, that ſhe
"would follow his counſel; praying him to declare to her deareſt Siſter, the Queen
"of *England*, how ſhe was uſed by her ſubjects, and that the Reſignation of the
"Crown made by her was extorted by fear, which her Highneſs doubted not but
"the ſaid *Nicholas* performed.

"Farther, it is notorious that the Lord *Lindeſay*, at the preſenting of the Letters
"of Reſignation unto her Majeſty, did menace to put her in cloſe priſon if ſhe refu-
"ſed to put her hand to the ſame; adding, that in that caſe worſe would ſhortly
"follow; and that her Highneſs never looked what was in the Writings preſented,
"but ſigned the ſame with many tears, proteſting that, if ever ſhe ſhould recover
"her Liberty, ſhe would diſavow that which he compelled her at that time to do.
"And to teſtifie that the ſaid Reſignation was made againſt her will, the Laird of
"*Lochlevin*, who was then her Keeper, refuſed to ſubſcrive it as Witneſs, and did
"obtain a Teſtificat under his Majeſtie's own hand, declaring that he refuſed to be
"preſent at the ſaid Reſignation.

"Neither can that Renunciation be ſuſtained by any reaſon, conſidering that no
"portion of Revenue was reſerved for her to live upon, neither was her Liberty
"granted, or any ſecurity given her of her Life. All which weighed in the balance
"of Reaſon will to men of indifferent judgement make manifeſt that the alledged
"Dimiſſion, ſo unlawfully procured, can never prejudge her Majeſty in her Royal
"eſtate: eſpecially conſidering that at her firſt eſcape out of priſon ſhe did revoke
"the ſame, and in the preſence of a great part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a ſo-
"lemn Oath, declared that what ſhe had done was by compulſion, and upon juſt
"cauſe of her Life.

"For the Coronation of her Highneſs Son, they ſaid, "That the ſame was moſt
"unorderly done, becauſe there being in the Realm above an hundred Earls, Bi-
"ſhops and Lords having voice in Parliament, (of whom the greateſt part at leaſt
"ought

An. 1568. "ought to have conſented thereto, it being an Action of ſuch conſequence) four "Earls and ſix Lords, (the ſame that were preſent at her Apprehenſion) with one "Biſhop, and two or three Abbots and Priors, were only aſſiſting; and of the ſame "number ſome did put in a Proteſtation, that nothing then done ſhould prejudge "the Queen or her Succeſſor, by reaſon ſhe was at that time a Captive. Nor can any "man think that if the Dimiſſion had been willingly made by her Highneſs, ſhe "would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, there being many others "more lawful, and that have better right thereto then he; of whom ſome have "been Governors of the Realm in former times, and during her Majeſtie's Mino-"rity had worthily exerced that place.

It is to as little purpoſe that they object of the Parliament, and the Ratification made therein, "Seeing the principals of the Nobility diſaſſented, and put "in their Proteſtations both to the Lords of the Articles and in the open Parlia-"ment againſt their proceedings, affirming that they would never agree to any "thing that might hurt the Queen's Majeſtie's Perſon, her Crown and Royal eſtate, "farther then her Highneſs ſelf being at liberty would freely approve. Laſtly, where they would have it ſeen that the Authority eſtabliſhed by them was univer-ſally obeyed in the Realm, and all things well and juſtly adminiſtred; "Both theſe "are alike untrue. For a great part of the Nobility have never acknowledged an-"other Authority then that of the Queen, keeping and holding their Courts in "her Majeſtie's name. And for the adminiſtration of affairs, it is apparent that "wickedneſs did never reign more and with leſs controlment in the Realm, Mur-"ther, Bloodſhed, with Theft and Robbery every where abounding; Policy deſtroy-"ed, Churches thrown down, honorable Families ruinated, and true men bereft "of their goods, for ſatisfying the ſoldiers hired by them to maintain the Regent's "uſurped Government, the like whereof hath not been ſeen nor heard for many "Ages before. In regard whereof they in behalf of the Queen of *Scotland*, their Mi-"ſtreſs, did earneſtly requeſt the ſupport and aſſiſtence of the Queen of *England* "her Couſen, for reſtoring her to her Crown, and ſuppreſſing the Rebels that had "attempted againſt her.

The Commiſſioners of *England* deſire the Regent to give better reaſons.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having peruſed the Writings of both ſides, declared, that as yet they were not ſatisfied with any thing the Regent had ſhewed, requiring him to produce ſome better and more ſound reaſons for the Severity they had uſed againſt their Sovereign, otherwiſe they could not but think ſhe had been too hardly dealt with, and report ſo much to the Queen their Miſtreſs. The Regent (who diſliked nothing more then to be drawn into the Accuſation of the Queen his Siſter) anſwered, that he could not be more particular till he ſhould be aſſured that the Queen of *England* would undertake the protection of the young King, and relinquiſh the cauſe of his Mother. The Commiſſioners replying, that they had no warrant to promiſe any ſuch thing; he beſought them to try the Queens mind, that her pleaſure being known he might ſooner reſolve what to do. Letters hereupon were ſent to the Queen, who willed the Regent to direct ſome one or moe of his ſide to Court, for her better information. To this effect Secretary *Lethington* and Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of the Rolls were ſent thither, with whom the Queen having conferred a little time, ſhe gave order to recal her Commiſſioners, and advertiſe the Regent himſelf to come unto her. At his coming the Queen laid to his charge the proceeding againſt his Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, ſaying, that *ſhe did not ſee how he and the reſt of his Faction could well be excuſed, and that unleſs matters were better cleared on their parts, ſhe could not deny the help and aſſiſtence that was required at her hands.* The Regent, according to the condition propoſed at *York*, anſwered, *That if ſhe would take upon her the defence of the King, they ſhould be more particular in their reaſons for rejecting the Queen's Authority, and clear every thing they ſhould ſpeak ſufficiently; otherwiſe to accuſe his Siſter and Queen, would be held odious in the judgement of all men.*

Rumors diſperſed of the Regent's impriſonment.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in *England*, the Queen's Faction at home ſought all occaſions to make trouble, abuſing the popular ſort with rumors they diſperſed: ſometimes giving out that the Regent was made Priſoner in the Tower; at other times, that he had promiſed to ſubject the Kingdom of *Scotland* to the

the *Engliſh*, to deliver the young King to be brought up in *England*, and put all the Forts and ſtrong Holds in the Realm in their hands. Nor was any man more buſied in diſperſing ſuch lies, and uſing all means elſe for ſtirring up tumult, then Sir *James Balfour*, inſtigated thereto by advertiſement from the Secretary, as was commonly thought. For by his advice it was that the *Scottiſh* Queen at the ſame time ſent Commiſſions of Lieutenandry to divers Noblemen for erecting again her Authority, like as all the while he remained in *England* he did ever keep intelligence with the Biſhop of *Roſſe* and others the Queen's Agents, and was one of the chief plotters of the Match intended betwixt her and the Duke of *Norfolk*, which came ſhortly after to be detected. The Regent, who was not ignorant of theſe ſecret workings, did find there was a neceſſity of his returning home, to prevent the Commotions that were breeding, before they grew into a greater ripeneſs: and fearing to offend the Queen of *England*, if he ſhould depart without giving her ſatisfaction in the particulars ſhe deſired to be informed of touching the Queen of *Scots*, reſolved to do it, but with a Proteſtation, which he preſented in writing to the Council at *Weſtminſter* the 28 of *November* in this form. *An.* 1568.

A Declaration preſented in writing by the Regent.

Albeit our whole proceedings from the beginning of our enterpriſe, directed only for the puniſhment of the King's Murther, and the purging of our Nation from the ſcandal of that abominable fact, may let the world ſee how unwilling we have been to touch the Queen our Sovereign Lord's Mother in honour, or to publiſh unto ſtrangers matters tending to her infamy; yet ſhall it not be amiſs upon the preſent occaſion to ſhew briefly what hath been, and ſtill is our meaning therein. Such and ſo great was our devotion toward her, as well for private affection, whereby every one of us was led to wiſh her well, as for publick reſpects, that rather then we would blemiſh her honour with the foreknowledge of that deteſtable Murther, we choſed to wink at the ſhrewd reports of the world, and let our ſelves to be blaſoned as Rebels and Traitors to our native Prince; which had been eaſie for us to have wiped away with the utteriug of a few words, if the deſire we had to ſave her Reputation had not made us content that the world ſhould ſtill live in doubt of the juſtice of our quarrel, and ſpeak every one as their affections were inclined. So when we were urged by the Queen's Majeſty of England, *and the* French *King's Ambaſſadors, to give a reaſon why we detained our Queen at* Lochlevin, *we gave no other anſwer, but that her affection was ſo exceſſively towards* Bothwell, *the committer of that odious Murther, that ſhe being at liberty it would not be poſſible to puniſh him, and that it behoved us for a ſeaſon to ſequeſtrate her Perſon, till he might be apprehended and puniſhed. In what danger this dealing brought us we have no need to ſhew. From* France *we had nothing to expect but open Hoſtility, and by keeping up the chief cauſes of her Rejection we had reaſon to fear that the Queen of* England *ſhould call our proceedings in doubt, and ſo leave us deſtitute of her Majeſtie's aid, at whoſe hands we look principally to receive comfort in time of danger. This courſe nottheleſs we ſhould ſtill have kept, if the importunity of our adverſaries had not forced us to take another way: For remembring what a Perſon ſhe is whom we are brought to accuſe, the Mother of our King and Sovereign Lord, a Lady to whom in particular the greateſt part of us are ſo far obliged for benefits received, that if with the perpetual exile of any one, or of a number of us, forth of our Native Countrey, we could redeem her honour without the danger of the King and whole Eſtate, we would willingly baniſh our ſelves to that end. And therefore ere we dip further in the matter which to this hour we have ſhunned, we ſolemnly proteſt, that it is not any delight we take in accuſing her, but a neceſſity that is laid upon us to purge our ſelves, that draws us unto it. For if our adverſaries would reſted content with our former anſwer, which they know to be true, no farther would be needed: but againſt our hearts, in defence of our juſt cauſe, they compelled us to utter the things which we wiſh were buried in perpetual oblivion. So if our doing ſeem hateful to any, let theſe bear the blame who force us to anſwer, which they know we may, and in the end muſt give. One thing only we deſire, that they who have brought us to this neceſſity may be preſent and hear what is ſaid, that, if we ſpeak any untruth, they may refute the ſame, for even in point of greateſt moment we will uſe their own teſtimony.*

This

An. 1568. This being communicated with the Agents of the *Scottiſh* Queen, they anſwered,
"That they did not force them to any Accuſations; and if they did utter untruths,
"or calumniate the Queen in any ſort, they would not patiently hear it. That all
"their deſires were to have their Queen reſtored to her Kingdom, from which by
"force of arms ſhe was expulſed; or if it ſhould pleaſe the Queen of *England* to
"hear any more of that matter, they requeſted that the Queen of *Scots* might be
"ſent for, and permitted to ſpeak for her ſelf.

The anſwer of the Commiſſioners for the Queen of *Scots*.

Mean while by a new Patent there were joyned to the other Commiſſioners, *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seal, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Leiceſter*, with the Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cecill*, and a time aſſigned to the Regent for producing the reaſons for the Queen's rejecting. When the day was come, he preſented the Confeſſions of ſome that were executed for the King's Murther; the Statutes of Parliament ratifying her Reſignation of the Crown and her Son's Coronation, ſubſcribed by divers of her own party; certain amatory verſes and epiſtles written to *Bothwell* (as they ſaid) with her own hand; three ſeveral Contracts of Marriage betwixt her and *Bothwell*; with a number of preſumptuous likelihoods and conjectures, to make it appear that ſhe was privy to the Murther *Bothwell* had committed.

The Queen of *England* doubteth how to carry her ſelf in the buſineſs.

The Queen of *England*, having ſeen and peruſed all theſe, ſtood doubtful what to do: for albeit ſhe was content to have ſome blot rubbed upon the Queen of *Scots*, as many ſuppoſed; yet the pity of her misfortune made her ſometimes to think of compoſing matters betwixt her and her ſubjects. The terms beſides wherein ſhe ſtood with the *French* King, who was daily by his Ambaſſadors ſoliciting the Queen of *Scots* liberty, made her uncertain what courſe to take: for if ſhe ſhould ſimply deny his requeſt, it would be eſteemed a breach of friendſhip; and to yield to his deſire, ſhe thought it ſcarce ſafe for her own eſtate. Therefore keeping a middle courſe, ſhe reſolved to ſuſpend her Declaration unto another time, and willed the Regent, ſeeing he could make no longer ſtay, to leave ſome of his company to anſwer the criminations, which poſſibly his adverſaries would charge him with after he was gone. But he replying ſaid, *That he was not ſo deſirous to return home, but he would willingly ſtay to hear what they could alledge againſt him. Nor was he ignorant of the rumors they had diſperſed, and what they had ſpoken to ſome of the Council and to the* French *Ambaſſador*; *which were more conveuient to be told whileſt he was himſelf in place and might make anſwer, then to bely and calumniate him in his abſence: wherefore he did humbly intreat her to cauſe them utter the things plainly that they muttered in ſecret. Hereupon were the Queen of* Scots *Commiſſioners called, and it being inquired, Whether they had any thing to object againſt the Regent which might argue his guiltineſs of the King's Murther;* they anſwered, *That when the Queen their Miſtreſs ſhould bid them accuſe, they would do it, but for the preſent they had nothing to ſay.* The Regent replied, *That if the Queen or any other would accuſe him, he ſhould ever be ready to give an account of his actions, and neither decline place nor time; but in the mean while till ſhe ſhould intend her Accuſation, it was reaſon they ſhould declare if they themſelves had any thing to lay unto his charge.* After divers ſubterfuges, in end they profeſſed that they knew nothing which might make him or any of his aſſociates ſuſpected of the Murther.

The Queen's Commiſſioners purge the Regent of the King's Murther.

The Duke of *Chattellerault* claimeth the Regency.

The Regent now at the point to depart, a new lett was made by the Duke of *Chattellerault*, who coming from *France* by *England*, drew himſelf into a conteſtation for the Government, pleading that the ſame did belong to him, as being the neareſt of blood, and lawful Heir of the Crown next after the Queen of *Scots* and her Succeſſion.

This he ſaid was the Law and practice of all Nations, and a cuſtom perpetually obſerved in *Scotland*: for proof whereof he alledged the Regency of *Robert Stewart*, Uncle to King *James* the Firſt, with that of his Son Duke *Murdack*, after the Father's death; the Government of *John* Duke of *Albany* in the Minority of King *James* the Fifth, & his own Regency in the nonage of the preſent Queen. Contrary to which cuſtom, a few Rebels (as he complained) had moſt injuriouſly to his diſgrace, & (which was moſt unſufferable) to the contempt of the lawful blood, prefered

one

one baſe born unto the ſupreme Dignity; which honor if it ſhould be reſtored to him, the Civil Troubles he ſaid would ceaſe, and the Queen without any tumult be reſtored to her content. Whereupon he requeſted the Queen of *England*'s favour, and that by her Authority the Earl of *Murray* might be cauſed ceaſe from his uſurped Government. *An.* 1568.

A reply to the Duke's Petition.

To this in behalf of the Regent it was replied, "That the Duke's Petition was "moſt unjuſt, and contrary to the Cuſtom and Laws of the Countrey, which "provided that at ſuch times as the Crown ſhould fall in the hands of Minors, one "or more of the moſt ſage and powerful in the Eſtates ſhould be elected for the "adminiſtration of affairs unto the King's ripe age. This courſe, they ſaid, the *Scots* "had conſtantly kept the laſt ſix hundred years, and thereby ſecured the King-"dom, and tranſmitted the ſame free and ſafe to their poſterity. As, for inſtance, "after the death of King *Robert Bruce*, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray* was elected "Governor; upon his death, *Duncan* Earl of *Marre*; after him, *Andrew Murray*, "and then *Robert Stewart*; who were all choſen Regents one after another. In the "Minority of King *James* the Second, Sir *Alexander Levingſton* was elected, a man "neither of blood of the King, nor a Noble man of degree, but for his worth and "wiſdom preferred. In like ſort King *James* the Third had four Tu-"tors appointed to him by the Eſtates, none of them for any reſpect of propin-"quity.

"And for the examples adduced of Duke *Murdack* and *John* Duke of *Albany*, "they made nothing to the purpoſe. The laſt of the two in the Minority of King "*James* the Fifth being called to the Government by the Nobility, and confirmed "therein by the Eſtates. And to ſhew that in his election no reſpect was had to "nearneſs of blood, his elder Brother *Alexander* was then alive, who would not "have been paſſed, if propinquity or kindred had carried the ſway. How Duke "*Murdack* and his Father before him came to govern, it was well known. King "*Robert* the Third, waxing infirm and unable to rule by himſelf, did ſubſtitute his "Brother (called *Robert* likewiſe) his Lieutenant in the Kingdom, commending "his two Sons *David* and *James* to his care. But the kindneſs he ſhewed to them "was, that the elder of the two was ſtarved to death in the Palace of *Falkland*, and "the younger forced fly for his life, he being detained priſoner in *England*. After "the Father's death, the Uncle uſurped ſtill the place wherewith he was poſſeſſed, "and at his dying left the ſame to *Murdack* his Son. As to that he ſpeaks of his "own Regiment, they ſaid he had done more wiſely not to have mentioned it, con-"ſidering his Preferment proceeded rather of hatred born to the Cardinal, who "had ſuppoſed a falſe Teſtament, then of any favor carried to himſelf: and that "being poſſeſſed in the place, he ſold both it and the young Queen to the *French*, "which had bred a great deal of trouble. And granting the cuſtom had been "ſuch as he pretends, will any man in reaſon judge it ſafe to commit the tuition of "an innocent child to him, whoſe Family hath entertained ſo long enmity with "that of which the King is deſcended, and will ever be waiting and wiſhing the "death of his Pupil? none will think it. This was the ſubſtance of the Reply; which when the Queen of *England* heard, ſhe directed certain of the Council to ſhew the Duke, that he was not to look for any help from her in that buſineſs, and to prohibit his journey into *Scotland*, till the Regent was parted and gone home.

The Queen of *Scots* Letters intercepted.

About the ſame time there were Letters of the Queen of *Scots* intercepted, ſent to the Noblemen of her party in *Scotland*, wherein ſhe complained, *That the Queen of* England *had not kept promiſe unto her; yet deſired them to be of good heart, becauſe ſhe was aſſured of aid by ſome other means, and hoped to be with them in a ſhort time.* Theſe Letters ſent from *Scotland* to the Regent, he delivered to the Queen of *England*, who from thenceforth was much eſtranged from the Queen of *Scots*, as well for that ſhe charged her with breach of promiſe, as becauſe it appeared ſhe leaned to ſome others beſides her ſelf.

The Regent returneth to *Scotland*.

The Regent preſently after took his journey homewards, and being attended by the Sheriffs & Gentlemen of the Countrey at the Queen of *England*'s direction, came

An. 1568. came safely to *Berwick* the first of *February*, and the day following to *Edinburgh*: within a few days he went to *Striveling*, and in a Convention of the Estates having related the proceedings in *England*, had all ratified and approved.

The Duke made Deputy by the Queen of *Scots*.

The twentieth of the same moneth the Duke of *Chattellerault* returned, and being made Deputy by the Queen of *Scots*, caused publish his Letters, prohibiting the subjects to acknowledge any other Sovereign then the Queen. Hereupon the Regent gave forth Proclamations, charging the Lieges in the King's name to meet him in Arms at *Glasgow* the tenth of *March*. The Duke in the mean time sent to the Assembly of the Church, convened at that time in *Edinburgh*, a prolix Letter, wherein he signified, "That being in *France*, and hearing what Troubles "were moved at home, the love he carried to his native Countrey made him re- "turn with intent to pacifie these stirs at his utmost power: and howbeit in his "absence he had suffered wrong, yet he assured them that his own particular did not "grieve him so much, as the danger wherein the Kingdom was brought, by the di- "versity that had happened betwixt the Queen their native Sovereign and a part "of her subjects, which he wished to be removed in some quiet and peaceable man- "ner; and that the Estates convening might (after they had considered the ground "and beginning of these Troubles, which he conceived to be the Murther of the "Queen's late Husband) with one consent agree upon some reasonable course to "be followed for redress thereof, and of the evils which thence had proceeded; "whereunto he, and all the Nobility continuing in the obedience of the Queen "their Sovereign, should be found pliable. Which he did not write, (as he said) be- "cause of the Proclamations made by the Earl of *Murray* to convene people in *Glas-* "*gow* the tenth of *March*: for since these Troubles began he was not in the Coun- "trey; and if all *Scotland* were gathered, he would trust for his own and his prede- "cessors good deserving to find such favor, as if the Earl of *Murray* would invade him "and his friends, he should not be assisted by any of them to do him wrong. There- "fore desired them in God's behalf (so the Letter beareth) to make his mind and "intention known to the people; or if they did not think his desires and offers "reasonable, that they would come and reason with himself, whom they should "find easie to be ruled in all matters according to God's Word and equity.

He writeth to the Assembly of the Church.

The Assemblie's answer. Commissioners from the Churches to the Regent.

To this Letter, dated at *Hamilton* the 27 of *February* 1568, the Assembly answered, "That they would communicate the Letter with the Regent, and know his "pleasure, whether or not they should send any of their number to the Duke in "Commission to treat with his Grace. Which accordingly they did, appointing the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Fife*, with Mr. *John Row*, to go unto the Regent, and having obtained his licence to pass to the Duke and Noblemen that were in his company, and use all means possible for reconciling them to the obedience of the King and his Regent.

Petitions in behalf of the Church.

They had also certain Petitions given them to be presented to the Regent in name of the Church; as to desire, *That beneficed persons not bearing function in the Church, and subject only in payment of Thirds, should be compelled to contribute for sustentation of the poor: That remedy might be provided against the chopping and changing of Benefices, diminution of Rentals, and setting of Tithes in long Leases, to the defrauding of Ministers and their successors; that they who possessed plurality of Benefices might be caused dimit all saving one: That the Jurisdiction of the Church might be separated from the Civil, and that they might, without his Grace's offence and the Council's, use their Censures against the Earl of* Huntley *for deposing the Collectors of the Church, and placing others in their rooms, by his own authority.* Such a respect was carried in that time to Civil power, as the Church could not proceed in Censures against men in prime places without their knowledge; the neglect whereof in after-times brought with it great Troubles both to the Church and State. I find in the same Assembly, the *University of S. Andrews* ordained to *meet*, and *form such orders as they should think fit for giving Degrees in Divinity*: whereby it appeareth that our first Reformers were not enemies to Degrees, either in Schools or in Church.

Orders for giving degrees in Divinity.

The Regent and Duke agreed.

But to return to the State: By the travels of the Superintendents matters for that time were transacted betwixt the Regent and the Duke in this manner.

"That

"That the Duke ſhould come to *Glaſgow*, and ſubmit himſelf to the King's Autho- *An.* 1569.
"rity. That he and his friends ſhould be reſtored to their honors and poſſeſſions.
"That he ſhould give ſurety for his and their continuing in the King's obedience;
"and that the reſt who were joyned with him in that cauſe ſhould be all accepted
"upon the ſame conditions. This Tranſaction not contenting the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, they refuſed to be compriſed under it, either thinking to obtain better or more eaſie conditions of the Regent; or animated by the Queen of *Scots* Letters, who had then conceived ſome hopes of Liberty.

He forthinketh his yielding.

The Duke, hearing that they would not accept the Conditions, did forthink what he had done, and at the day appointed for giving in his ſurety, though he came himſelf to *Edinburgh*, made divers ſhifts, deſiring that all matters might be continued to the tenth of *May*, when the two Earls were expected, and the Queen's mind would be better known. It was told him, *That the Earls were treating ſeverally for themſelves, ſo as he needed not to wait on their coming. And for the Queen's approbation*, being ask'd, *if ſhe would deny it, what in that caſe he would do*; more ingenuouſly then profitably for himſelf he anſwered, *that he was drawn againſt his will to make the promiſe he had made, and that if he were freed of it, he would never conſent to the like.* Thereupon was he and the Lord *Hereis* (who accompanied him, and was thought had diverted him from his former reſolution) committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Duke & Lord *Hereis* committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

A Treaty with *Argile* and *Huntley*.

The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, who were at the ſame time making their own appointment, had a day aſſigned them at S. *Andrews*, whither *Argile* came firſt; and with him the difficulty was not great, becauſe in the laſt Tumults he had carried himſelf more moderately then others: wherefore of him no more was craved, but that he ſhould ſwear obedience to the King and Authority in time coming, as he did. The buſineſs with *Huntley* was greater; for he during the Regent's abſence had uſurped the Royal power, placing Lieutenants in the Countries of *Angus*, *Mernis* & *Strathern*, and committed great ſpoils upon the ſubjects in thoſe parts. Therefore whenas divers of the Council did adviſe to put all things paſt in oblivion, it was by others oppoſed, *That the example of ſuch impunity would prove hurtful: for when they that had continued in the King's obedience, and ſuſtained loſs in their goods, ſhould perceive the Rebels after a manner rewarded, and no regard taken of their loſſes, they would undoubtedly grudge, &, if Troubles ſhould afterwards ariſe, be more ſlack to do ſervice; yea, granting there were no ſuch inconvenience to be feared, yet neither the Regent nor yet the King himſelf could by Law remit the robbing of another mans goods, unleſs reſtitution was made of that which was ſpoiled.* And whereas ſome did object his greatneſs, and that his lying out might cauſe great unquietneſs; *It was an idle fear: for was not his Father a man of greater wealth and wiſdom eaſily brought under foot, when he ſet himſelf againſt the Authority? And ſhall he, who hath not as yet repaired the calamities of his Houſe, be able to withſtand the forces of a whole Kingdom? It is more fooliſh*, they ſay, *that he will ſeek to ſome forein Prince, and ſo endanger the Countrey; for whom ſhall he find? Princes are not wont to make accompt of ſtrangers farther then may ſerve to their own commodity. To accept him in favor*, they ſaid, *was ſufficient, albeit he gave ſatisfaction to the ſubjects whom he had wronged.* This opinion prevailing, it was concluded that, after trial of the complaints, he ſhould ſatisfie thoſe that he had wronged, at ſight of the Council.

Huntley remitted upon ſome conditions.

But then aroſe another queſtion, *Whether all that had aſſiſted him in theſe laſt Troubles ſhould be compriſed in his remiſſion, and power given him to compone with them for ſatisfying ſuch as complained; or that they ſhould be ſeverally called, and every man fined as he ſhould be tried to have offended.* They who thought the Earl too rigorouſly uſed in the point of ſatisfaction, held that to be the ſmalleſt favor which could be done to him, to remit his followers to himſelf. But to the contrary it was anſwered, *That in Civil Wars nothing was ſo much to be looked unto as the weakening and diſſolving of Factions, which is the moſt eaſily wrought, when the Prince reſerves to himſelf the power of Pardon and Puniſhment.* It was farther ſaid, *That a ſeveral examination was neceſſary, becauſe all had not offended alike; and that no man was ſo unfit to take that trial as the Earl himſelf, becauſe in all probability they ſhould have moſt favor at his hand who had been moſt forward in his ſervice, and ſo the leaſt guilty ſhould bear the heavieſt puniſhment.* Upon theſe conſiderations it was thought meet

An. 1569. to convene his followers ſeverally, remitting his domeſticks only to be uſed by him at his pleaſure. And thus was he received into grace; which done, the Regent made an expedition into the North, where having kept Juſtice-Courts at *Aberdene*, *Elgin* and *Innerneſs*, he ſetled all thoſe parts in peace, and for obſerving the ſame took pledges of *Huntley*, and the principal Clames of the Countrey.

The Regents expedition into the North.

In his return the Lord *Boyd*, who was lately come from *England*, did meet him at *Elgin* with Letters from both the Queens, and ſome others written by his private friends in the *Engliſh* Court. The Queen of *England* in her Letters made offer of three conditions in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, requiring one of the three to be accepted. Theſe were, *That ſhe ſhould either be abſolutely reſtored to her Royal Dignity; or be aſſociated in the Government with her Son, and in all Letters and publick Acts honored with the Title of a Queen, the adminiſtration of affairs continuing in the Regent's hands till the King ſhould be* 17 *years of age; or if none of theſe could be granted, that ſhe might be permitted to return unto her Countrey, and live a private life, having honorable means appointed for her entertainment.* The Queen of *Scots* deſired *that Judges ſhould be appointed for cognoſcing the Lawfulneſs of her Marriage with* Bothwell, *and if the ſame was found contracted againſt the Laws, it might be declared null, and ſhe made free to marry where ſhe pleaſed.* From private friends, eſpecially by a Letter of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Regent was advertiſed, that the Marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Queen of *Scots* was concluded, and that they did wait only the opportunity of performance. Wherefore he wiſhed him to concur with his beſt friends in that matter, and to do it with ſuch expedition and good affection, as it might not appear either to the Queen his Siſter, or others who had intereſt in the buſineſs, that his conſent was extorted, and not willingly given. To this effect he adviſed him to ſend the Laird of *Lethington* to *England* with ſpeed, as the wiſeſt & moſt ſufficient man he could chuſe, who would provide for him & the reſt that had aſſiſted him ſubſtantially and aſſuredly. *His conſcience*, he ſaid, *& ſome over-preciſe objections might perhaps trouble him; but if he could have eſpied any other thing then his overthrow in reſiſting, he would not have written ſo peremptorily unto him.* Then concluded with theſe words, *No mans friendſhip will be more embraced then yours, no mans eſtimation be greater if you ſhall conform your ſelf, & concur with your friends in this: contrariwiſe, if you withſtand, or become an adverſe party, you wil be ſo incumbred both from hence, from thence, & all other places, as no man can adviſe you what to do. Therefore God ſend you to direct your courſe for the beſt.*

The Lord *Boyd* bringeth Letters from both Queens to the Regent.

A Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to the Regent.

This Letter was accompanied with another from Sir *Nicholas* to *Lethington*, wherein he ſhewed, that according to his adviſe he had written to the Regent *with a great zeal and care of his well doing*, (theſe were the words he uſed) and requeſted he ſhould haſten his coming to Court for that buſineſs, the ſame being as yet concealed from the Queen, till he as the fitteſt Miniſter might propone the ſame in behalf of the Regent and Nobility of *Scotland*; whereunto he held it aſſured the Queen would aſſent, as preferring her own ſurety, the tranquillity of her Kingdom and conſervation of her people, before any device that might proceed from the inconſiderate paſſions of whomſoever. And that he might be the more incouraged, he did inform him particularly of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s conſent, and the approbation of the Earls of *Arundell*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and the reſt of the wiſeſt, nobleſt, ableſt and mightieſt of that Realm. And it was truth that he wrote of their conſenting, howbeit with a condition, *ſo that the Queen of* England *was not againſt it*: yea, beſide theſe divers well affected both to Religion and State did wiſh the purpoſe a good ſucceſs; for perceiving no inclination in the Queen of *England* her ſelf to take a Husband, they feared the Queen of *Scots*, who was her undoubted Heir, by matching with ſome forein Prince, might endanger both Religion and State; and therefore deſired the Marriage with the Duke might take effect, he being a Nobleman of *England*, beloved of the people, and educated in the Proteſtant Religion. For by this Match, as they made account, if it ſhould happen the young King to die, the two Kingdoms might be united in a Prince of the *Engliſh* Nation; or if he lived unto a ripe age, he might be married with the Duke's youngeſt Daughter, who was near of the ſame age, and that way the two Crowns be made one. But theſe devices proved idle and vain, as we ſhall hear.

A Letter from Sir *Nicholas* to *Lethington*.

The

The Regent, for anſwering theſe Letters, did appoint a meeting of the Eſtates at *Perth* in *July* thereafter. At which time an Aſſembly of the Church was alſo kept in *Edinburgh*, and from it Commiſſioners directed to the Convention, to renew the Petitions made the year preceding, that as yet had received no anſwer: And farther, to deſire "that a portion of the Tithes might be allotted for ſuſtenta-"tion of the poor; the labourers of the ground permitted to gather the Tithes of "their proper Corns, paying for the ſame a reaſonable duty; and that the Thirds "of Benefices being really ſeparated from the two other parts, the Collectors of "the Church might peaceably intromet therewith, for the more ready payment "of Miniſters according to their aſſignations. But theſe Petitions, in regard of the more weighty buſineſs, were deferred to another time. *An.* 1569. A Convention of Eſtates at *Perth*.

And the Convention falling to conſider the Letters ſent from *England*, did hardly accord upon an anſwer. Beginning with that of the Queen of *England*, they judged the Firſt Condition ſo derogatory to the King's Authority, as they did ſimply reject it. The Second, of Aſſociation, was held dangerous; and the Third only thought reaſonable, and meet to be accepted. But when they came to ſpeak of the Queen of *Scots* deſires, the contention was great. They that ſtood for the King's Authority taking exception, firſt, at her imperious form of writing, and that ſhe did command them, as though ſhe were their abſolute Queen: then at the deſire it ſelf they excepted, not holding it ſafe to condeſcend unto the ſame before the Queen of *England* ſhould be acquainted therewith; for they conceived ſome other thing to be lurking under that purpoſe of Divorce then was openly pretended. Such as affected the Queen, and were privy to the Marriage intended with *Norfolk*, excuſing the form of writing, and laying the blame upon her Secretaries, made offer to procure new Letters in what terms they pleaſed, ſo as Judges were named to proceed in the Divorce: and when they ſaw this not to be regarded, in a chafing mood they ſaid, *That it was ſtrange to think, how they that not many moneths paſſed ſeemed to deſire nothing more then the Queen's Separation from* Bothwell, *ſhould now when it was offered decline the ſame.* It was anſwered again in heat, *That if the Queen was ſo earneſt in the Divorce, ſhe might write to the King of* Denmark, *and deſire him to do juſtice upon* Bothwell *for the Murther of the King her Husband. That done, the Divorce would not be needful, and ſhe freed to marry where and when ſhe pleaſed.* Their judgement of the Letters ſent from the two Queens.

The Convention breaking up, and neither the Queen's Faction obtaining what they deſired, nor *Lethington* the imployment which he affected, new ſuſpicions began to riſe on all ſides, and, as in the moſt ſecret practices ſomewhat always is burſting forth, a rumor went rife amongſt the common ſort, that *ſome great enterpriſe was in hand, which would bring with it a wonderful change in both Kingdoms.* Mr. *John Wood*, one of the Regent's domeſticks, being ſent with the anſwer of the Convention, did ſignifie to the Queen of *England* the buſineſs made about the Divorce, and what was done concerning it: but ſhe, not ſeeming to regard the matter, profeſſed that ſhe was not ſatisfied with the anſwer of the Convention, and deſired they ſhould think better of the Conditions propoſed. The truth was, that ſhe held not the Gentleman of ſufficient quality to deal in ſuch buſineſs; for otherwiſe ſhe was not ignorant of the cauſe wherefore the Divorce was ſought, and had warned *Norfolk to take heed on what pillow he laid his head*; yea, ſhe took ſo ill the Queen of *Scots* carriage in that matter, as ſhortly after ſhe cauſed her to be removed to *Coventry*, more within the Countrey, and gave her in cuſtody to *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Edward Haſtings* Earl of *Huntingdon*. A meſſage ſent into *England*.

The Regent upon his ſervant's return convened the Nobility again at *Striveling*, where in effect the ſame anſwer that of before was given to the Propoſitions made by the Queen of *England*; and herewith *Robert Pitcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, a man of good ſufficiency, was directed, who was willed to ſay for the point of Aſſociation, *That the ſame could not be granted, as tending to the utter overthrow of the King's Authority, and the endangering of his Perſon. For beſides that the participation of a Crown was obnoxious to many perils, there could be no equality of Government betwixt an infant King and a Woman of mature age, who would find a thouſand ways, being* The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* ſent into *England*.

An. 1569. *once poſſeſſed with a part of the Rule, to draw the whole unto her ſelf. And if it ſhould fall that ſhe matched with ſome forein Prince or other great Perſonage who muſt needs be partner with her in the Government, the danger would be ſo much the greater.* Theſe and the like reaſons he was willed to uſe for the Queen of *England*'s ſatisfaction. But before his coming to Court the face of things was quite changed; the Duke of *Northfolk* committed to the Tower, and the Biſhop of *Roſs* put in the keeping of the Biſhop of *London*. After which brake ſhortly forth that Rebellion in the North part of *England*, whereof *Thomas Percie* Earl of *Northumberland* and *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmerland* were the heads. A Rebellion that in the beginning cauſed great ſtir, and put the Queen of *England* in ſuch fears, as once ſhe reſolved to ſend the Queen of *Scots* by Sea to the Regent; but the ſudden diſperſing of the Rebels altered that reſolution.

The Earl of *Northumberland* impriſoned in *Lochlevin*.

The two Earls fleeing into *Scotland*, *Northumberland* was not long after put out by ſome Borderers to the Regent, and ſent to be kept in *Lochlevin*: *Weſtmerland* found the means to eſcape into *Flanders*, where he lived long in a poor and contemptible eſtate.

Lethington charged with the King's Murther.

Lethington perceiving all his devices fruſtrated, and being conſcious to himſelf of divers ill practices, remained for the moſt part with the Earl of *Athol* at *Perth*; who being ſent for to come to the Regent, made divers excuſes, and when he could not ſhift his coming any longer, intreated *Athol* to accompany him, that if need was he might uſe his interceſſion. Being at *Striveling* in Council, Captain *Thomas Crawford*, ſervant to the Earl of *Lenox*, did openly charge him with the King's Murther: whereupon he was committed in a chamber within the Caſtle of *Striveling*. And at the ſame time were certain directed to apprehend Sir *James Balfour*, who was guilty of the ſame crime; but he made an eſcape. *Lethington* was ſent priſoner to *Edinburgh*, (where he was to have his Trial) under the charge of *Alexander Home* of North-*Berwick*, a truſty Gentleman.

The Laird of *Grange* counterfeiteth the Regent's hand, and taketh *Lethington* to the Caſtle.

Having ſtayed ſome days in lodging not far from the Caſtle, the Laird of *Grange*, counterfeiting the Regent's hand, came about ten of the clock at night, and preſented a Warrant for receiving the priſoner in his keeping. The Gentleman, taking no ſuſpicion, obeyed, for he knew no man to be more inward with the Regent then was *Grange*. And he indeed unto that time did carry the reputation of an honeſt man, nor was any one thought more ſure and faſt then he was. But from thenceforth he became hated of all good men, and was in no eſteem, as having abuſed his credit, and deceived the Regent, to whom he was many ways obliged. For, beſides other benefits, he had preferred him before all his own friends to be keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The next day being ſent for to come to the Regent, he refuſed. Nottheleſs the next day following (ſo careful the Regent was to reclaim the man) he went himſelf to the Caſtle, and conferred a good ſpace with him, accepting the excuſe he made, and contenting himſelf with a promiſe to exhibit *Lethington* when he ſhould be called to his trial.

The Regent makes an expedition to the Borders.

After which keeping his journey to the Borders which he had intended, he went by the *Mers*, and as he was accuſtomed took up his lodging in the Caſtle of *Home*. But there he was coldly received, the Lord of the place having changed his party, and taken himſelf to the contrary Faction. From thence he went to *Teviotdale*; and though he was adviſed by his friends, becauſe of his ſmall company, to return, and defer his journey to another time, he would needs go on, and had great obedience ſhewed in all the parts to whom he came.

He is informed of practices againſt his life.

All the time of this expedition he had warning given him daily of ſome practices againſt his life, wherein *Grange* was ever named as one of the principals. But he, not truſting theſe informations, ſent the copies of all his advertiſements to *Grange*; whoſe purgations were ſo ſlender, as he was ever after that time held ſuſpected. Soon after the Regent's return from the Borders, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* came home from *England*, ſhewing that the Queen had taken in good part the anſwer of the Council, and was ſpecially pleaſed with the taking of *Northumberland*, which ſhe promiſed to remember with all kindneſs.

And now the Diet approaching of *Lethington*'s Trial, becauſe of the numbers that were

were preparing to keep the day, the Regent diſliking ſuch Convocations, and for that he would not have Juſtice out-bragged, did prorogate the ſame for four moneths. *An.* 1569.

Lethington's Trial deferred.

The adverſe Faction finding his Authority daily to increaſe, and deſpairing of any ſucceſs in their attempts ſo long as he lived, reſolved by ſome violent means to cut him off; and to bring the matter to paſs, one *James Hamilton* of *Bothwell-haugh* did offer his ſervice. This man had been impriſoned ſome time, and being in danger of his life, redeemed the ſame by making over a parcel of land in *Lothian*, called *Woodhouſly*, that came to him by his Wife, to Sir *James Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk. How ſoon he was let at liberty he ſought to be re-poſſeſſed to his own, and not ſeeing a way to recover it, (for the Juſtice Clerk would not part therewith) he made his quarrel to the Regent, who was moſt innocent, and had reſtored him both to life and liberty. The great promiſes made him by the Faction, with his private diſcontent, did ſo confirm his mind, as he ceaſed not till he put to execution the miſchief he had conceived againſt him; and having failed the occaſion which he attended at *Glaſgow* and *Striveling*, he followed the Regent to *Linlithgow*, where lurking privately in the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* his lodging, the next day, as the Regent did paſs that way, he killed him with the ſhot of a bullet, that entering a little beneath the navel, and piercing the bowels, did ſtrike dead the horſe of a Gentleman who was riding on his other ſide. The Regent had warning given him the ſame morning, that one did lye in wait for his life, and had the houſe deſigned where the man did lurk; but giving ſmall ear unto it, anſwered, that *his life was in the hands of God, which he was ready to yield at his good pleaſure.* Only he reſolved to paſs out of the Town by the ſame Gate at which he entered, and to turn on the back of the Town unto the way that led to *Edinburgh*, whither he was purpoſed. But when he had taken horſe, either that he would not ſeem fearful, or then hindered by the throng of horſemen that attended, and thinking to ride quickly by the houſe that was ſuſpected, he changed his reſolution: but the throng there working him the like impediment, the Murtherer had the occaſion to execute his Treachery.

James Hamilton of *Bothwell-haugh* taketh in hand the Regent's Murther.

The Regent killed by the ſhot of a bullet.

How ſoon the Regent perceived himſelf ſtricken, he lighted from his horſe, and returned on foot to his lodging. The Chirurgeon at the firſt inſpection of his wound did affirm it not to be deadly, yet after a few hours his pain increaſing he began to think on death. They who ſtood by ſaying, that *he had loſt himſelf by his clemency, having ſpared that Miſcreant whoſe life he might juſtly have taken:* he anſwered, that *they ſhould never make him forthink any good he had done in his life.* Thereafter giving order for his private affairs, he ſeriouſly commended the care of the young King to ſuch of the Nobility as were preſent, and died a little before midnight. This fell out the 23 of *January*, 1569, being Saturday.

The Murtherer eſcaping by the Poſtern-gate of the Garden came the ſame night to the Town of *Hamilton*, where at firſt he was welcomed with many gratulations and made much of; yet ſhortly after, to decline the envy of the fact, which they heard was univerſally deteſted, they gave him a little money and ſent him away into *France*. *Thuanus* writeth in his Story, that not long after he came thither he was ſolicited to undertake the like interpriſe againſt *Gaſper Colignie*, that worthy Admiral of *France*; and that he did anſwer, that *he had no warrant from* Scotland *to commit Murthers in* France; *and howbeit he had taken revenge of the wrong done to himſelf, he was not either for price or prayer to undertake other mens quarrels.* Whether this was ſo or not, I leave it upon the credit of the Writer.

The Murtherer eſcapeth.

Thuanus, 46.

The death of the Regent was by all good men greatly lamented, eſpecially by the Commons, who loved him as their father whileſt he lived, and now mourned grievouſly at his death. The great things he had wrought in his life (having in the ſpace of one year and a little more quieted the State, which he found broken and diſordered) made his very enemies ſpeak of him after his death with praiſe and commendation. Above all his vertues, which were not a few, he ſhined in Piety towards God, ordering himſelf and his Family in ſuch ſort, as it did more reſemble a Church then a Court.

The death of the Regent greatly lamented.

An. 1569. For therein beſides the exerciſe of Devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedneſs to be ſeen, nay, not an unſeemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongſt the beſt Governors that this Kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honored with the Title of *The good Regent.*

A Prediction of *John Knox.*

There fell out the next day after his death a thing which I thought was not to be paſſed. He was killed on the Saturday, and died (as I have ſaid) a little before midnight. The word of his death coming to *Edinburgh, Thomas Maitland,* a younger brother of *Lethington,* (this is he whom *Buchannan* makes his Collocutor in the Dialogue *De jure Regni*) knowing what eſteem *John Knox* made of the Regent, and loving none of the two, cauſed a Writing to be laid in the Pulpit where *John Knox* was that day to preach, to this ſenſe, and almoſt in the ſame words; *Take up the man whom you accounted another God, and conſider the end whereto his Ambition hath brought him.* *John Knox* finding the Paper, and taking it to be a memorial for recommending ſome ſick perſons in his Prayers, after he had read the ſame, laid it by, nothing as it ſeemed commoved therewith; yet in the end of the Sermon falling to regrate the loſs that the Church and Commonwealth had received by the death of the Regent, and ſhewing how God did often for the ſins of the people take away good Rulers and Governors, *I perceive,* ſaid he, *albeit this be an accident we ſhould all take to heart, there be ſome that rejoyce in this wicked fact, making it the ſubject of their mirth; amongſt whom there is one that hath cauſed a Writing to be caſt in this place, inſulting upon that which is all good mens ſorrow. This wicked man, whoſoever he be, ſhall not go unpuniſhed, and ſhall die where none ſhall be to lament him.* The Gentleman was himſelf preſent at Sermon, and being come to the lodging, asked his ſiſter, who was alſo there, if ſhe did not think *John Knox* was raving to ſpeak ſo of the man he knew not. But ſhe weeping ſaid, that *ſhe was ſorry he had not followed her counſel*; for ſhe had diſſuaded him from that doing. *None of this mans denunciations,* ſaid ſhe, *are wont to prove idle, but have their own effect.* Shortly after, the Troubles of the Countrey increaſing, the Gentleman betook himſelf to travel, and paſſing into *Italy* died there, having no known perſon to attend him. This I thought not unworthy of record, being informed thereof by the Gentleman's ſiſter to whom theſe ſpeeches were uttered, and who was privy to the whole purpoſe, for an advertiſement to all perſons, not to make a light account of the threatnings of God's Servants. The Gentleman was otherwiſe a youth of great hopes, learned and courteous, but miſcarried with affection, and not to be excuſed in this, that he took pleaſure in the fall of him whom he judged an enemy; a thing inhumane and abhorred of the very Heathen.

An Ambaſſador ſent from *England.*

The word of the Regent's death carried in haſte to *England,* the Queen ſent *Thomas Randolph,* Maſter of her Poſts, Ambaſſador into *Scotland,* partly to confer with the Council upon the ſureſt means to keep affairs in the ſtate they were, and partly to complain of the Incurſion lately made in *England.* For the very night after the Regent's Murther, *Walter Scot* of *Bacleugh* and *Thomas Ker* of *Pharnherſt* had invaded the Countrey bordering upon them, and practiſed greater Hoſtility then was accuſtomed, of purpoſe to embroil the two Kingdoms in a publick War, which they of the *Scottiſh* Queen's Faction moſt earneſtly deſired.

The Ambaſſador's ſpeech in Council.

The Ambaſſador was no ſooner come, but he had hearing given him by the Council; to whom after he had ſpoken a few words concerning her Majeſtie's good affection to the Realm in general, and in her name commending to their care the preſervation of Religion, the ſafety of the young King, and the puniſhment of the late Murther; he did much aggravate the inſolence of the Borderers, and the ſpoil they had made in *England,* ſaying, "That his Miſtreſs knew ſufficiently that theſe things "were not done by publick allowance, and therefore meant not to make quarrel "to the Countrey, but take her ſelf to the actors, whom if they by themſelves "could not ſuppreſs, her Majeſty would either joyn her power to theirs, or, if they "thought meet, ſend an Army into *Scotland,* which, without doing harm to any "good ſubject, ſhould only puniſh the committers of that Inſolence.

The Council returning many thanks to the Queen for her kind Ambaſſage, excuſed

cuſed themſelves by the preſent Troubles, that no determinate anſwer could as then be given to his Propoſitions, and therefore beſought him to have patience unto the firſt of *May*, at which time the Eſtates of the Realm were to meet, by whom her Majeſty ſhould receive all ſatisfaction. The Eſtates convening at the day, *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, Brother uterine to the late Regent, preferred a Petition to the Council for ſome courſe to be taken in the revenge of his Brother's Murther, conſidering he was taken away in the defence of the common cauſe of the Realm, and not upon any private quarrel. The Petition was held reaſonable by all that were preſent, every one conſenting to the purſuit and puniſhment of the Murtherer and his complices. But in the manner they agreed not. Some adviſing that not the Murtherer only, but all who were ſuſpected to have had a hand in the Treachery, ſhould be called to underly the ordinary trial of Law at a certain day. Others eſteeming ſuch a form of proceſs unneceſſary with them who had already taken Arms to maintain the fact; and that the beſt courſe were, to purſue with all hoſtility both theſe that were delated of the recent crime, and ſuch as had been forfeited in the Parliament preceding. Many inclined to the laſt courſe, yet becauſe it was oppoſed by divers of ſpecial note, there was nothing concluded in the buſineſs; which was generally ill taken of the people, who conſtrued the delay to proceed of ſome private favor carried to the enemies, and to be done of purpoſe, that either with time the hatred of the Murther might be leſſened, or the adverſaries might have leiſure to make themſelves more ſtrong.

An. 1570.

The Laird of *Lochlevin* urgeth a revenge of the Regent's Murther.

The delay ill taken of the people.

The Aſſembly of the Church in the mean while, (which was then convened at *Edinburgh*) to declare in what deteſtation they had the Murther committed, did ordain the Murtherer to be excommunicated in all the chief Burghs of the Realm, and whoſoever afterwards happened to be convicted thereof to be uſed in the ſame manner. In this Aſſembly divers Conſtitutions were made for Diſcipline, and amongſt others an Act for the publick inauguration of Miniſters at their entry, whereunto the revolt of ſome Preachers gave occaſion, that, forſaking the Pulpit, took them to the pleading of Cauſes before the Lords of Seſſion. It was then alſo condeſcended, that forth of the Thirds five thouſand Marks ſhould be yearly paid for the furniſhing of the King's Houſe, and the Church burthened with no farther duty.

An. 1570.

Some few days after, the principals of the Queen's Faction being convened at *Glaſgow*, the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Boyd* did write to the Earl of *Morton*, and offer to joyn with the reſt of the Nobility in the trial and puniſhment of the Regent's Murther, ſo as the meeting were appointed at *Striveling*, *Falkirk* or *Linlithgow*, for to *Edenburgh* they would not come. This Letter (as he was deſired) he communicated with the Secretary, who was after the Regent's death come forth of the Caſtle, and by the Earl of *Athol* brought again unto the Council, having firſt purged himſelf of the accuſation laid againſt him, and promiſed to ſubmit himſelf unto the moſt ſevere trial that could be taken. His advice to the Earl *Morton* was, that the Noblemen ſhould all be brought to *Edenburgh*, which for thoſe of the Queen's party he undertook to do, and to that effect he ſent Letters unto the principals of that Faction, ſhewing that they had no cauſe to fear, being in forces ſuperior to the others, and having the Lord of *Grange* on their ſide, (for he had then plainly declared himſelf for the Queen) who was both Provoſt of the Town and commanded the Caſtle. Thus about the midſt of *March* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol* and *Crawford*, with the Lords *Ogilvy*, *Home* and *Seaton* did meet at *Edenburgh*. The Earl of *Argile*, the *Hamiltons*, and the Lord *Boyd* came as far as unto *Linlithgow*; but by occaſion of a tumult raiſed amongſt ſome ſoldiers, they were forced to diſperſe their companies, and return home to their dwellings. Within a few days the Earls of *Marre* and *Glencarn* came likewiſe to *Edenburgh*; after whoſe coming the Lords of both Factions meeting to confer, did think fit to continue all things till the Earl of *Argile* was advertiſed, whoſe authority was great in thoſe times. And when it was known that he was gone back from *Linlithgow*, the Earl of *Huntley* followed to perſuade his return; but he would not conſent. They write the Secretary ſhould have privily diſſuaded him, as one who loved to keep all things looſe; but

The principals of the Queen's Faction write to the Earl of *Morton*.

Lethington offereth himſelf to a trial.

A Meeting at *Edinburgh* of the Noblemen of both parties in *March*.

An. 1570. but I do not see what advantage he could expect that way, and think rather that, as his estate then stood, he did earnestly desire to have matters accorded. The true cause of *Argile*'s declining that Conference seems to have been the averseness of his Brother and others of his friendship, who refused to follow him in that quarrel, and carried a constant affection to the maintaining of the King's Authority.

They deliberate upon the choice of a Regent.

Whenas the other Noblemen perceived that *Argile* would not come, they began to treat of the choice of a Regent in place of him who was taken away. Here first they fell to question their own power and authority, which some maintained to be sufficient, because of the Patent the Queen had given at first for the administration of affairs in her Son's Minority, in which seven Noblemen were named, besides the late Regent, and that of this number they might chuse, as they said, any one. Others reasoned that no respect ought to be had to that Patent, the same being expired by the creation of the last Regent, for which only at the time it was granted. The more moderate gave their opinion, that all proceeding in that business should be delayed till the convention of the Estates in *May* next. This was likewise opposed by a number that esteemed the protracting of time dangerous, and thought that it concerned the Noblemen who had first assisted the Coronation of the King, and continued firm in his obedience, to nominate a Regent that would be careful of the young King his preservation, and of the quiet and tranquillity of the Realm. But this opinion, as tending to the fostering of discord, was rejected. So that Meeting dissolved without any certain conclusion.

An Ambassador from *France*.

At the same time one Monsieur *Verac*, Cubiculare to the *French* King, landed at *Dumbarton*, bringing Letters to the Noblemen of the Queen's Faction, full of thanks for the constant affection they had shewed in maintaining the cause, and promises of present succours. This did so animate them, as in a frequent meeting kept the first of *April* at *Linlithgow* they began to discover the intention which before they had concealed of making War upon *England*; for this, as they judged, would serve to obliterate the late Regent's Murther. And to give the more authority to their proceedings, they took purpose to remove to *Edinburgh*, using all means to draw the Town to be of their party, which they thought would be easily obtained by reason of *Grange* his Commandment; and if they should once compass this, they put no doubt to draw the rest of the Countrey their way in a short time. But first they resolved to advertise the Town of their coming, and to intreat their favour. The Magistrates answered, *That their Gates should be patent to all that professed themselves subjects to the King*; *but they would neither receive the* English *Rebels*, (meaning the Earl of *Westmerland* and Lord *Dacres*, who were in company with the Lords) *nor the* Hamiltons *and others suspected of the Regent's Murther, nor yet permit any Proclamations to be made derogatory to the King's Authority.*

A meeting at *Linlithgow* of the Noblemen that stood for the Queen.

These conditions seemed to them hard, yet, hoping by conversation to win the people to their side, they came forward. The next day after their coming to the Town, they gave out a Proclamation, "Declaring their good affection towards "the maintenance of true Religion, their Sovereign, the Liberty of the Countrey, "and the setling of the present Divisions, which must, as they said, unless timous "remedy were provided, bring the Realm to utter destruction. They desired "therefore all men to know, that they had esteemed the enterprise taken by some "Noblemen against the Earl of *Bothwell*, for revenging the Murther of the King, "and setting of the Queen at Liberty, both good and honorable, whereunto they "would have given their assistence if the same had been duly required. And for "the things that had intervened, which they did forbear to mention lest they "should irritate the minds of any, their desire was the same might be in a familiar "and friendly Conference calmly debated, and a peaceable course taken for remo-"ving the Differences. Meanwhile, because they understood that some unquiet "spirits gave out, that their present convening was for the subversion of the Reli-"gion presently professed; as they could not but give notice to all the subjects, that "they who were now assembled were for the most part the first and chiefest in-"struments in advancing Religion, and had still continued in professing the same, "with a resolution to spend their lands and lives in maintenance thereof: so they "desired

They give out a Proclamation.

"desired to have it known, that their meeting at that time did only proceed from "a desire they had to see a perfect Union and Agreement established in the Realm; "for which they were ready to meet with those of the Nobility that differed "from them in judgement, and condescend (after the ground of the Differences "was ript up) upon such overtures as should be found agreeable to the setting "forth of God his honor, the strengthening of the Royal Succession, the preser- "vation of the young Prince, the entertaining of Peace with forein Nations, and "the setling of Accord amongst the Noblemen and other subjects. This they de- "clared to be their sole intention; & rather then the same should not take the wish- "ed effect, they were content to yield unto any Conditions that should be thought "reasonable; under protestation, that if this their godly and honest purpose for "the re-union of the State was neglected and despised, the inconvenients that en- "sued might be imputed to the refusers, and the Noblemen presently convened be "discharged thereof before God and man. This was the substance of the Procla- mation, in the end whereof the Lieges were charged to concur with them in forthsetting that godly purpose, and a prohibition made under great pains to joyn with any others that should attempt under the cloak of whatsoever Authority to hinder the same. *An.* 1570.

But neither did this Declaration nor the great travel taken by the Earl of *Athol* at the same time prevail with the other Noblemen to bring them to this Meeting, for still they excused themselves by the Convention appointed in *May*, "which, "they said, there was no necessity to prevent; or if any extraordinary occasion did "require it, the same being signified to the Earl of *Morton*, who lay at *Dalkeith*, "upon his advertisement they should be ready to meet. So finding their hopes this way disappointed, by advice of the Secretary (whose directions only they follow- ed) they took purpose to deal with the Earl of *Morton* apart. To this effect the Earl of *Athol*, the Prior of *Goldingham*, brother to the Secretary, and the Lord *Boyd* were selected to confer with the Earl of *Morton* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin*; but they could come to no agreement. For the Earl of *Morton* (of whom they had conceived some hope) would not hearken to any Conditions, except they did acknowledge the King for their Sovereign. Hereupon they fell to other counsels: and first, to have the Town of *Edinburgh* at their direction, they craved the Keys of the Gates to be delivered; which being refused, they resolved to contribute moneys for hi- ring of soldiers, and to draw so many of their friends and followers thither as with help of the Castle might command the Town. But as they were about these devi- ces, advertisement was brought of an Army come to *Berwick* under the command of the Earl of *Sussex*, which troubled all these projects. To remain in *Edinburgh* they held it not safe; yet lest it should be thought that they left the Town for fear, the Magistrates were privately desired to intreat them to depart, lest the *English* should fall upon the Town and make a spoil of it. So making a shew to please the Town, by whom they had been very courteously used, they went to *Linlith- gow*, and abode there the rest of that moneth. Before their parting, they gave a warrant to the Laird of *Grange* for fortifying the Castle, and dimitting the Lords *Home* and *Hereis*, who had been committed by the late Regent. The Duke of *Chat- tellerault* was some days before put to liberty. The Lord *Home* had a part of the mo- neys which were contributed for levying of soldiers given him to defend his bounds against the *English*; but when the Lairds of *Bacleugh* and *Farnherst* desired the like, they were refused, and went away in a great discontent.

They deal with the Earl of *Mor- ton*, but he will not hearken to them.

An Army cometh to *Berwick* un- der conduct of the Earl of *Sussex*.

The Lords forsake *Edin- burgh* upon the report.

They give warrant for fortifying the Castle.

About the end of *April* the Army of *England*, entring into *Teviotdale*, burnt the Towns of *Hawick* and *Crawling*, with the Castles of *Farnherst* and *Brauxholm*, and divers houses belonging to the *Kers* and *Scots*; and in their return to *Berwick* besieged the Castle of *Home*, which was rendred by the keepers to Sir *William Drury*, at the Lord *Home* his direction, for he reposed much in his friendship. The Lord *Scroop*, at the same time invading the West borders, made a great spoil up- on the *Johnstons* and others who had accompanied *Bacleugh* in his Incursion. The Lords that kept together at *Linlithgow* having advertisement of these proceedings of the *English*, and suspecting they had some other intentions then the spoiling of

The Army of *England* en- tereth in *Scotland*.

the

An. 1570. The Lords desire a Truce from the Earl of *Sussex*, which he refused.

the Borders, sent a Gentleman to the Earl of *Sussex* to request a Truce, till they might inform the Queen of *England* of the estate of things, and receive her Majestie's answer. The Earl opening the Letters that were directed to the Queen, (for he had warrant so to do) and seeing them full of vain and idle brags, (for, to shew the strength of the Faction, they had set down a Roll of all the Noblemen of their party, inserting therein both some of their opposites, and some that had carried themselves neuters in all these Broils) returned answer by the messenger, that he would do as he was directed, and not grant any Truce nor keep the Army at their pleasure without imployment.

A Convention of the Estates at *Edinburgh*.

The time of the Convention approaching, they who favoured the King his Authority came in great numbers to *Edinburgh*. At their first meeting it was thought convenient, seeing the adverse party professed a desire of Peace, to make trial of their disposition; and thereupon a Gentleman was sent with this message, *That if they would joyn for revenge of the Murther of the King's Father and Regent, and would acknowledge the King for their Sovereign, whatsoever else in reason they could crave should be granted unto them.* The answer was short and peremptory on their part; *That they acknowledge none for their Sovereign but the Queen, and that she having committed the Government of affairs to the Earls of* Arran, Argile *and* Huntley, *they would follow and obey them in her service.* Then they caused proclaim the Queen's Authority, with the several Commissions of their Lieutenandries, and in the Queen's name indicted a Parliament to be kept at *Linlithgow* in *August* ensuing.

An offer of Peace to those of the Queen's party.

The Queen's Authority proclaimed.

A Proclamation made by the Estates.

The Estates, perceiving there would be no agreement, gave forth a Proclamation to this effect; "First, they said, that it was not unknown to all the subjects in what "a happy state the Realm stood under the Government of the late Regent, and "what Calamities it was fallen into by his death, divers Lords and other subjects "conspiring with them having presumed to erect another Authority, under the "name of the Queen his Majestie's Mother. But as such treasonable attempts "had been often taken in hand, and as often through God's favor disappointed, to "the shame and ignominy of the enterprisers; so they wished all men should under-"stand what sort of people they were that had massed themselves together in the "present Conspiracy.

The Conspirators ranked in their Orders.

"The Conspirators they ranked in three orders. The principals (*they said*) were "the authors of the cruel Murthers of the King his Father and Regent; others "were manifestly perjured, as having bound themselves by their Oaths and Sub-"scriptions to defend the King his Authority, which now they impugned; a "third sort were such as had servile minds, and without regard to Conscience or "Honor did follow those to whom they had addicted themselves: All which did "pretend the maintenance of true Religion, the Liberty of the Countrey, and the "preservation of Peace both abroad and at home. But with what probability, any "man of judgement might consider: for neither could he who was known "to have been a persecutor of the Truth, and now carried the chief sway amongst "them, (meaning the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*) be thought a maintainer of Re-"ligion; nor could they be esteemed favourers of their Countrey and the quiet-"ness thereof, who without any just provocation had invaded the neighbor Realm "of *England*, and publickly entertained the Queen's Rebels, professing enemies "to God and Religion. As to the care they professed of the King's preservation, "any man might conjecture how he should be preserved by them who exiled his "Grandfather, murthered his Father, did wickedly counsel his Mother, led her on "courses that had brought her to shame and dishonor, and now at last had unwor-"thily cut off his Uncle and Regent, by suborning a mischant to kill him treache-"rously. It is like (said they) that they will be content to live subjects to a King "discended of that House which they have so long a time persecuted; and will they "not fear, if God shall bring him to perfection of years, that he will be avenged of "his Father's and Uncles Murther? Neither can any be ignorant what the hope of "a Kingdom will work in ambitious spirits, especially when they find them-"selves in a possibility to succeed unto the present possession. And these are the "men (said they) who seek to rule and command under the name of her whom they

"have

"have undone by their wicked practices. Of this they thought fit to advertise the "subjects, and to inhibit them from giving any assistence to the said Conspirators "under pain of death. Such as of simplicity or ignorance had joyned with them "they commanded to separate and return to their houses within the space of 24 "hours, promising in that case impunity and pardon for their by-past defection; "those only excepted who were suspect of the foresaid Murthers, and had resset "the Queen of *England*'s Rebels, and violated the publick Peace betwixt the two "Realms. *An.* 1570.

This Proclamation was indited with much passion, and matters now reduced to these terms, that each side prepared to maintain their quarrel with the destruction of their adversaries. The Queen's Faction dispatched *Verack* to *France*, to inform how matters went, and to farther the supply promised. All prepare for War.

The Lord *Seaton* was sent to *Flanders*, to intreat the Duke of *Alva* (at that time Governor of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*) for some aid of moneys and men, and to impede the traffick of the *Scottish* Rebels (so they termed them that acknowledged the King's Authority) in those parts. For the point of Traffick the Duke excused himself, saying, *That he could not inhibit the same, it being against the Liberty of the* Low-countries; *but in other things he would do his best to farther the Queen of* Scots *cause*. The Lord *Seaton* sent to *Flanders*.

Like as shortly after he sent Mr. *John Hamil:on*, Parson of *Dumbar*, (who lay Agent with him for the *Scottish* Queen) to the Earl of *Huntley* with great store of Armor and gunpowder, and the sum of ten thousand Crowns to levy Soldiers. The Lord *Seaton* in the mean while, who could not be idle whereso ever he was, and had a great desire to approve himself by some service to the King of *Spain*, dissembling his habit, went into the United Provinces, and dealt with *Scottish* Captains and under-Officers to make them leave the service of the Estates, and follow the King of *Spain*; which being detected, he was apprehended, and by sentence of the Council of War condemned to ride the Cannon; yet by some help he escaped, and fled to the Duke of *Alva*, who sent him home loaden with promises, and rewarded with some little present for himself, because of his good affection. The Parson of *Dumbar* brings monies and Armor to *Huntley*.

The Lords on the other side who stood for the King's Authority sent to the Earl of *Sussex*, intreating the assistence of his forces, or some part thereof, because of the common danger: and to move him the more, they advertised that the Earl of *Westmerland* and other *English* Rebels were with the Lords convened at *Linlithgow* in Arms, with intention, as it seemed, to work some mischief, which had need for the good of both Realms to be prevented, which they doubted not (so the Letters bear) having his assistence to do, and to put them off the fields; whereas if supply were not sent in time, and that matters should happen to be put to a day amongst themselves, the issue might prove dangerous. Answer was made, That *the Forces should be sent upon sufficient Hostages for their surety during their remaining in* Scotland. Withal he craved, *that the* English *Rebels whom the Lords had in their hands, and such others as should happen to be apprehended, might be delivered to him, as the Queen's Lieutenant, and left to her Majestie's disposition.* For the Hostages, it was condescended that the chief Noblemen should deliver some of their friends to remain in *England* during the abode of the *English* forces, and their safe return assured, the chance and fortune of War only excepted, which should be common and alike both to the *Scots* and them. But touching the delivery of the *English* Rebels, the Lords intreated that the same might be continued unto the return of her Majestie's answer to the Instructions sent by the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who was upon his journey, and had warrant from them to satisfie her Majesty in that point. To this the Earl consented, providing the Noblemen would give their Bonds for the safe custody of the Rebels, and the performance of that which her Majesty and the Ambassador should agree unto. The Lords who stood for the King send to *Sussex* for supply.

The Laird of *Grange* and Secretary *Lethington*, who as yet made a shew to desire Peace, laboured by their Letters to keep back the *English* forces, offering what satisfaction the Earl of *Sussex* in name of her Majesty would require. The Earl *Grange* and *Lethington* seek to stay the *English* forces upon offers.

An. 1570. Earl anſwered, *That if the Lords at* Linlithgow *would diſannul the Proclamation of the Queen of* Scots *Authority, and diſcharge all Capitulations for aid out of* France *and all other parts beyond the Sea, remitting the preſent Diſſenſion to the hearing and ordering of the Queen his Miſtreſs, and obliging themſelves by their Subſcriptions to ſtand at her Majeſtie's determination, he ſhould ſtay his forces and detain them with himſelf, till he received new direction from her Majeſty.*

Sir *William Drury* entereth in *Scotland* with an Army.

Though theſe anſwers did in no ways pleaſe them, yet to gain ſome time they gave hopes, that after Conference with the Lords at *Linlithgow* he ſhould receive all ſatisfaction. But he ſmelling their intentions, after he had received the Bonds and Pledges from the Noblemen of the King's party, ſent Sir *William Drury* Governor of *Berwick* with a thouſand foot and three hundred horſemen into *Scotland*. How ſoon the Lords that were convened at *Linlithgow* heard of their coming, and that the Earl of *Lennox* was in their company, they departed towards *Glaſgow*, and beſieged the Caſtle, purpoſing to raze it, leſt it ſhould be uſeful to the Earl of *Lennox*, who was now returned from *England*. But the Houſe was ſo well defended by a few young men, (they paſſed not 24 in all) that the Siege, after it had continued the ſpace of five or ſix days, brake up upon the rumor of the Noblemen and the *Engliſh* forces their approaching. The Duke of *Chattellerault* went with the Earl of *Argile* into his Countrey, the Earl of *Huntley* and the reſt into the North.

The Caſtle of *Hamilton* rendered.

The Noblemen aſſiſted with the *Engliſh* forces coming to *Glaſgow*, after a ſhort ſtay marched to *Hamilton*, and laid ſiege to the Caſtle, which at the ſight of the Ordnance that was brought thither for the battery was yielded to the *Engliſh* by *Andrew Hamilton* of *Meryton* Captain, upon promiſe to have their lives ſpared. The Caſtle was ſet on fire and pitifully defaced, as alſo the Duke's Palace within the town of *Hamilton*, and divers other Houſes in *Cliddiſdale*. In their return to *Edinburgh* they deſtroyed the Houſes and Lands pertaining to the Lords *Flemyn* and *Levingſton*, with the Duke's lodging in the town of *Linlithgow*, the Houſes of *Kinneill*, *Pardowy*, *Peill* of *Levingſton*, and others that appertained to the *Hamiltons* in that Shire. This done, the *Engliſh* forces returned to *Berwick*, and were accompanied thither by the Earl of *Morton*, who received again the Hoſtages that were delivered in *England*.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Ambaſſador in *England*.

His Inſtructions.

Whileſt theſe things were adoing at home, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* was following his Legation in *England*. His Inſtructions from the Noblemen of the King's party were, "Firſt, To ſhew the Queen, that by the delay of her Majeſtie's Declaration in the cauſe of the King's Mother all theſe Commotions had been raiſed, "and therefore to intreat her Majeſty plainly to declare her ſelf, and take upon her "the Protection of the young King. Secondly, To inform her of the difficulties "they had in electing of a Regent, and crave her opinion therein. Thirdly, To "ſhew what a neceſſity there was of intreating ſome forces of foot and horſe, till "the preſent Troubles were pacified: and in regard of the publick burthens, to re-"queſt her for moneys to maintain 300 horſe, and 700 foot, which was eſteemed "ſufficient for repreſſing the adverſarie's power. Laſtly, Concerning the Rebels "of *England* who were in hands, to give her Majeſty aſſurance that they ſhould be "ſafely kept, and to beſeech her Highneſs, if ſhe would have them delivered, that "ſome reſpect might be had to their credit, and mercy ſhewed ſo far as could ſtand "with her Majeſtie's ſafety and the quiet of the Realm. For the other Rebels "that were as yet in the Countrey, he was deſired to promiſe in their name all di-"ligence for their apprehenſion; and if it ſhould happen them to be taken, that "they ſhould be committed in ſure cuſtody till her Majeſtie's pleaſure was "known.

The Queen's anſwer to the Inſtructions.

Theſe things proponed to the Queen, ſhe anſwered; *That having heard nothing from the Lords ſince the late Regent's death, and being daily importuned by forein Ambaſſadors, ſhe had yielded to a new hearing of the Controverſies betwixt them and their Queen, and that ſhe intended to have a meeting of the Commiſſioners of both parties ere it was long; therefore deſired them to ceaſe from uſing farther Hoſtility, and not to precipitate the Election of a Regent, the delay whereof would work them no prejudice.*

This

This anſwer reported to the Lords did trouble them exceedingly: from the one part they ſaw a neceſſity of accommodating themſelves and their proceedings to the Queen of *England*'s pleaſure; and on the other they did find a great hurt by the want of a Regent, that adverſe Faction having thereby taken occaſion to erect another Authority, and divers of their own partakers falling back from their wonted forwardneſs, as not knowing on whom they ſhould depend. After long conſultation this expedient was taken; That a Lieutenant ſhould be appointed for certain time with full authority to adminiſtrate all affairs, and notice ſent to the Queen of *England* of the neceſſity they ſtood in of a Regent, and that there was no other way to keep the ſubjects in obedience. Choice accordingly was made of the Earl of *Lennox*, Grandfather to the King, and a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry given him to indure to the 11 of *July* next; at which time the Eſtates were warned to meet for the election of a Regent. Letters were alſo directed to the Queen of *England*, requeſting her advice in the choice, and an anſwer to the other Petitions moved by the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*. *An.* 1570.

The Earl of *Lennox* made Lieutenant of the Country.

The Queen, who was put in hope that *Weſtmerland* and the other Rebels of *England* entertained by the Queen of *Scots* Faction ſhould be delivered unto her, had ſhewed her ſelf very favourable unto them, but hearing that they were eſcaped, ſhe made anſwer as follows: *That ſhe did kindly accept the good will of the Noblemen, teſtified by their ſeeking her advice in the choice of a Regent, being a matter of ſuch importance, and ſo nearly touching the eſtate of their King and Realm. That her mind once was, they ſhould do beſt to continue the Election for a time; but now conſidering the diſorders that were raiſed, and poſſibly thereafter might ariſe, if ſome perſon was not placed in that charge, ſhe did allow their reſolution. And ſeeing the abilities of men for that place were beſt known to themſelves, ſhe ſhould be ſatisfied with their choice whatſoever it was. Howbeit, out of the care ſhe had of the young King, ſhe would not diſſemble her opinion, which was, that the Earl of* Lennox *her Couſin, whom, as ſhe was informed, they had made Lieutenant of the Realm, would be more careful of his ſafety then any other. But in any caſe deſired them, not to think that in ſo doing ſhe did preſcribe them any choice, but left it free to themſelves to do what was fitteſt. Farther, ſhe deſired them to reſt aſſured, notwithſtanding of the reports diſperſed by their adverſaries, that ſhe had neither yielded nor would yield to the alteration of the ſtate of their King and Government, unleſs ſhe did ſee a more juſt and clear reaſon then had yet appeared. For howbeit ſhe condeſcended to hear what the Queen of* Scots *would ſay and offer as well for her own aſſurance as for the good of that Realm, (a thing which in honor ſhe could not refuſe;) yet not knowing what the ſame would be, ſhe meant not to break the order of Law and Juſtice, either to the advancing or prejudging of her cauſe. Therefore finding the Realm governed by a King, and him inveſted by Coronation and other Solemnities requiſite, as alſo generally received by the Three Eſtates, ſhe minded not to do any act that might breed alteration in the Eſtate, or make a confuſion of Governments. But as ſhe had found, ſo to ſuffer the ſame continue, and not permit any change therein ſo far as ſhe might impede the ſame, except by ſome eminent reaſon ſhe ſhould be induced to alter her opinion. In end ſhe deſired them beware, that neither by miſconceiving her good meaning towards them, nor by the inſolent brags of their adverſaries, they ſhould take any courſe that might hinder or weaken their cauſe, and make her intentions for their good ineffectual.*

The Queen of *England*'s anſwer to the Lords that ſtood for the King.

This Letter communicated to the Eſtates convened at *Edinburgh* the twelfth of *July*, and a long diſcourſe made to the ſame effect by Mr. *Thomas Randolph* her Ambaſſador, they were exceedingly joyed. So following the advice given them, they made choice of *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, declaring him Regent and Governor of the Realm unto the King's Majority, or till he were able by himſelf to adminiſtrate the publick affairs. This was done with the great applauſe of all that were preſent, and publiſhed the next day at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Lennox* created Regent.

In an Aſſembly of the Church kept the ſame moneth there was ſome buſineſs moved by Mr. *James Carmichal*, then Maſter of the Grammar-School of S. *Andrews*, againſt Mr. *Robert Hamilton* Miniſter of the City, for ſome Points of Doctrine delivered by the ſaid Mr. *Robert* in Pulpit. The Points are not particularly expreſſed, but in the ſixth Seſſion of that Aſſembly, Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of the Regiſter, Mr. *John Bellenden* of *Auchnoule* Juſtice Clerk, and Mr. *Archibald Douglas* one of the

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

An. 1570. Senators of the College of Juſtice, were directed from the Chancellor and Counceil to require them *to forbear all deciſion in that matter, ſeeing it concerned the King's Authority, and contained ſome heads tending to Treaſon,* (ſo is it there ſaid) *which ought to be tried by the Nobility and Council, willing them nottheleſs to proceed in ſuch things as did appertain to their own juriſdiction*; which was judged reaſonable, and agreed unto by the Church. So far were they in theſe times from declining the King and Council in Doctrines ſavouring of Treaſon and Sedition, as they did eſteem them competent Judges thereof. In the ſame Aſſembly Commiſſion was given to Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *Andrew Hay* to travel with the Duke of *Chattelerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Eglinton* and *Caſſils*, the Lord *Boyd*, and other Barons and Gentlemen in the Weſt parts, for reducing them to the obedience of the King and his Authority. The like Commiſſion was given to the Laird of *Dun* for the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Ogilvy* and their aſſiſters in *Angus*; and certification ordained to be made unto them, that if they did not return to the King's obedience, the Spiritual Sword of Excommunication ſhould be drawn againſt them: which I cannot think was really intended, conſidering the quality and number of the perſons.

Commiſſioners directed from the Aſſembly of the Church to the Lords of the Queen's party.

The Regent immediately upon his creation, and oath taken according to the cuſtom for maintaining true Religion, and obſerving the Laws and Liberties of the Realm, prepared to keep the Diet appointed at *Linlithgow* by the Lords of the Queen's party, who were ſaid to be gathering forces for holding the Parliament they had indicted; and becauſe much depended upon the ſucceſs of that buſineſs, he ſent to the Earl of *Suſſex* for aſſiſtence of his forces, and to the Laird of *Grange* (with whom he kept ſome correſpondence) for ſome Field-pieces, and other things belonging to their furniture. *Grange* at firſt made fair promiſes, but ſhifting thoſe who were ſent to receive the munition, ſaid, *This his ſervice ſhould not be wanting to the making of a Concord, but he would not be acceſſary to the ſhedding of the blood of* Scottiſh *men*. The Earl of *Suſſex* deferred his anſwer likewiſe, till the Queen ſhould be advertiſed. Nottheleſs the Regent obſerved the Diet, accompanied with 5000 Gentlemen, none of the adverſe party appearing.

The Regent goeth to impede the Parliament indicted at *Linlithgow*.

Thereafter a Parliament was indicted to hold at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *October*; and the Regent underſtanding that the Earl of *Huntley* had ſent ſome 160 ſoldiers to *Brichen*, and given order for providing victuals to the Companies who were there to meet him, made an haſty Expedition thither, and having ſent the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Ruthven*, with Sir *James Haliburton* Provoſt of *Dundy*, a little before himſelf, went nigh to have intercepted the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Ogilvy* and Sir *James Balfour*, who were there attending *Huntley*. But they eſcaping, the ſoldiers fled to the Steeple of the Church & Caſtle, which they had fortified. The Steeple at the Regent's firſt coming did yield, & ſo many as were therein had their lives ſaved: the Caſtle held out ſome days, till they heard the Cannon was at hand, and then rendred at diſcretion. Cap. *Cowts* with 30 of his ſoldiers were executed, becauſe they had once ſerved, & made defection. The reſt were pardoned, upon ſurety not to carry arms againſt the preſent Authority. This Expedition ended, the Regent returned to *Edinb.*

A Parliament indicted at *Edinburgh*.

The Regents Expedition to *Brichen*.

In the Moneth of *Auguſt* by Letters from *Denmark* it was advertiſed, that Colonel *John Clerk*, who had ſerved the King there in his Wars with *Sweden*, was impriſoned by the ſuggeſtion of ſome countrymen that laboured for *Bothwell*'s liberty. Whereupon Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, brother to Mr. *George Buchannan* the King's Tutor, was ſent in Ambaſſage to *Denmark*, to require that *Bothwell* might be delivered and ſent into *Scotland*, to the effect juſtice might be done upon him, or then that he might be judged there, for the deteſtable Murther committed upon the perſon of the King's Father, and receive his due puniſhment. This had before that time been often deſired, but was delayed by divers occaſions: and now the report of *Bothwell*'s greater liberty, & that he had been permitted to accuſe Colonel *Clerk*, a Gentleman well eſteemed, & of good reputation for his ſervice done both at home and in parts abroad, the Regent and Council took occaſion to put that King in remembrance of their former requeſts; and if any doubt was made in thoſe parts of *Bothwell*'s guiltineſs, they offered to clear the ſame by evident probation; & thereupon intreated him, by the communion of blood and nigh kindred betwixt him and

An Ambaſſador to *Denmark*.

and the King of *Scotland*, that he would not ſuffer ſuch a nefarious perſon to eſcape. In the ſame Letters they requeſted that the Colonel might be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the King's wonted favor, or then be licenced to return into *Scotland*, where there was preſent uſe for his ſervice. This Ambaſſage was not without fruit, and put *Bothwell* out of all credit; ſo as, deſperate of liberty, he turned mad, and ended his wicked life ſome years after (as before was touched) moſt miſerably. *An.* 1570.

All things now went ill with the Queen's Faction, neither ſaw they a way to ſubſiſt but by labouring an Abſtinence, which the Secretary earneſtly went about, and prevailed ſo far with the two Liegers of *France* and *Spain*, as they brought the Queen of *England* to a new Treaty with the *Scots* Queen, and to hearken unto ſome overtures which ſhe did make both for the Queen's aſſurance, and for the ſetling of a perfect Peace betwixt her and her Son, and thoſe that ſtood in his obedience. This moved the Regent, he did greatly oppoſe it; yet the Queen of *England* would needs have him agree to the Abſtinence for the ſpace of two moneths, in which it was thought the Treaty ſhould take an end. Great diſpute there was about the tenor and form of the Abſtinence, which at laſt was accorded in theſe terms. "That the Regent ſhould oblige himſelf and his partakers to ceaſe from Arms, "and not to moleſt any that pretended obedience to the King's Mother, during "the ſpace of two moneths, which ſhould be underſtood to begin the third day of "*September*; providing that no Innovation ſhould be made in the Government, "and all things continue in the ſame eſtate wherein they were at the death of the "late Regent: As alſo that the ordinary adminiſtration of the Law and Juſtice "in Parliament, Seſſion and other Courts, with the puniſhment of thieves and "treſpaſſers, might proceed in the mean time by Law or force in the King's name, "and under his Authority, without any oppoſition. This granted, by a ſecond Letter the Queen of *England* ſignified, "That ſhe had appointed Sir *William Cecill* "her principal Secretary, and Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, "to repair to the Queen of *Scots*, and learn what offers ſhe would make for her "Majeſtie's ſurety, and the not diſturbing the Realms, if ſhe ſhould be put to Li-"berty. In which Treaty ſhe minded not to neglect the ſurety of the young King, "and the eſtate of the Nobility adhering to him, whereof ſhe would be no leſs "careful then of what concerned her ſelf moſt. But in regard that Treaty could "take no good effect, if the Regent and the Nobility on his ſide ſhould do any thing "to the prejudice of the Queen of *Scots* and her party, ſhe deſired that no Parlia-"ment ſhould be kept during the time of the Treaty; or if it had taken beginning be-"fore the receipt of the Letter, that nothing ſhould paſs therein which might give "her cauſe to complain. And for the Abſtinence taken unto the third of *Novem-"ber*, ſeeing there was no likelihood the Treaty ſhould take an end in ſo ſhort a "time, he was farther deſired to prorogue the ſame for other two moneths. The Letter, dated at *Windſor* the ſeventh of *October*, was brought to the Regent the thirteenth, ſome two days after the Parliament was begun.

An Abſtinence agreed unto.

A Treaty with the Queen of *Scots*.

This Treaty did much perplex the Regent; for albeit he was advertiſed before of the Queen of *Englands* condeſcending to hear what the *Scottiſh* Queen would ſay in her own cauſe, yet he did not expect any ſuch ſudden dealing, or that it ſhould have begun without his knowledge. But making the beſt conſtruction of all things, he anſwered, *That the Parliament had taken a beginning before her Majeſtie's Letters came to his hand, and for the reverence he did carry to her, he had abſtained from all proceeding in any matters, only his office of Regiment was confirmed, and the Parliament adjourned unto the moneth of* January, *before which time he hoped the fruit of that Treaty would appear.* For the prorogation of the Abſtinence, *he had declared at the firſt how hurtful the ſame was to the King his affairs, and that there was no true meaning in the adverſe party, as did manifeſtly appear by the arreſting of the Ships and goods of the Scottiſh Merchants profeſſing the King his obedience, in the Kingdom of* France, *and other divers inſolencies practiſed at home, ſince the granting thereof. That howſoever he was perſuaded her Majeſty had not a mind under colour of the Abſtinence to ruine the young King, and thoſe that ſtood in defence of his Authority; yet they had received more hurt thereby then they could have done if open hoſtility had been profeſſed.*

This Regents Letter to the Queen of *England*.

An. 1570. *Therefore he deſired that before he was urged with a farther ceſſation, the Ships and goods ſtayed in* France *might be ſet free, the injuries committed at home repaired, and all things innovated in the Government ſince the late Regent's death diſannulled by Proclamation: which things performed, he ſhould willingly obey her Majeſtie's deſire.* Upon this laſt part of the Letter many debates aroſe amongſt the parties, and divers particulars on either ſide were exhibited in writing to the Earl of *Suſſex*, for verifying a breach of the Abſtinence againſt others. That which I find moſt inſiſted upon was the denouncing of Secretary *Lethington* Rebel, who, being cited to appear at a certain day before the Regent and Council, was for his contumacy ſentenced to loſe his Office, and have his goods confiſcated. The Regent challenged of this point made anſwer, *That the Secretary could claim no benefit by the Abſtinence, ſeeing he was the King's ſubject, and ſtood to the defence of the King's cauſe both in* England *and* Scotland, *profeſſing himſelf as much diſpleaſed with the Proclamation of the Queen's Authority as any man elſe. And howbeit of late he had accompanied the contrary Faction, yet he never declined his ſubjection to the King. That being required to attend his office he had refuſed, whereupon the ſame was juſtly taken from him: and for the Confiſcation complained, if he would yet declare on what ſide he was, he ſhould be reaſonably uſed.*

Secretary *Lethington* denounced Rebel, and loſes his office.

The Secretarie's Declaration.

The Secretary, who had often changed his party, finding that now he muſt declare himſelf on the one ſide or the other, ſent to the Earl of *Suſſex* this anſwer; "That he did think it ſtrange the Regent ſhould enquire on which ſide he was, "ſeeing his ſpeeches, writings and actions had declared the ſame. Always now "he would plainly profeſs, that he was not of the Lord Regent's ſide, nor would "he acknowledge him for Regent. That he was of that ſide which would perform "their duties to the Queen of *Scotland* and to her Son; ſo as neither of them ſhould "have cauſe to find fault with him that he was of that ſide which wiſhed to either "of them the place which in reaſon and juſtice they ought to poſſeſs; and that he "was of that ſide which requeſted the Queen of *England* to enter into good condi-"tions with the Queen, whereby *Scotland* might be brought in an union, and ſhe "reſtored to her Liberty and Realm. He confeſſed that he did not allow of the "proclaiming of the Queen's Authority, nor of the Parliament indited by thoſe of "her part, becauſe he foreſaw the ſame would impede the Treaty betwixt the two "Queens, and might do hurt many ways, and hinder the good he was about to do. "But that would not infer an allowance of their doings. And this (he ſaid) might "give the Regent to underſtand on what ſide he was.

The Regent's reply.

This anſwer, neither expreſſing a reaſon of his falling away from the King's obedience, nor diſcovering plainly, as was deſired, of what ſide he ſhould be eſteemed, being delivered to the Regent, received this reply. "That it was no marvel he "ſhould not acknowledge him for Regent, having deſerved ſo ill at his hands, and "being attainted of the foul and cruel Murther of his Son, the King's Father. That "his Declaration did not ſatisfie that which was demanded: for where he made a "ſhew to obſerve a duty both to the Queen and to her Son, and would have it ap-"pear that he was about the effecting of great matters; the duties he had done to "either of them were well enough known, neither could any man look for "any good to proceed from him. Therefore howſoever he had againſt his pro-"miſe and ſubſcription declined from the King's party, he muſt ſtill be ſubject "to anſwer ſuch particulars as ſhould be laid againſt him in the King's name. And "ſeeing it was neither her Majeſtie's meaning, that any perſon guilty of the King's "Murther ſhould enjoy benefit by the Abſtinence, he that was challenged thereof "in the late Regent's time, and had in Council offered himſelf to the ſevereſt trial "that could be taken, could not complain of the breach of Abſtinence for any thing "done or intended againſt him. But that neither this particular nor any other "ſhould be an occaſion to diſſolve that Treaty begun, he ſaid, that he was con-"tent the notes of all injuries alledged on either ſide, ſhould be delivered in writing "to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the trial or redreſs thereof continued, till it ſhould ap-"pear what effect the Treaty brought forth. The prorogation of the Abſtinence in the mean time, as was deſired by the Queen of *England*, was yielded unto, and ſubſcrived the fourth of *November*, with this proviſion, *That the goods and the Ships*

of

of the Scottiſh *Merchants arreſted at that time in* France *ſhould be releaſed, and no ſtay made of ſuch as ſhould happen to repair thither during the time of the Abſtinence.* An. 1570.

Whileſt theſe things were debating, the copy of the Articles proponed by the Commiſſioners of *England* to the Queen of *Scots* for the ſurety of the Queen were ſent to the Lords of her Faction to be conſidered, which were as followeth. Articles propounded to the Queen of *Scotland.*

1. That the Treaty at *Leith* ſhould be confirmed; and that ſhe ſhould not claim any Right nor pretend Title to the Crown of *England* during the life of Queen *Elizabeth.*
2. That ſhe ſhould not renew nor keep any League with any Prince againſt *England,* nor yet receive forein Forces into *Scotland.*
3. That ſhe ſhould neither practiſe nor keep intelligence with *Iriſh* or *Engliſh* without the Queen's knowledge, and in the mean time cauſe the *Engliſh* Fugitives and Rebels to be rendered.
4. That ſhe ſhould redreſs the wrongs and harms done by her Faction in the Borders of *England.*
5. That ſhe ſhould not joyn in Marriage with any *Engliſh*-man without the conſent of the Queen of *England,* nor with any other againſt the liking of the Eſtates of *Scotland.*
6. That ſhe ſhould not permit the *Scots* to paſs into *Ireland,* without licence obtained from the Queen of *England.*
7. That for the performance of theſe Articles, her Son ſhould be delivered to be brought up in *England,* and ſix other Hoſtages, ſuch as the Queen of *England* ſhould name, ſhould be ſent thither. The Caſtles of *Home, Faſt*-Caſtle, kept by the *Engliſh* for the ſpace of three years, and ſome Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantire,* be put in the *Engliſh*-mens hands, for reſtraining the *Iriſh Scots* from going into *Ireland.*
8. That ſhe ſhould do juſtice according to the Law upon the Murtherers of her Husband and the late Earl of *Murray.*
9. That ſhe ſhould ſet her hand, and cauſe the Commiſſioners to be appointed by her party ſet their hands and ſeals to theſe Articles.
10. And, laſtly, that all theſe particulars ſhould be confirmed by the Eſtates of *Scotland.*

Now albeit divers of theſe Articles were miſliked by the Lords of her Faction; yet conceiving thereby ſome hope of her Reſtitution, they diſperſed certain copies in the Countrey, to encourage thoſe that profeſſed her obedience, holding back ſuch of the Articles as ſeemed moſt hard, truſting to obtain a mitigation thereof in the conference. And ſhe indeed, I mean the *Scottiſh* Queen, ſhewed her ſelf pleaſed withal; only ſhe remitted the full anſwer to her Commiſſioners that ſhould come from *Scotland.* The rumor of the Accord held good a few days, and amuſed the Regent and other Noblemen not a little; till a Letter directed by Sir *William Cecill* from *Chatteſworth* in *Derbyſhire,* where the Queen of *Scots* then lay, did otherwiſe inform, which was to this effect: "That he was put upon that imployment much "againſt his heart, and yet had not dealt therein but with a great regard of the ſafe-"ty of the young King and whole Eſtate: and that all he had done touching *Scottiſh* "affairs was under Proteſtation, that it ſhould be in the power of thoſe whom the "Queen and Regent ſhould ſend in Commiſſion to change, diminiſh or augment "the Articles at their pleaſures. Therefore did he adviſe the Regent to ſend a "Nobleman with ſome other well learned and practiſed in the affairs of the Coun-"trey, to deal in theſe matters; taking care that the perſons he choſed were con-"ſtant and firm, and ſuch as would not be won from him, nor from the cauſe. This Letter of the date the thirteenth of *October* 1570, written in ſo friendly and familiar a manner, (for therein he named ſome whom the Regent had lately imployed, of whom he willed him to beware) gave him to underſtand that matters were not ſo far gone as his adverſaries did brag. Sir *William Cecill* his Letters to the Regent.

An. 1570. The Earl of *Sussex* his advertisement to the Regent.

After a few days the Earl of *Sussex* advertised the Regent, "That the Lords of "the other Faction had made choice of certain Commissioners to attend the Trea- "ty begun betwixt their Queen and the Queen of *England*, desiring that no trouble "nor molestation should be made to them and their train in that journey; as also "to send some special persons instructed with Commission from the King and the "Nobility of his side, to give their best advice for the surety of the King and his "dependants, if matters should happen to be accorded. And if it fell out otherwise, "to consider what should be the most sure course for continuance of Amity betwixt "the two Realms, the preservation of the young King, the reducing of the subjects "to his obedience, and the defence of the Isle against forein Invasions. These Com- "missioners he desired to be sent with expedition, for that her Majesty longed to "have an end of the business, and could not grow to any Resolution till she had "conferred with them, and understood their minds.

His particular advice.

This he did by direction from the Queen his Mistriss, as he wrote, howbeit he himself had thought of some particulars that he held convenient to be thought upon both for the King's security and theirs, if his Mother should be set at liberty, wherein he prayed him familiarly to shew what was his opinion. As first, *If she should happen to be restored to her Crown, and the King to be made to dimit the Authority, it might be upon condition that in case of her death, or the breach of the present Agreement, he might re-enter to the Kingdom without any Solemnities to be used.* Next, *That a Council of both parties might be provided to her by the Queen of* England, *for avoiding all sorts of practices.* Thirdly, *That the young King should be educated in the Realm of* England, *under the custody of such persons as the Nobility of his party should appoint; which would be the greatest surety for those that depended on him, and tye his Mother to the performance of the Articles.* Fourthly, *That a new Act of Parliament should be made for the establishing of true Religion, and oblivion of all injuries committed on either side.* Fifthly, *That the Queen should give some principal men of her side Hostages to remain in* England *for fulfilling the heads of the Agreement.* Lastly, *He advised the Regent to send with the Commissioners that should be imployed in that errand a Writing signed and sealed by all the Noblemen of the King's party, to shew who they were that stood on that side: because, besides the credit it would bring to the cause, the same would be to good purpose howsoever matters went. For if the Treaty should break off, it would be seen who would maintain and defend the King; or if otherwise an Accord were made, it would be known for what persons the Queen of* England *was to provide a surety.*

The Regent's answer.

Whether these Propositions were made (as he gave out) of his own head, or, which would rather appear, that he was set on by the Queen of *England* to try the Regent and Nobilities mind, he answered very advisedly, and beginning at the last, he said, "That he held his opinion good touching the Sealing of a Writing "by the Nobility of the King's party, whose number would not be found so great as "he wished, because there were divers Neuters that adhered to no side, and many "that desired to keep things loose, some for impunity of crimes whereof they "were suspected, and others hoping to better their condition in an unquiet time; "yet he trusted to obtain the Subscriptions of a sufficient number who had sincere- "ly continued in the profession of true Religion and his Majestie's obedience, and "from their hearts abhorred the Murtherers of the King his Son and the late "Regent. For the other Points he said that he could not give his private opinion "in matters so important, by reason of his Oath made at the acceptation of the "Government to have no dealing in matters of that kind without the knowledge "of the Nobility and Council. And touching the Commissioners which the "Queen required to be sent, there should be diligence used therein, how soon they "understood of what quality the others were that the Lords of the Queen's party "did chuse. Neither should any molestation be made to them in their journey, so as "their names, the number of their train, and the way they minded to take were "notified: for otherwise, as he said, the King and Estate might receive hurt, and "some that were culpable of those odious Murthers steal away privately in their "company. Meanwhile he shewed, that till Commissioners might be chosen by "the advice of the Noblemen then absent, the Council had appointed the Abbot

"of

"of *Dunfermlin* Ambaſſador to the Queen of *England*, and given him ſuch Inſtru- *An.* 1570.
"ctions as they held needful for the time, by whom ſhe ſhould be more fully adver-
"tiſed of their minds in all matters.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* made Secretary, and ſent into *England*.

About the midſt of *November* the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* (then made Secretary) went into *England*. He was deſired to ſhew the Queen, "How it was the expe-
"ctation of all the good ſubjects in *Scotland*, that ſhe would never forget the mo-
"therly care ſhe had profeſſed to have of the innocent perſon of their young King;
"nor yet be unmindful of the Noblemen and others profeſſing his obedience, who
"had ſtudied to maintain Peace betwixt the two Realms ever ſince her Majeſtie's
"entry to the Crown: and that they being required as well by Letters from her
"Lieutenant in the North, as by her Ambaſſador reſident amongſt them, to di-
"rect ſome ſpecial perſons towards her for communicating ſuch things as they
"thought requiſite for the ſurety of their King and themſelves, although they had
"reſolved upon a number ſufficient for that Legation, yet they deferred to ſend
"away till they ſhould underſtand who were nominated for the Lords of the other
"party, to the end they might equal them in birth and quality. That in the
"mean time, leſt they ſhould be thought more negligent then became them in mat-
"ter of ſuch importance, they had laid upon him the charge to come and ſignifie to
"her Majeſty the opinion that was held in *Scotland* of the Articles framed at *Chat-*
"*teſworth*, which the adverſaries gave out to have been craved by her Majeſty, and
"eſteemed a ſufficient ſecurity for the Queen of *Scots*. And if he did find her
"Majeſty inclining thereto, then to remember her with what a perſon ſhe had to
"do; a Princeſs by birth, in Religion Popiſh, one that profeſſed her ſelf a Captive,
"and as joyned with an Husband, (ſuppoſe in a moſt unlawful conjunction) & that
"any one of theſe would ſerve for a colour to undo whatſoever thing ſhe agreed un-
"to at the preſent: for her Majeſty could not be ignorant, how after her eſcape out
"of *Lochlevin* ſhe revoked the Dimiſſion of the Crown, made in favors of her Son,
"(though the ſame was done for good reſpects) upon a pretext of fear, and that
"ſhe did the ſame being a Captive. As likewiſe ſhe knew the Papiſts Maxime of
"not keeping faith to Hereticks, which would ſerve her for a ſubterfuge to break
"all Covenants when ſhe ſaw her time: and that to dimit her upon any ſurety
"would prove no leſs dangerous to her Majeſties own eſtate then to *Scotland*, con-
"ſidering the claim ſhe had made in former times to the Crown of *England*, and
"the attempts of her Rebels at home, not yet well extinct, upon the ſame grounds.
"In regard whereof there was nothing could aſſure the quiet of both Realms in
"their opinions but her Detention under ſafe cuſtody, which could not be eſteem-
"ed diſhonorable, the juſt cauſes and occaſions being publiſhed and made manifeſt
"to the world. As to the power of forein Princes whereof they boaſted, the
"ſame was not much to be feared, ſo long as her perſon was kept ſure; and if War
"for that cauſe ſhould de denounced, the peril ſhould be leſs then if ſhe were ſet at
"Liberty and reſtored to the Crown; for ſo ſhe ſhould have her forces and friend-
"ſhip ready to joyn with other Princes in all their quarrels, againſt which no Ho-
"ſtages could ſerve for aſſurance.

The Queen of *England*'s anſwer, *ult. Novembr.* 1570.

This was the ſum of his Inſtructions. He had preſence of the Queen the penult of *November*, and perceiving that none of theſe Articles were concluded, he did communicate all his Inſtructions unto her, as he was deſired. She having peruſed them, and reaſoned thereupon with her Council, returned this Anſwer; *That ſhe found in his Inſtructions divers things worthy of conſideration, which behoved to be farther debated and gravely weighed, becauſe of their importance: therefore deſired ſome men of credit to be directed unto* England, *that an end might be put to that buſineſs. For as to the Reſtitution of the Queen, ſeeing it appeared they had reaſon to oppoſe it, ſhe would not have the Regent or thoſe of his party to think that ſhe intended to wrong them in any ſort; for if they ſhould make it appear that nothing was done by them but according to Juſtice, ſhe would ſide with them and maintain their quarrel. And otherwiſe, if they were not able to juſtifie their Cauſe by ſuch evident reaſons as might ſatisfie her Majeſty in Conſcience, and make her anſwer the world in honor, ſhe would nevertheleſs, for that natural love ſhe bare to the King her near Kinſman, and the good will ſhe carried to the Noblemen*

that

An. 1570. *that ſtood for his Authority, leave no means unprovided for their ſafeties. But in regard a great part of the time appointed in the laſt prorogation of the Abſtinence was already ſpent, ſhe deſired the ſame to be prorogated unto* March *next; and would deſire them to agree thereto, in regard they that ſtood for the Queen had condeſcended to the ſame, and as much more time as ſhe ſhould think fitting.* This Anſwer, of the date at *Hampton* Court the 7 of *December*, came unto the Regent the 15, who thereupon advertiſed the Noblemen to meet at *Edinburgh* with all diligence for taking deliberation of things deſired.

The Laird of *Grange* raiſeth a Trouble in *Edinburgh*, and breaks out in open Rebellion.

The Laird of *Grange*, whether to impede the Meeting, or to divert the Council from trying a Conſpiracy which was then diſcovered, and ſaid to have been deviſed in the Caſtle againſt the Regent's life, it is uncertain, raiſed a great Trouble in the Town of *Edinburgh* about the ſame time. One of his ſervants, called *James Fleming*, being impriſoned by the Magiſtrates for a ſlaughter committed by his direction, he in the evening, whileſt all men were at ſupper, made the Garriſon of the Caſtle to iſſue forth, and break open the priſon doors, playing all the while upon the Town with the Cannon, to terrifie the inhabitants from making reſiſtence. This being complained of to the Regent, he was called to anſwer for the Riot, but refuſed to appear, and preſently brake out in open Rebellion, fortifying the Caſtle, and conducing a number of ſoldiers, who did afterwards greatly annoy the Citizens.

Commiſſioners ſent into *England*.

The Nobility notwithſtanding did keep the Meeting, and made choice of the Earl of *Morton*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Mr. *James Mackgill*, to go unto *England*; withal they agreed to the Abſtinence required, adjourning the Parliament to *May* thereafter. How ſoon theſe Commiſſioners were come to *London*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and *Suſſex*, the Lord Keeper, the Chamberlain, Sir *William Cecill* Secretary (then made Lord *Burleigh*,) Sir *Walter Mildmay* and Sir *Francis Knolls* were appointed to confer with them. Theſe meeting in the Secretarie's chamber at Court, after ſalutations and ſome general ſpeeches, the Lord *Burleigh* ſaid, "That they were deſired to come into *England* upon occaſion of a Treaty be-"gun betwixt the two Queens, and that her Majeſty did now expect to receive "from them ſuch evident reaſons for their proceedings againſt their Queen, as "wherewith ſhe might both ſatisfie her ſelf, and with honor anſwer to the world "for that which ſhe did: Or if they could not be able ſo to do, that matters might "be compoſed in the beſt ſort for their ſafeties, which her Majeſty would by all "means procure. The Commiſſioners anſwered, That *they had before that time imparted the truth of all things to her Majeſty, which they thought might ſatisfie to clear them from the crimes objected; yet if ſhe ſtood doubtful in any point, the ſame ſhould be cleared, and their doings juſtified by moſt evident reaſons.* Nothing farther was ſaid at that time, but all continued to the nex day. And then having again met, the Earl of *Morton* made a long diſcourſe of the reaſons and grounds of their proceedings, anſwering the objections which he thought could be made againſt what he had ſpoken. His diſcourſe ended, they were deſired to put their reaſons in writing; which was with ſome difficulty yielded unto, and under condition, that *if the reaſons proponed by them did not content her Majeſty, the Writing ſhould be re-delivered, and no Copy taken thereof; otherwiſe, if her Majeſty did like and allow them, they were content the ſame ſhould be put in Record, if ſo it pleaſed her Highneſs.*

Reaſons juſtifying the Queen of *Scots* Depoſition.

The laſt of *February* (for albeit the 20 of that moneth they came to *London*) they preſented a number of Reaſons for juſtifying the Depoſition of their Queen, and cited many Laws both Civil, Canon and Municipal, which they back'd with examples drawn forth of *Scottiſh* Hiſtories, and with the opinions of divers famous Divines. The Queen of *England*, having conſidered their Reaſons, was not a little diſpleaſed both with the bitter ſpeeches and with the liberty they had uſed in depreſſing the Authority of Princes, and thereupon told them, "That ſhe was in "no ſort ſatisfied with their Reaſons, willing them to go unto the ſecond Head, and "deviſe what they thought meeteſt for the Safety of their King and themſelves. But "ſaid they, refuſing, That they had no Commiſſion to ſpeak of any thing that might "derogate from the King's Authority; and if ſuch a Commiſſion had been given "them, they would not have accepted it.

In

In theſe terms matters continued ſome days, till the Commiſſioners for the King of *Scots* ſuting to be dimitted were ſent for to *Greenwich*, where the Queen had a long ſpeech, tending all to declare what a good will ſhe had carried to the young King, and to thoſe that profeſſed his obedience, and wondering they ſhould be ſo wilful as not to deliberate of ſuch things as ſerved to their own ſafety. The Commiſſioners anſwering, that they believed the Reaſons produced would have ſatisfied her Majeſty touching their proceedings, which (as they eſteemed) were ſufficient to prove that they had done nothing but according to Juſtice; *Yet I* (ſaith the Queen) *am not ſatisfied neither with your Reaſons, nor Laws, nor Examples; nor am I ignorant of the Laws my ſelf, having ſpent divers years in the ſtudy thereof. If ye your ſelves will not* (ſaith ſhe) *propone any thing for your own Sureties, yet I would have you hear what my Council is able to ſay in that matter, and I hope it ſhall content you.* *An.* 1570.

They anſwered, That *their reſpect to her Majeſty was greater then to refuſe any good advice which ſhe and her good Council ſhould give them; but that they had no power to conſent to any thing that might infer an alteration of the preſent State, or diminiſh the King's Authority.*

The next day the Articles following were given them, and they deſired to conſider of the ſame, and ſet down their Anſwer in writing. Articles proponed to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland.*

1. That in regard her Son had been crowned King by virtue of her Dimiſſion, and his Coronation ratified by the Three Eſtates of Parliament, and that ſince that time a great number of the ſubjects had profeſſed obedience to him and his Regents, which was to be interpreted in the beſt part, as done out of duty, and not out of any ill mind towards their Queen, the obedience ſo yielded to the King and his Regents ſhould be allowed from the time of the Dimiſſion of the Crown made by her, unto the Reſumption of the ſame: and all manner of Acts done ſince that time in the adminiſtration of Juſtice and for Government of the State ſhould be reputed good and lawful, or at leaſt reviewed, and confirmed in the next Parliament after conſideration taken of the ſame by twelve Lords, whereof ſix ſhould be named by the Queen and her Commiſſioners, and the other ſix by the Commiſſioners for the King's part.

2. That all Statutes and Ordinances made concerning matters of Religion and the Miniſters thereof ſince the ſame time ſhould be obſerved by all the ſubjects of *Scotland*, and no pardon nor diſpenſation granted in time coming to any perſon not obſerving the ſame, without conſent of the ſaid twelve Lords.

3. That all Proceſſes, Sentences and Judgements given either in cauſes civil or criminal ſince the ſaid time, wherein the order of the Laws of the Realm had been obſerved, ſhould remain in force, and only ſuch Sentences as had been pronounced either in the name of the King or Queen againſt any perſon for not obeying or acknowledging either of their Titles be reſcinded; the Sentences always pronounced againſt the Earl of *Bothwell* or any others for the Murther of the Queen's Husband ſtanding good and valid.

4. That all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and temporal Offices, which have uſually continued in the perſon of any during term of life, ſhould remain with the ſame perſons that held them at the time of the Queen's Dimiſſion; ſuch excepted as may be proved to have conſented to the Murther of her Husband, or that have left them upon recompence and with their own conſents: In which caſes the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould enjoy the ſame, unleſs they were uncapable, and declared by the twelve Lords to be ſuch.

5. That all Strengths, Caſtles and Houſes appertaining to the Crown ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of thoſe who held them at the time of the Queen's Dimiſſion, except they had parted therewith upon agreement: In which caſe the Queen, with conſent of the ſaid twelve Lords or the moſt part of the Council, ſhould diſpoſe thereof.

6. That the Jewels, Plate, Moveables and Implements of Houſes belonging to the Queen at the time of her Dimiſſion ſhould be reſtored, provided the moneys which any had laid out for the ſame were repayed: And for ſuch as had been put away by the direction of the Regents or Council, that recompence

An. 1570. pence ſhould be made by the Queen to the party according to the juſt value.

7. That a Law ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Parliament for Oblivion and remiſſion of all things done ſince that time, after the ſame manner that was done in the year 1563: Providing not the leſs, that the Comptroller, Theſaurer, and other receivers of the Crown-Revenues, ſhould give an accompt to the Queen of all ſums of money or other profits which had not been expended *bona fide* for the affairs of the Realm, or by order and warrant from the Regent and others truſted with thoſe affairs; neither ſhould the remiſſion be extended to any that had taken by force any Houſes, Caſtles, lands or heritages belonging to others, but reſtitution ſhould be made thereof to the party diſpoſſeſſed, or to his heirs, till the ſame by order of Law be juſtly determined. In like manner concerning goods movable taken away from the owners againſt their wills, and being yet in their own nature extant, that reſtitution ſhould be made thereof. And becauſe many doubts might ariſe upon this Article, the ſame ſhould be determined by the foreſaid twelve Lords, or otherwiſe as was deviſed for the execution of the Act made *Anno* 1563.

8. That, for the more quiet government of the Realm, there ſhould be appointed a Privy Council, which ſhould conſiſt of twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, beſides the other ordinary officers that do uſually attend. And that the ſaid Council ſhould be eſtabliſhed with the like proviſions that were made at the return of the Queen out of *France*, *Anno* 1561; ſo many as were then Counſellers, and yet alive, being counted of that number: and that the Earl of *Lennox*, becauſe he was moſt bound by nature to take care of the King, ſhould be one of the Council, and have place therein according to his degree.

9. That for the greater ſafety of the King's perſon, he ſhould be brought into the Realm of *England*, and there governed by ſuch Noblemen of *Scotland* as depend of him; ſo as he may be ever ready to be reſtored to the Crown, if the Queen his Mother break the Covenants agreed betwixt her and the Queen of *England*.

10. That for his entertainment he ſhould not only have the Revenues which the Princes of *Scotland* in former times poſſeſſed, but alſo the Rents and Offices belonging ſometime to the Earl of *Bothwell*.

11. And laſt, that a convenient number of Hoſtages, being all Noblemen, and of thoſe who have adhered to the Queen, and ſolicited her delivery, ſhould enter in *England* to remain there for aſſurance of obſerving the Conditions made both to the King of *Scots* and the ſubjects under his obedience, and to the Queen of *England* for the peace and quiet of her dominions; and that the ſaid Hoſtages ſhould be entered in *England* before the Queen of *Scots* ſhall be put to Liberty.

These Articles delivered to them were anſwered the next day as followeth. *We have ſeen and conſidered the note of the Heads which we received from your Lordſhips for pacifying the Controverſies between the Queen our Sovereign's Mother, and the King her Son and his Subjects, touching the Title of the Crown of* Scotland, *if it be found that her Dimiſſion either was or may be lawfully revoked by her; and therewithal having diligently peruſed our Commiſſion and Inſtructions, to know how far we might enter in Treaty upon the ſame Heads for ſatisfaction of the Queen's Majeſty and your Lordſhips to whom the hearing of the cauſe is committed, we find our ſelves no ways able nor ſufficiently authorized to enter into any Treaty or Conference touching the King our Sovereign his Crown, the Abdication or Diminution of the ſame, or yet the removing of his Perſon from the place where he abideth: For as we confeſs our ſelves his Highneſs Subjects, and have all our power and Commiſſion from him, to treat in his name, in matters tending to the maintenance of true Religion, his Honor and eſtate, and for the continuance of Amity betwixt the two Realms; ſo we cannot preſume to abuſe our Commiſſion in any thing that may prejudge him, wherein we truſt your Lordſhips ſhall allow and approve us.*

Anſwer to the foreſaid Articles.

At the ſame time, and whileſt theſe things were a-doing with the King's Commiſſioners, ſome others were appointed to confer with thoſe of his Mother's party: And to them it was propoſed, That, for the Security of the Queen of *England*, and the Noblemen that followed the King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, with the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, the Lord *Home*, and any other Nobleman they pleaſed to name, ſhould be delivered as Pledges, and the Caſtles of *Dumbar*,

Propoſitions made to the Queen of *Scots* Commiſſioners.

Dumbar, and *Home* be put in the hands of *Engliſh*-men, to be kept for three years. The anſwer they gave was, That She, who of her own motive committed her ſelf to the protection of the Queen of *England*, would moſt willingly give her ſatisfaction in all things which conveniently might be done; but to deliver thoſe great men and the Fortreſſes required, was no other thing but to ſpoil and deprive the diſtreſſed Queen of the ſuccour of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſtrength of thoſe places: yet if in all other points they did agree, they made offer that two Earls (one whereof ſhould be of the number nominated) and two Lords ſhould enter as Hoſtages, and remain in *England* for the ſpace of two years; but for the Holds and Caſtles they could not, becauſe of the League with *France*, put them in the hands of *Engliſh*-men, unleſs others were put alſo in the hands of the *French*. *An.* 1570. The Anſwer.

The Queen of *England*, perceiving that there were on both ſides great impediments, ſent for the King's Commiſſioners, and told them how ſhe had conſidered that the Articles proponed could not be reſolved but in a Parliament; and therefore leaving the Treaty for a time, ſeeing ſhe underſtood there was a Meeting of the Eſtates appointed in *May* next, ſhe held it meeteſt they ſhould return, and in that Meeting condeſcend upon an equal number of both parties that ſhould have power to compoſe matters; the Abſtinence in the mean time being renewed, in hope that all Differences ſhould be taken away, and matters peaceably agreed. This ſhe would cauſe ſignifie to the Agents of their Queen, and doubted not but they would aſſent thereto. Yet when it was moved unto them, they refuſed to agree to any delay, till they ſhould know what was her own mind. Hereupon the King's Commiſſioners were commanded to ſtay till her Anſwer ſhould be returned. The Treaty continued to a more convenient time.

In this time the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton*, truſting to ſpeed better by Conference with the Earl of *Morton* and the reſt, ſent to deſire a meeting of them: which was yielded unto, provided the Biſhop of *Roſs* came not in their company; for him they would not admit, as being the King's Rebel. Having met, they talked kindly one to another. But that the Queen ſhould be reſtored to her Authority, in no condition (though divers were proponed) could be admitted. Which when ſhe heard, and that the Queen of *England* had taken a courſe to delay things, ſhe grew into a great choler, and inhibited her Commiſſioners to treat any more. This reported to the Queen of *England*, ſhe ſent for the Earl of *Morton* and his Aſſociates, and told him, that their Queen took in evil part the motion ſhe had made: *And ſeeing it is ſo*, ſaith ſhe, *I will not detain you longer, ye ſhall go home; and if afterwards ſhe be brought to agree to this courſe, as I hope ſhe ſhall, I have no doubt but you will for your parts do that which is fitting.* Thus were they dimitted. The Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton* confer with the Earl of *Morton*.

Whileſt theſe things were doing in *England*, the Factions at home, notwithſtanding of the Abſtinence, were not idle, but taking their advantage of others. Lord *Claud Hamilton* ejecting the Lord *Semple* his ſervants forth of the Houſe of *Paſlay*, placed therein a number of ſoldiers, and by them kept all theſe parts in fear. The Regent upon this gathering ſome forces beſieged the Houſe, and had it rendered to him within a few days. The ſoldiers were conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and hanged on the Gallows without the Town. Not long after, upon intelligence that the Caſtle of *Dunbarton* was negligently kept and might eaſily be ſurpriſed, he ſent three Companies, under the command of Captain *Cranford*, Captain *Home*, and Captain *Ramſey*, to give the attempt. Ladders and other neceſſaries for ſcaling being prepared, they went thither in the night, conducted by a fellow that had ſerved in the Houſe, and as then had quit his ſervice upon a private diſcontent. A little before day, carrying the Ladders with the leaſt noiſe they could make, they placed the ſame in the moſt commodious part for aſcent, and, notwithſtanding of ſundry difficulties that happened, got up in the end to the top of the Rock: There having a Wall of ſtone likewiſe to climbe, Captain *Alexander Ramſey*, by a Ladder which they drew up after them, was the firſt that entered, and for a ſhort ſpace defended himſelf againſt three watchmen that aſſailed him. *Cranford* and *Home* following quickly with their Companies, the watchmen were killed, and the Munition ſeiſed. The Lord *Fleming*, who commanded the Caſtle, hearing the Tumult, *Paſlay* taken by Lord *Claud Hamilton*, and recovered by the Regent. The Caſtle of *Dunbarton* ſurpriſed.

An. 1570. Tumult, fled to the neather *Balze*, (ſo they call the part by which they deſcend to the river) and eſcaped in a little Boat. The ſoldiers and other ſervants yielding were ſpared, and freely dimitted. Within the Caſtle were the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Monſieur Veras* the *French*-man, the Lady *Fleming*, *John Fleming* of *Boghall*, *Alexander Levingſton*, ſon to the Lord *Levingſton*, and *John Hall* an *Engliſh*-man, who were all made priſoners. The next morning the Regent came thither, (for he was lying at *Glaſgow*) and uſing the Lady honorably, ſuffered her to depart with her plate, jewels, and all that appertained either to her or to her Husband. *Veras* was ſent to be kept at S. *Andrews*, and permitted afterwards to depart. The *Engliſh*-man *Hall* was delivered to the Marſhal of *Berwick*. *Boghall* and the Lord *Levingſton*'s ſon were detained. The Archbiſhop was ſent to *Striveling*, and the firſt of *Aprill* publickly hanged on a Gibbet erected to that purpoſe.

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* executed.

His Declaration at his death.

This was the firſt Biſhop that ſuffered by form of Juſtice in this Kingdom. A man he was of great action, wiſe and not unlearned, but in life ſomewhat diſſolute. His death, eſpecially for the manner of it, did greatly incenſe his friends, and was diſliked of divers, who wiſhed a greater reſpect to have been carried to his age and place. But the ſuſpicion of his guiltineſs in the Murthers of the King and Regent made him of the common ſort leſs regrated. It is ſaid, that being queſtioned of the Regent's Murther he anſwered, *That he might have ſtayed the ſame, and was ſorry he did it not*. But when he was charged with the King's death, he denied the ſame. Yet a Prieſt called *Thomas Robinſon*, that was brought before him, affirmed that one *John Hamilton* (commonly called *Black John*) had confeſſed to him on his death-bed that he was preſent by his direction at the Murther. Whereunto he replied, *That being a Prieſt he ought not to reveal Confeſſions; and that no mans Confeſſion could make him guilty*. But for none of thoſe points was he condemned, nor the ordinary form of Trial uſed, though he did earneſtly requeſt the ſame; only upon the forfeiture laid againſt him in Parliament he was put to death, and the execution haſtened, leſt the Queen of *England* ſhould have interceded for his life.

They who ſtood for the Queen take Arms and come to *Edinburgh*.

They who ſtood for the Queen, upon advertiſement that the Treaty was diſſolved, and that ſhe had recalled the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton*, did preſently take Arms. The Laird of *Grange*, to keep the Town of *Edinburgh* under command, did plant in the Steeple of S. *Giles* ſome ſoldiers, and tranſport all the Armor and Munition which was kept in the Town-houſe to the Caſtle. After a few days the Duke of *Chattellerault* came thither, with the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, the Lords *Hereis*, *Boyd* and divers others, to ſtay the holding of the Parliament, which had been adjourned to the fourteenth of *May*. At their coming they compelled the Clerks and keepers of the Regiſter to deliver the Books of Council and Parliament, and ſeiſed on every thing which they thought might hinder the States to convene. The Miniſters were commanded in their publick prayers to make mention of the Queen their Sovereign Princeſs; which they refuſed. *John Knox* withdrew himſelf, and retired to S. *Andrews*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway* preaching in his place.

The Regent reſolveth to hold the Parliament.

The Regent on the other ſide with the Nobility that adhered to the King came into *Leith* with a reſolution to hold the Parliament, whatſoever ſhould follow; and becauſe it would be a difficil work to recover the Town, concluſion was taken to keep the Parliament in that part of the Cannon-gate which is ſubject to the Town's juriſdiction: the Lawyers having reſolved, that in what part ſoever of the Town the Eſtates ſhould convene, their meeting would be found lawful. Thus on Monday the fourteenth of *May*, which was the Diet appointed, the Parliament according to the cuſtom was fenced in a houſe without the Gates, yet within the Liberties of the Town. The Saturday preceding the Regent had by advice of the Council ſent ſome men of war to poſſeſs that part of the Town, who were aſſiſted by certain Noblemen voluntiers that joyned in the ſervice. And notwithſtanding the continual playing of the Ordnance upon that part from the Caſtle, both that day and all the time the Parliament ſate, not a man (a thing moſt ſtrange) of the Regent's ſide was either hurt

hurt or killed. There were cited to the Parliament young *Lethington*, his brother Mr. *John Maitland*, Prior of *Coldingham*, *Gawan Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwining*, with his eldeſt ſon, and a baſe ſon of the late Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, who were all declared culpable of Treaſon: Young *Lethington*, becauſe of his foreknowledge and counſel given to King *Henry* his Murther; the reſt for their Rebellion againſt the King and his Regents. As in ſuch a troubled time the Parliament was very frequent; for of the Nobility were preſent the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre*, *Glencarn*, *Crawford*, (who ſome moneths before had forſaken the Queen's Faction, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King) *Bucquhan* and *Menteith*, the Lords *Keith* and *Graham*, as proxies for their Fathers, the Earls of *Marſhal* and *Montroſſe*, with the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Ruthven*, *Glamis*, *Zeiſter*, *Methven*, *Ochiltrie*, *Cathcart*, two Biſhops, nine Abbots and Priors, with twenty Commiſſioners of Burghs. The forfeiture pronounced, the Eſtates took counſel to diſſolve, becauſe the danger was great, and prorogued the Parliament to the third of *Auguſt*, appointing the ſame to meet at *Striveling*. *An.* 1571. Perſons forfeited in this Parliament.

A new Civil War did then break up, which kept the Realm in trouble the ſpace of two years very nigh, and was exerced with great enmity on all ſides. You ſhould have ſeen Fathers againſt their Sons, Sons againſt their Fathers, Brother fighting againſt Brother, nigh Kinſmen and others allied together as enemies ſeeking one the deſtruction of another. Every man, as his affection led him, joyned to the one or other party; one profeſſing to be the King's men, another the Queen's. The very young ones ſcarce taught to ſpeak had theſe words in their mouths, and were ſometimes obſerved to divide, and have their childiſh conflicts in that quarrel. But the condition of *Edinburgh* was of all parts of the Countrey the moſt diſtreſſed, they that were of quiet diſpoſition and greateſt ſubſtance being forced to forſake their houſes; which were partly by the ſoldiers, partly by other neceſſitous people; (who made their profit of the preſent Calamities) rifled and abuſed. The nineteenth day of *May* the Regent and other Noblemen leaving the Cannon-gate went to *Leith*, and the next day in the afternoon took their journey towards *Striveling*, where the ordinary Judges of Seſſion were commanded to ſit for miniſtring juſtice to the Lieges. As they were taking horſe, the forces within *Edinburgh* iſſued forth, making ſhew to fight, yet ſtill they kept themſelves under guard of the Caſtle. The Earl of *Morton* parting from the Regent at *Corſtorphin*, had the foot-ſoldiers left with him to withſtand the enemy, if he ſhould make any ſudden attempt. Nor did there many days paſs when the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Claud Hamilton* with their forces enterpriſed the burning of *Dalkeith*. *Morton*, who remained there, being forewarned of their coming, took the fields, and entertained a long fight with them, though in number he was far inferior. Divers on either ſide were killed, 25 of the Earl of *Morton*'s men taken priſoners, and of the adverſe party Captain *Hackerſton*. Neither had the Conflict ended ſo ſoon, if they had not been ſeparated by an accident that happened in the time. The Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Claud* had carried with them a great quantity of powder, wherewith the ſoldiers ſtriving to furniſh themſelves, and one of the matches falling amongſt the powder, it took fire, and with a terrible noiſe overthrew all that ſtood by. Captain *James Melvil* and a number of his company were thereby killed in the place, many died a few days after of the hurt they received at that time. The Civil War renewed. The Regent goeth to *Striveling*. A Conflict betwixt *Morton* and the Lords at *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Morton* by this Invaſion being taught to look unto himſelf, did hire a band of ſoldiers that was lately come from *Denmark* under the command of Captain *Michael Weymes*, or, as others write, Captain *David Weymes*. The Lords that remained at *Edinburgh*, thinking to intercept him and his Company, as he croſſed the river of *Forth*, imployed Mr. *James Kircaldy*, brother to the Lord of *Grange*, (who a few days before was come from *France* with a ſupply of money and Arms) and Capt. *Cullen*, a man well skilled in ſea affairs, to lye in wait for their landing. But the purpoſe being detected to the Earl of *Morton*, he came upon them at *Leith* as they were taking Boat ſo unexpected, as 16 of the number were taken priſoners; which ſerved to redeem certain of Captain *Weymes* Company, that were the next day taken The Earl of *Morton* hireth ſoldiers.

An. 1571. at Sea, for he himself with the greatest part arrived safely at *Leith*.

The Queen of *England* sendeth to Sir *William Drury*, to try the estate of things.

The Regent having advertised the Queen of *England* of those Troubles, and by the common danger of both the Realms intreated that she should no longer remain a neuter, she sent Sir *William Drury* Marshal of *Berwick* to try the estate of things, the power that the Regent had, and the means whereby the Castle of *Edinburgh* might be recovered: and perceiving by the information returned, that without her assistence neither could that Strength be regained, nor the waged soldiers be kept long together; because as yet she held it not fit to declare her self for the King, she began of new to treat with both parties for a surceasance of Arms, and that the Town of *Edinburgh* might be freed of the soldiers, and left patent for the Court of Justice, the Captain of the Castle having in the mean time a convenient revenue (for guarding the House) allowed unto him. But this turned to no effect, for the Conditions for the surceasance required could not be agreed unto by either side. For the Regent would have the Town of *Edinburgh* put in the estate wherein it was at the going of the Commissioners to the Court of *England* in *January* preceding, and *Grange* to content himself with such an ordinary Garrison as other Keepers of the Castle were accustomed to entertain. The other Faction was content to leave the Town patent, but so, that neither the Regent nor the Earl of *Morton* should come unto it: and for the surety of the Castle, they would have *Grange* to retain 150 soldiers besides the ordinary guard, who should lodge in that part of the Town which was neareſt unto the same.

The Lords on the Queen's party hold a Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

A Supplication presented in name of the Queen.

The Conditions of either side rejected, they of *Edinburgh*, not to be wanting of the authority of a Parliament, kept a publick Meeting in the Town-house the twelfth day of *June*, (to which day they had indicted a Parliament) where a Supplication was presented in name of the Queen, bearing, "That it was not unknown "how certain of her Rebellious subjects having imprisoned her person in the Tow-"er of *Lochlevin*, did hereafter constrain her to make a Dimission of the Crown in "favors of her Son, which by the advice of Mr. *John Spence* of *Condy* her Advocate "she had lawfully revoked; albeit otherwise the same could not subsist, being "done without the consent and advice of the Estates, and upon a Narrative of her "inability and weakness, which any of mean judgement may consider to be a mere "forgery, seeing her weakness to govern cannot be esteemed so great as is the "weakness of an Infant lying in the cradle, neither can he who hath the present "administration of affairs compare with her in any for aptness and ability to go-"vern. Therefore was it desired that the Nobility and Estates there convened, "after they had examined the grounds of the said Dimission, and found them in "reason naught, should discern the same to be null in all time coming.

The Queen's Resignation of the Crown decerned null.

The Supplication once or twice read, as the custom is, it was pronounced as followeth: *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal with the Commissioners of Burghs presently assembled, being ripely advised with the Supplication presented, have by authority of Parliament ordained the said pretended Dimission, Renunciation and Overgiving of the Crown by the Queen, consequently the Coronation of her Son, the usurped Government of his Regents, and all that hath followed thereupon, to have been from the beginning null and of no force nor effect, for the reasons contained in the said Supplication, and other considerations notour to the whole Estates. And therefore commands all the subjects to acknowledge the Queen for their only Sovereign, notwithstanding the said Dimission, and as it had never been in* rerum natura. Herewith to conciliate the favor of the Church and people, by another Statute they ordained, *That none should innovate, alter or pervert the form of Religion and ministration of Sacraments, presently professed and established within the Realm; but that the same should have free course, without any lett or impediment to be made thereto.* And therewithal the Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters and Readers in Churches were commanded in their publick service to pray for the Queen as their only Sovereign, the Prince her Son, the Council, Nobility and whole body of the Commonwealth. These Statutes they caused to be proclaimed at the Market-Cross the day following, which was the 13 of *June*.

Sir *William Drury* finding his labours unprofitable, and preparing to depart, the Lords of *Edinburgh* would needs of courtesie bring him on the way. The Earl of

Morton

Morton, who lay then at *Leith* pained with a Colick, hearing that they were in the fields, and taking it to be done for oſtentation of their power, aroſe from his bed, and putting his men in order, marched to *Reſtalrig*, which way they were to paſs. Sir *William Drury* perceiving the Companies of *Leith* in the way, and ſorry that his Convoy ſhould have given the occaſion, travelled between them, and by his perſuaſions made them both to retire. But then the queſtion fell who ſhould firſt retire: and for this Sir *William* proponed, that he ſhould ſtand between the Companies, and upon a ſign to be given by him both ſhould turn at one inſtant. The Earl of *Morton* accepted the condition, leſt he ſhould offend the Gentleman who had taken ſuch pains amongſt them; the others refuſed, giving forth great brags, that they ſhould make them leave the fields with ſhame if they did it not willingly. How ſoon *Morton* was advertiſed of the difficulty they made, he cried aloud, *On, on, we ſhall ſee who keeps the fields laſt*, and therewith gave ſo hard a charge upon them, as they diſordered both the horſe and foot. The Chaſe held towards the Water-gate, where by reaſon of the ſkant & narrow paſſage many were killed and trod to death; but the number of priſoners were greater, for there were 150 taken, amongſt whom were the Lord *Home* and Capt. *James Cullen*; the Abbot of *Kilwining* was killed, a Gentleman of good worth, and greatly lamented; for he was of all that Faction eſteemed moſt moderate. There died ſome 50 in all, moſt of them common ſoldiers and of mean accompt. On *Morton*'s ſide Captain *Weymis* with one onely ſoldier was ſlain. This Conflict happened on Saturday the 28 of *June*, 1571.

An. 1571.

A Conflict betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lords at *Edinburgh*.

The Lord *Home* taken priſoner.

Advertiſement hereof ſent to the Regent, he came the next day to *Leith*; where firſt order was taken with the priſoners, and the Lord *Home* ſent to *Tantallon*. But he ſtayed not long there, for the Lord of *Drumlanrig* being intercepted by Sir *David Spence* of *Wormſton*, as he was making homewards, an exchange was made of the Lord *Home* with him. Captain *Cullen*, a man infamous, and who in the laſt Wars had uſed great cruelty, was hanged on a Gibbet. The reſt upon promiſe not to ſerve againſt the King were dimitted. Reſolution then was taken for the Regent's abode at *Leith*, and the Countrie's attendance upon him by quarters, to keep the adverſaries buſied, and hinder the victualling of the Town. During which time no day paſſed without one Conflict or other, wherein ſometimes the Regent, and ſometimes the Queen's party had the better. At this time, upon a report carried to the Laird of *Grange* that he was commonly called by thoſe of *Leith* the *Traytor*, he ſent a Trumpet to appeal any one of their ſide to combat that ſhould dare to affirm ſo much. The Laird of *Garleys* offering to maintain it, time and place were appointed for the fight; and when all were expecting the iſſue of it, *Grange* excuſed himſelf by the publick charge he bare, ſaying, *that it was not thought convenient he ſhould hazard the cauſe in his own perſon.*

The Regent returneth to *Leith*.

The Combat offered by *Grange* is accepted, and thereafter by himſelf declined.

Notwithſtanding of this great heat amongſt the parties, the Queen of *England* ceaſed not to mediate an Accord, and by a Letter to the Marſhal, dated the 19th of *July*, willed him to move them of new for an Abſtinence, offering to ſend perſons of authority and credit to the Borders, who ſhould travel to agree them, and remove all Differences as well concerning the Title of the Crown as other private matters: and becauſe it was given her to underſtand that both parties had indicted Parliaments to *Auguſt* next, ſhe deſired that no proceeding ſhould be made therein, either by making of Laws, or by denouncing any perſons forfeited, and that only they ſhould authorize certain perſons to meet with her Commiſſioners for conſulting upon the beſt means to conclude a ſolid Peace. There was alſo a Letter of ſafe conduct ſent for any one that *Grange* would direct unto *England*, (for this he had deſired) *Lethington* excepted, and thoſe that were ſuſpected of the late King's Murther. But whether this exception gave the cauſe, or the daily incouragements ſent by the *French*, none was directed thither.

The Queen of *England* inſiſteth for Peace.

The Regent by his anſwer of the 27 excuſed the not yielding to the *Abſtinence*, which, he ſaid, *without evident prejudice to the King's cauſe could not be granted ſo long as* Edinburgh *was detained.* For other Points he anſwered, *That by himſelf, without the conſent of the Nobility and Eſtates, he could ſay nothing; but at their meeting in* Auguſt *her Majeſty ſhould receive all reaſonable ſatisfaction.* The adverſary party in

The Regent excuſeth his refuſe of the Abſtinence.

An. 1571. the mean time nothing relenting of their courſe, did keep a form of Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 22 *Auguſt*; and though they were but five perſons in all preſent that had any voice in the State, to wit, two Biſhops and three Noblemen, they pronounced above 200 perſons forfeited. The Regent advertiſing the Queen of *England* how they had proceeded, and what diſorder did ſhew the neceſſity whereunto they that lived in the King's obedience were brought, and how it concerned him and the reſt to proſecute what they had juſtly intended, in regard of their enemies precipitation. So in the Parliament kept at *Striveling* the 28 of the ſame moneth, ſentence of forfeiture was pronounced againſt the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his two Sons, the Abbot of *Aberbrothock* and Lord *Claud*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Laird of *Grange*, and ſome others. And for ſatisfying the Queen of *England*'s deſire, the Earl of *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Semple*, *Ruthven* and *Glamis*, with the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin* and S. *Colmes Inche*, Sir *John Ballendine* Juſtice Clerk, and Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of Regiſter, were nominated by the Eſtates, and Commiſſion given, or to any four, three, or two of that number, to treat with ſuch as the Queen of *England* ſhould appoint upon the Differences ariſen amongſt the ſubjects by occaſion of the late Troubles, and for contracting a League offenſive and defenſive betwixt the two Realms. Of all that did the Regent give notice to the Queen, beſeeching her not to preſs them with any thing that might ſeem to call the King's Authority in queſtion. But before theſe Letters came to her hands, he was killed, as ye ſhall hear.

A Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* by the Lords.

The Regent kept a Parliament at *Striveling*.

Perſons forfeited in the Parliament.

An enterpriſe of the Lord *Claud Hamilton*.

Lord *Claud Hamilton* having intelligence given him of the ſecurity wherein the Regent and Nobility lived at *Striveling*, and how as in a time of ſetled peace they did not ſo much as keep a Watch by night, took reſolution to invade them, & was therein greatly incouraged by Cap. *George Bell*, (a man born in *Striveling*, & one that knew all the paſſages & ſtreets) who made offer to put him & the company he ſhould bring with him ſafely in the Town. This he communicated to the Earl of *Huntley*, *Walter Scot* of *Bacleugh*, and *David Spence* of *Wormeſton*, who were all content to joyn in the enterpriſe. The ſecond of *September* they went from *Edinburgh* a little before Sunſetting, accompanied with 200 horſe and 300 foot; and, leſt their journey ſhould be ſuſpected, they made the rumor go, that they went towards *Jedburgh*, to compoſe a diſcord fallen out betwixt the Town and the Laird of *Farnherſt*. To eaſe the footmen they had taken all the horſes which came the day before to the Market, and as many as they could otherwiſe purchaſe by the way; and ſo marching with a wonderful confidence, (for by the way all their diſcourſe was whom they would kill, & whom they would ſave) they came about the dawning of the day to the Town, & found all things ſo quiet, as not a dog was heard to open his mouth & bark: whereupon having planted the ſoldiers in the moſt commodious parts of the Town, and injoyned them to ſuffer no perſon to come unto the ſtreet, they went to the Noblemens lodgings which were deſigned unto them, and found there little or no reſiſtence. The Earl of *Morton* defended the lodging wherein he was ſome little time, but fire being put to the houſe he rendered to the Laird of *Bacleugh*. The Regent was taken with leſs ado, his ſervants making no defence. In like ſort were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Eglinton* made priſoners with divers others. The Earl of *Marre* hearing the noiſe, iſſued forth of the Caſtle with 16 perſons only, and entering the back of his new lodging which was not then finiſhed, played with Muskets upon the ſtreet, ſo as he forced them to quit the ſame. The Towns-men and others, upon this taking courage, gathered together, and put the enemy to flight, purſuing them ſo hotly as they were conſtrained to quit their priſoners, and ſome to render themſelves to thoſe they were leading captive. The Regent, who was *Wormeſton*'s priſoner, (for to him he had rendered) being carried a little without the Port, when they ſaw the reſcue coming, was ſhot by Captain *Calder*, and with the ſame bullet *Wormeſton* (who did what he could to ſave the Regent) was ſtricken dead.

The number of the ſlain on both ſides.

The death of this Gentleman was much regrated of both Factions, for that he was for manly courage and other vertues as well of body as mind inferiour to none of his time. There fell at this time on the Regent's ſide ſome 24, amongſt whom the moſt eminent were *George Ruthven*, Brother to the Lord *Ruthven*, and

Alexander

Alexander Stewart of *Garleis*. Of the other ſide as many were ſlain, and divers taken priſoners; amongſt whom were the two Captains *Bell* and *Cawder*, who were executed as Traitors. The Lord *Claud* with the Earl of *Huntley* and the reſt eſcaped, and had all been taken if there had been horſes to purſue them; but the Borderers that followed *Bacleugh*, men accuſtomed with ſuch practices, had emptied the ſtables at the firſt entry into the Town. It was certainly a bold enterpriſe, whereof we will not find many the like in Story. So few men leaving their ſtrength to take ſo long a journey, and enter upon a Town full of enemies (for there were in it 500 able and reſolute men at leaſt, beſides the inhabitants) was a great audaciouſneſs; and then to get in their hands the chief of their adverſaries, whereby they were once in a poſſibility to have returned abſolute victors; yea when the courſe altered, to ſave themſelves with ſo little loſs, which held ſtrange, and made the enterpriſe to be counted no leſs fortunate then it was bold and venturous. *An.* 1571.

It was alſo obſerved, and is worth the reporting, that the young King, who was brought from the Caſtle to the Parliament-houſe at their firſt ſitting, after a ſhort ſpeech which they had put in his mouth, eſpying in the Table-cloth, or, as others have ſaid, in the Top of the houſe, a little hole, cried out, that *there was a Hole in the Parliament*. An ominous ſpeech, and ſo interpreted by ſome that were preſent, which the event made the more remarkable; for before the Parliament was at an end a great Hole was made in it by the death of him that began the ſame. The Regent, though the wound was mortal, did not light from his horſe till he came to the Caſtle. By the way when his friends did incourage him, he ſtill anſwered, *If the Babe be well* (meaning the King) *all is well*: and being laid in bed and his wound dreſſed, after they had told him that his bowels were cut, calling the Nobility he ſpake unto them a few words to this effect. An ominous ſpeech of the King, being yet a Child.

I am now, my Lords, to leave you, at God his good pleaſure, and to go into a world where is reſt and peace. Ye know it was not my ambition, but your choice, that brought me to the Charge I have this while ſuſtained; which I undertook the more willingly, that I was perſuaded of your aſſiſtence in the defence of the infant King, whoſe protection by nature and duty I could not refuſe. And now, being able to do no more, I muſt commend him to the Almighty God, and to your care, intreating you to continue in the defence of his Cauſe, (wherein I do aſſure you in God's name of the Victory) and make choice of ſome worthy perſon, fearing God and affectionate to the King, to ſucceed unto my place. And I muſt likewiſe commend unto your favour my ſervants, who never have received benefit at my hands, and deſire you to remember my love to my wife Meg, (ſo he was accuſtomed to call her) *whom I beſeech God to comfort.* This ſaid, he took leave of them all one by one, requeſting them to aſſiſt him with their prayers, in which he himſelf continued ſome hours, and ſo moſt devoutly ended his life. A man he was of noble qualities, tried with both fortunes, and if he had injoyed a longer and more peaceable time, he had doubtleſs made the Kingdom happy by his Government. The Regent's ſpeech to the Nobility.

It is time that we return to the Church, and conſider what the eſtate thereof was amidſt the civil Diſſentions. In the Countries where the Queen's Faction ruled the Miniſters in their prayers did always recommend the Queen as Sovereign, ſerving the affection of thoſe that commanded in the bounds, albeit the Aſſembly of the Church had otherwiſe appointed. *John Knox*, as we ſhewed, had left the Town of *Edinburgh*, and was gone to S. *Andrews*, where he had ſtrong oppoſition made him by Mr. *Archibald* and Mr. *John Hamilton*, Profeſſors of Philoſophy in the new College, who ſtood faſt to the Queen's Cauſe, and drew many of the Students after them. This, together with the grief he conceived of the preſent Troubles, did caſt him in a ſickneſs, whereof he never perfectly recovered. And at this time hearing that the Aſſembly of the Church was met at *Striveling*, he ſent unto them a Letter, which I thought worthy to be here inſert: it was as followeth. *Becauſe the daily decay of natural ſtrength doth threaten me with a certain and ſudden departing from the miſery of this life, I exhort you, brethren, yea in the fear of God I charge you, to take heed to your ſelves and the Flock over which God hath placed you Miniſters. What your behaviour ſhould be, I am not now, nor have I need, as I think, to expreſs,* An Aſſembly of the Church at *Striveling*. *John Knox* his Letter to the Aſſembly.

An. 1571. *preſs; but to charge you to be faithful, I dare not forget. And unfaithful ye ſhall be counted before the Lord* Jeſus, *if with your conſent, directly or indirectly, you ſuffer unworthy men to be thruſt into the Miniſtery of the Church, under whatſoever pretext. Remember the Judge before whom we muſt give account, and flee this as ye would eſchew hell-fire. This will be a hard battel I grant, but there is a ſecond will be harder, that is, to withſtand the mercileſs devourers of the Church-Patrimony. If men will ſpoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation; but communicate not ye with their ſins, of what eſtate ſoever they be, neither by conſent nor ſilence, but with publick proteſtation make known to the world that ye are innocent of ſuch Robbery, and that ye will ſeek redreſs thereof at the hands of God and man. God give you wiſdom, ſtrength and courage in ſo good a cauſe, and me an happy end. From S.* Andrews *the thirteenth of* Auguſt 1571.

A conſultation for ſetling the Policy of the Church.

In this Meeting the Church-men began to think ſomewhat more ſeriouſly of the Policy of the Church then before: for the firſt Draught being neither liked univerſally among themſelves, nor approved by the Council, they ſaw it needful to agree upon a certain Form of Government that might continue. Unto this time the Church had been governed by Superintendents and Commiſſioners of Countreys, as they were then named. The Commiſſioners were alterable, and were either changed or had their Commiſſions renewed in every Aſſembly, The Superintendents held their Office during life, and their power was Epiſcopal; for they did elect and ordain Miniſters, they preſided in Synods, and directed all Church-Cenſures, neither was any Excommunication pronounced without their warrant. They aſſigned the Stipends of Miniſters, directing the Collectors (who were then choſen by the General Aſſembly) to diſtribute the Thirds of Benefices amongſt them, as they thought convenient. If any ſurpluſage was found in the Accounts, the ſame was given by their appointment to the ſupply of the Publick ſtate; and in ſuch reſpect were they with all men, as notwithſtanding the Diſſenſions that were in the Countrey, no exception was taken at their proceedings by any of the parties, but all concurred to the maintenance of Religion, and in the Treaties of Peace made that was ever one of the Articles: Such a reverence was in thoſe times carried to the Church, the very Form of Government purchaſing them reſpect. But the Church conſidering that things could not long continue in that eſtate, the Superintendents being grown in years, and moſt of them ſerving upon their own charges, which burthen it was not to be hoped others when they were gone would undergo, thought meet to intercede with the Regent and Eſtates, for eſtabliſhing a ſure and conſtant order in providing men to thoſe places when they ſhould fall void, and ſetling a competent moyen for their entertainment. To this effect Commiſſion was given to the Superintendents of *Lothian*, *Fife* and *Angus*, and with them were joyned Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *John Row*, and Mr. *George Hay*. Theſe were appointed to attend the Parliament, and deal with the Regent and Eſtates, that ſome courſe might be taken in that buſineſs. But the Regent's death and the Troubles which thereupon iſſued made all to be continued for that time.

The power of the Superintendents.

Commiſſioners named to deal with the Regent and Eſtate.

The Regent's Funerals performed with ſuch Solemnity as the time would ſuffer, and his Corps interred in the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Striveling*, the next care was for chuſing a Governor in his place. *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, (who was then returned to the King's obedience) *James* Earl of *Morton*, and *John* Earl of *Marre* being put in lites, the voices went with the Earl of *Marre*. The fifth of *September* the Election was made, after which the Parliament went on; wherein, beſides the confirmation of the Regency, certain other Acts paſſed in favors of thoſe that ſhould happen to be ſlain in defence of the King his Authority. And the Regent bending all his thoughts to the beſieging of *Edinburgh*, brought an Army thither about the midſt of *October*, with nine pieces of Artillery taken forth of the Caſtle of *Striveling*. Having battered the Walls of the Town on the South-ſide, but to ſmall purpoſe, becauſe of the Rampiers and Ditches which the Defendents had caſt up within; he retired himſelf and his Army to *Leith*. The reſt of the winter was ſpent in light skirmiſhes, wherein none of the parties did ſuffer any great loſs. They in *Edinburgh* had the advantage; for the Caſtle being ſituated in an high place, and having

The Earl of *Marre* elected Regent.

having a long proſpect into all the parts about, gave them warning by a certain ſign when their enemies did iſſue forth, ſo as ſeldom they came to handy-ſtrokes: once only it happened that in an Ambuſh laid by them of *Leith* two Captains, *Hackerton* and *Michel*, who ſerved the Lords in *Edinburgh*, with 60 of their companies, were taken priſoners. This made them of *Edinburgh* more circumſpect in their outgoing ever after that time. *An.* 1571.

In the North parts *Adam Gordon* (who was Deputy for his Brother the Earl of *Huntley*) did keep a great ſtir, and under colour of the Queen's Authority committed divers oppreſſions, eſpecially upon the *Forbeſes*. *Arthur Forbes*, Brother to the Lord *Forbes*, (commonly called *Black Arthur*) a man both of wiſdom and courage, had from the beginning of the Civil Wars always allowed the King's party, and was at that time labouring to pacifie quarrels amongſt thoſe of his name, (for they were ſtriving one with another) that they might be the more able to withſtand their enemies. In end he prevailed ſo far, as he brought his friends to condeſcend upon a time and place of meeting for taking up their controverſies, and building them together in a ſure friendſhip. *Adam Gordon* ſmelling his purpoſe, and fearing the conſequence of it, uſed many policies to keep them ſtill divided: but when he perceived the meeting would keep, he reſolved to come unto the place, and one way or other to impede the agreement. At his coming he found them treating upon matters, and ſtanding in two companies a good ſpace one from another, and, as if he had been ignorant of the purpoſe, ſent to enquire wherefore they made ſuch Convocations. They anſwered, that they were doing ſome private affairs, wherein he had no intereſs. And being commanded to ſeparate and return to their houſes, they refuſed: whereupon he invaded them, and falling on that part where *Arthur Forbes* ſtood, in the very joyning killed him. The reſt ſeeing him fall took the flight, and in the chaſe many were ſlain; they reckon 120 to have died at that time. Not long after he ſent to ſummon the houſe of *Tavoy* pertaining to *Alexander Forbes*. The Lady refuſing to yield without direction from her Husband, he put fire unto it, and burnt her therein with children and ſervants, being 27 perſons in all. This inhumane and barbarous cruelty made his name odious, and ſtained all his former doings; otherwiſe he was held both active and fortunate in his enterpriſes.

Adam Gordon Deputy for *Huntley* in the North.

A Conflict betwixt *Adam Gordon* and the *Forbeſes*.

The Lord *Forbes* having eſcaped in the Conflict came to the Regent, and complained for a preſent Supply. He had granted to him 200 footmen under the conduct of two Captains, *Chiſholm* and *Wedderburn*, with Letters to the Noblemen of the Countrey that lay adjacent to aſſiſt. *Forbes* gathering his friends, and thinking himſelf ſtrong enough with the ſupply he had obtained, made out to ſearch and purſue his enemies. *Adam Gordon* lay then at *Aberdene*, and being advertiſed that the *Forbeſes* were drawing near to the City, he went forth to meet them. The encounter at the beginning was ſharp and furious; but the *Forbeſes* were young men for the greateſt part, of ſmall experience, and not under command; and the ſoldiers not being well ſeconded by them, after they had fought a while, gave over and yielded. The ſlaughter was not great, for the Conflict happened in the evening, which help'd many to eſcape. Captain *Chiſholm* with moſt of his company, and ſome 15 of the name of *Forbes*, were killed; the Maſter of *Forbes* and ſome others were taken priſoners.

A Supply granted by the Regent to the Lord *Forbes*.

Another Conflict betwixt the *Gordons* and *Forbeſes*.

This good ſucceſs of the Queen's party in the North gave hearts to all the Faction, and now they began every where to take new courage. In the South the Lairds of *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* did aſſail *Jedburgh*, a little Town, but very conſtant in maintaining the King's Authority. Lord *Claud Hamilton* belyed *Paſlay*. The Caſtle of *Braughtie* on the river of *Tay* was ſurpriſed by ——— *Seaton* of *Perbroath*. And in divers other parts Troubles were raiſed of purpoſe to divide the Regent's forces, and to withdraw him from *Leith*, that the Town of *Edinburgh*, which was then in ſome ſcarcity of victuals, might be relieved.

In the moneth of *January* an aſſembly of the Church convened at *Leith*, where after great inſtance made with the Regent and Council for ſetling the Policy of the Church, it was agreed that ſix of the Council and as many of the Aſſembly

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Leith*.

An. 1572. ſembly ſhould be ſelected to treat, reaſon, and conclude upon that buſineſs. For the Council *James* Earl of *Morton* Chancellor, *William* Lord *Ruthven* Treaſurer, *Robert* Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Secretary, Mr. *James Macgill* Keeper of the Rolls, Sir *John Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk, and *Colin Campbel* of *Glenorchy* were named; and for the Church, *John Ereskin* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus*, Mr. *John Winraine* Superintendent of *Fife*, Mr. *Andrew Hay* Commiſſioner of *Cliddiſdale*, Mr. *David Lindeſay* Commiſſioner of the Weſt, Mr. *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Orkney*, and Mr. *John Craig* one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*. Theſe twelve convening, after divers meetings and long deliberation grew to the concluſions following.

Commiſſioners named for the Council and Church.

Articles agreed unto by the Council and Church.

1. That the Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks preſently void ſhould be diſponed to the moſt qualified of the Miniſtery.
2. That the ſpiritual Juriſdiction ſhould be exerced by the Biſhops in their Dioces.
3. That all Abbots, Priors and other inferior Prelates, who ſhould happen to be preſented to Benefices, ſhould be tried by the Biſhop or Superintendent of the bounds, concerning their qualification and aptneſs to give voice for the Church in Parliament, and upon their collation be admitted to the Benefice, and not otherwiſe.
4. That to the Biſhopricks preſently void, or that ſhould happen hereafter to fall, the King and the Regent ſhould recommend fit and qualified perſons, and their Elections to be made by the Chapters of the Cathedral Churches. And foraſmuch as divers of the Chapters Churches were poſſeſſed by men provided before his Majeſtie's Coronation, who bare no office in the Church a particular nomination ſhould be made of Miniſters in every Dioces to ſupply their rooms until the Benefices ſhould fall void.
5. That all Benefices of Cure under Prelacies ſhould be diſponed to actual Miniſters, and to no others.
6. That the Miniſters ſhould receive Ordination from the Biſhop of the Dioces, and where no Biſhop was as yet placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds.
7. That the Biſhops and Superintendents at the Ordination of Miniſters ſhould exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majeſties Authority, and for obedience to their Ordinary in all things lawful, according to the form then condeſcended.

Order alſo was taken for diſpoſing of Proveſtries, College charges and Chaplanries, and divers other particulars moſt profitable for the Church, as in the Records extant may be ſeen; which were all ordained to ſtand in force until the Kings Majority, or till the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould otherwiſe appoint,

An. 1572. An Aſſembly of the Church at *Perth*.

In *Auguſt* thereafter, the Aſſembly of the Church meeting again at *Perth*, report was made of theſe Concluſions, and exception taken by ſome at the Titles of Archbiſhop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, and Chapter, as being Popiſh and offenſive to the ears of good Chriſtians: whereupon it was declared, that by uſing theſe Titles they meant not to allow of Popiſh Superſtition in any ſort, wiſhing the ſame to be changed in others not ſo ſcandalous. As the name of Biſhop to be hereafter uſed for Archbiſhop, the Chapter to be called The Biſhop's Aſſembly, the Dean to be called The Moderator of the ſaid Aſſembly; and for the Titles of Archdeacon, Chancellor, Abbot and Prior, that ſome ſhould be appointed to conſider how far theſe Functions did extend, and give their opinion for the interchange thereof with others more agreeable to the Word, and the policy of the beſt Reformed Churches, reporting their opinions at the next Aſſembly. But I do not find that any ſuch report was made; like it is the wiſer ſort eſteemed there was no cauſe to ſtumble at Titles, where the Office was thought neceſſary and lawful. A Proteſtation always was made, that *they received theſe Articles for an interim, till a more perfect order might be obtained at the King his Regent and the Nobilities hands.* According to theſe Concluſions Mr. *John Douglas* Provoſt of the New College of S. *Andrews* was provided

provided to the Archbiſhoprick of that See, Mr. *James Boyd* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *James Paton* to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Andrew Ghrame* to the Biſhoprick of *Dumblane*. *An.* 1572.

The Lord *Ruthven* ſent to aſſiſt the Town of *Jedburgh*.

About the end of *January*, the Regent advertiſed of the peril wherein the Town of *Jedburgh* ſtood, and of the great preparation that *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* made to ſurpriſe it, (for they had beſides their own forces drawn all the people of *Eſk*, *Ewis* and *Liddeſdale* to joyn with them in hope of ſpoil, and from the *Engliſh* Borders divers that were given to robbery, to the number of 3000 and above) ſent the Lord *Ruthven* with ſome forces to defend them. Before his coming, *Walter Ker* of *Ceſford*, a man of good worth, who had ever aſſiſted the King's party, was joyned with them. Their enemies nottheleſs eſteeming themſelves ſtrong enough by reaſon of their numbers, went forwards with an aſſurance of victory. The Lord *Ruthven* having notice given him by the way of their diet, and the time they had appointed to invade the Town, did uſe the more ſpeed, and came in ſight thereof juſt as the enemies appeared. They fearing to be incloſed betwixt the Town (who ſhewed themſelves in the fields ready to fight) and the forces the Lord *Ruthven* brought with him, did preſently retire and give back. *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* went to *Hawick*, and were followed the next day by the Lord *Ruthven*, who came upon them ſo unlooked for, as they were caſt into a great fear. The principals that had horſes fled away, the reſt betook them to a little buſh of wood, where being environed on all ſides they yielded at diſcretion: the priſoners were many, of whom ſome few were retained as pledges, and the reſt dimitted upon promiſe to enter themſelves at a certain day. The reſt of the winter and all the next ſpring was ſpent in light skirmiſhes, with ſmall loſs on either ſide; for they of the Queen's Faction did ſeldom come to the open fields, or if they ſhewed themſelves at any time, upon the firſt onſet they took the flight, and retired to the Town.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* called in queſtion for the Queen's Marriage with *Norfolk*.

Whileſt matters did thus proceed in the Queen of *Scots* quarrel at home, the Biſhop of *Roſs* in *England* renewed the purpoſe of Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and practiſed with divers for ſetting the Queen at Liberty. This being diſcovered, the Duke was committed to the Tower of *London*, and being arraigned at *Weſtminſter* Hall the 16 of *January*, was convicted of Treaſon and condemned to die, yet was the Execution delayed to the *June* after. The Biſhop of *Roſs* called alſo in queſtion, defended himſelf by the privileges of his Ambaſſage, ſaying, *That he had done nothing but what his place and duty tied him unto, for procuring the Liberty of his Princeſs; and that he came unto* England *with ſufficient authority, which he had ſhewed, and was at the time accepted.* When it was replied, *That the privileges of Ambaſſadors could not protect them who did offend againſt the Majeſty of the Princes they were ſent unto, and that they were not to be reputed other then enemies who practiſed Rebellion againſt the State:* he anſwered, *That he had neither raiſed nor practiſed Rebellion; but perceiving the adverſaries of his Princeſs countenanced, and her out of all hope of Liberty, he could not abandon his Sovereign in her affliction, but do his beſt to procure her Freedom. And that it would never be found that the privileges of Ambaſſadors were violated* via juris, *by courſe of Law, but only* via facti, *by way of Fact, which ſeldom had a good ſucceſs.* After long altercation he was ſent to the Iſle of *Ely*, and from thence brought and impriſoned in the Tower, where he remained nigh two years. Some ten days after *Norfolk*'s Execution, the Queen of *England* directed certain of her Council to the Queen of *Scots*, to expoſtulate with her for making ſuit to the Pope and King of *Spain*, & for receiving Letters from the Pope, together with a Sentence declaratory publiſhed againſt her ſelf, whereunto (after proteſtation that ſhe was a free Queen & ſubject to none) ſhe anſwered, *That ſhe had indeed by Letters ſolicited both the Pope & King of* Spain *for reſtoring her unto her Kingdom, which was no prejudice to the Q. of* Engl. *that ſhe had received godly and conſolatory Letters from the Pope. But for the Sentence given by him, ſhe never knew thereof till a printed copy was brought unto her, which after ſhe had read ſhe did caſt into the fire.* Theſe anſwers did not ſatisfie the Q. of *Engl.* who having underſtood that ſhe had entred in a ſecret confederacy with the *Spaniard*, kept her from that time in a more ſtrict cuſtody then before.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* impriſoned at *Ely*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* executed.

Certain of the Council directed to the Queen of *Scots*.

Yet at the requeſt of the *French* King ſhe ſent of new Sir *William Drury*

unto

An. 1572. unto *Scotland* to treat for Peace; and if that could not be wrought, to procure a Ceſſation of Arms for a certain ſpace. But he prevailed nothing, the Wars being then very hot, and the parties mightily incenſed againſt others. No quarters were given, nor interchange of priſoners made, but all that were taken on either ſide preſently executed. This device was held to proceed from the Earl of *Morton*, who thought the Troubles would not haſtily ceaſe if a greater ſeverity were not uſed towards them who withſtood the King's Authority. But whoſe device ſoever it was, it proved exceeding hateful. The common ſort taking it to have come of *Morton*, called the Wars of that time *the Douglaſſes Wars*. This form of doing continued from the 16 of *April* to the 8 of *June*; at which time both parties wearied of execution daily made, were content to ceaſe from ſuch rigour, and uſe fair Wars, as in former times. In the North *Adam Gordon*, after the *Forbeſſes* were defeated, found no reſiſtence, and following his fortune, reduced all beyond the River of *Dee* to the Queen's obedience. To impede his proceedings (for he had entered then into the Countrey of *Mernis*, and was beſieging the Houſe of *William Douglaſs* of *Glenbervy*) the Regent directed the Earl of *Crawford* and *Buchan*, with the Lord *Glamis*, and Maſter of *Marſhal*. Theſe Noblemen meeting at *Brichen*, and waiting there till forces ſhould aſſemble, *Adam Gordon* came upon them in the night, and killing the watches that were placed at the Bridge on the North ſide of the Town, had very nigh taken them all in bed; but they wakened by the noiſe of the Trumpets eſcaped: many were taken priſoners, and ſome 39 perſons ſlain within the City. This done, he beſieged the Town of *Montroſs*, and forced them to pay a great ſum of mony: which put the Town of *Dundy* in ſuch fear, as they were driven to ſeek aid of their Neighbors in *Fife*.

The Queen of *England* treateth for Peace among the parties.

The Earls of *Crawford* and *Buchan* directed againſt *Adam Gordon*.

The Caſtle of *Blacknes* betrayed by the Keeper.

At the ſame time the Caſtle of *Blacknes*, a Fort on the South-ſide of the River of *Forth*, was ſold by the Keeper to the *Hamiltons*, and thereby the Navigation betwixt *Leith* and *Striveling* barred. At *Edinburgh* were divers skirmiſhes betwixt them and the Companies that lay at *Leith*, and (which was greatly lamented of both parties) the Lord *Methven* killed by a ſhot of Cannon from the Caſtle. The Duke in the mean time having proclaimed a Juſtice-Court at *Hamilton*, and divers perſons within the Sheriffdom of *Ranfrew* and *Lennox* to anſwer to certain crimes whereof they were delated; the Regent prepared to keep the Diet, and leaving the Earl of *Montroſs* and the Lord *Lindeſay* to follow the ſervice at *Leith*, took journey to *Glaſgow*, and from thence to *Hamilton*. But neither the Duke nor any in his name appearing to hold the Court, he appointed the Lord *Semple* Lieutenant in thoſe Weſt parts for the King, and returned to *Striveling*.

Ambaſſadors from *France* and *England*.

He had intended an Expedition in the North, but upon advertiſement that two Ambaſſadors were arrived at *Leith* he turned thither; the one was *Monſieur de Crock* imployed by the *French*, the other Mr. *Randolph* by *England*, who profeſſed both of them to be ſent for negotiating a Peace amongſt the parties; yet was it thought the *French* did not much affect the Peace. For even then the Lord *Fleming* came from *France* with moneys to pay the ſoldiers that ſerved the Lords at *Edinburgh*. This Nobleman ſome ten days after, walking in the ſtreet, was unhappily wounded in the knee by the ſhot of an Harquebuze, whereof he died the ſixth of *September*. As to the Queen of *England*, howbeit ſhe deſired Peace to be made, yet ſhe would have it in ſuch manner as both Factions might depend on her; and ſo ſhe had carried her ſelf in all the late Treaties, as however ſhe favoured the King's party moſt, the other party did never deſpair of her good will.

The Lord *Fleming* unhappily killed.

A Ceſſation from War concluded.

The two Ambaſſadors having tried the minds of both parties, they found them more tractable then they expected, and after ſome travel taken amongſt them, obtained a Ceſſation of Arms, and for the ſpace of two moneths, (continuing from the firſt of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *October*) upon the Conditions following.

The Articles of Abſtinence.

1. That the Regent, Nobility, and all other ſubjects of the Realm partakers with them in the preſent Troubles, ſhould faithfully promiſe during the ſaid ſpace to abſtain from all Hoſtility.
2. That before expiring of the ſaid Abſtinence, the Nobility and Eſtates ſhould convene

convene and adviſe upon the beſt means to eſtabliſh a final Peace; and if any difficulty ſhould ariſe in the ſaid Treaty which amongſt themſelves could not be compoſed, that the ſame ſhould be remitted to the determination of the moſt Chriſtian King and Queen of *England*. *An.* 1572.

3. That the Town of *Edinburgh* ſhould be ſet at liberty, and made patent to all the ſubjects, and no place thereof be withholden or fortified with Garriſons, the Caſtle only excepted, which before theſe Troubles aroſe was accuſtomed to be kept and guarded with ſoldiers.
4. That all the ſubjects, of whatſoever quality and condition they were, ſhould freely converſe together without trouble or moleſtation to be offered them by word or deed, excepting ſuch as ſhould be found guilty of the Murther of the King his Father and Regents, the Thieves and broken men of the Borders and Highlands, with the diſturbers of the publick Peace betwixt the Realms of *Scotland* and *England*; none of which ſhould be compriſed in the preſent Abſtinence, but remitted to the trial and cenſure of the Common Law, and whereſoever they might be apprehended preſented.
5. And laſt, becauſe there were divers perſons who in the time of theſe Troubles had poſſeſſed themſelves in other mens lands, and the tenth whereof in that ſeaſon were to be collected; to the effect no impediment ſhould be made to the Peace intended, it was agreed that the Corns and Fruits growing upon the ſaid lands ſhould be gathered and put in Granges, or ſtalked upon the fields, and not applied to any private uſe, before the expiring of the Abſtinence.

Theſe Articles were publiſhed the firſt day of *Auguſt* both at *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, and the ſame day the Duke with the Earl of *Huntley* and their followers departed from *Edinburgh*, leaving the Town free and patent, as was agreed. This beginning of Peace joyed not a little the good ſubjects, for which publick thanks were given in all the Churches, and ſolemn prayers made for the continuance and perfection thereof. At this time, or much about the ſame, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been kept a long time at *Lochlevin*, was delivered by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick*, and ſhortly after beheaded at *York*. Hereat many did offend, eſteeming the fact diſhonorable, and a diſcredit to the whole Nation: others did excuſe it by the neceſſity of the time, and the inconvenience that the publick affairs might receive, if the Queen of *England* ſhould be in any ſort diſpleaſed. But ſo much the worſe it was taken, that, as the rumor went, *Morton* received for his delivery in *England* a great ſum of money, and ſo the Nobleman thought rather to be ſold then delivered.

The next day after the publication of the Abſtinence the Regent and Nobility adhering to the King did enter into *Edinburgh*, where the Ambaſſadors after thanks given them for their pains they had taken were courteouſly dimitted. It was the 27 of *September*, ſome three days only before the expiring of the Abſtinence, that the Noblemen did meet (as was appointed) to conſult upon the means of a perfect Peace. Whereupon it was firſt agreed that the Abſtinence ſhould be prorogued unto *January* next: after that, falling to treat of the buſineſs it ſelf, they agreed in many Points, and even then had made a final Accord, if the Laird of *Grange* had not marred the ſame with his Petitions. Theſe were as followeth.

1. He craved a diſcharge to himſelf and all that were in the Caſtle of all things which they or any of them had committed ſince the beginning of the Troubles, and that all Acts, Decrees and Sentences pronounced againſt them, either in Parliament, ſecret Council, or before the Juſtice general and his Deputies, might be declared null and of no effect.
2. That they ſhould be repoſſeſſed in their rooms, heritages and poſſeſſions, without any challenge to be made thereafter of the ſame by whatſoever perſon or perſons.

3. That

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3. That the heirs of the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord of *Wormeſton*, and others who were ſlain in the Queen's cauſe, might enter to their heritage and rooms, as though they had never been forfeited.
4. That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſhould be conſigned in the hands of the Earl of *Rothes*, with the whole furniſhing, munition and rent belonging there to the Captain, making an account of the Jewels and other goods which he received with the Houſe; as alſo reſtoring all the goods of the people of *Edinburgh* that were put in his cuſtody, which he was content to do, he being freely diſcharged of all, and ſecured by Act of Parliament.
5. That the Caſtle of *Blacknes* ſhould be put in the keeping of ſome one of their ſide, and the rents appertaining thereto aſſigned for the entertainment of a Garriſon within the ſame.
6. In reſpect of the great debt he had contracted in theſe Wars, he craved the ſum of twenty thouſand marks to be given him for ſatisfying his creditors.
7. That the Earl of *Morton* ſhould reſign the ſuperiority of the lands of *Grange* and other lands annexed thereto, to be holden of the Crown in all time coming.

And laſtly, that the Lords within the Caſtle might be licenced to go into the Kingdom of *France*, or any other Countrey they pleaſed forth of *Scotland*; and that the Earl of *Rothes* ſhould be ſurety for the accompliſhment of the whole premiſſes.

The Regent and Council do anſwer to the Articles.

Theſe Articles being preſented to the Regent and Council were for the firſt three judged reaſonable: but to commit any places of ſtrength to others then thoſe who had conſtantly adhered to the King, they eſteemed it not ſafe; and to give him any recompence that was known to be the author of the laſt Troubles, they ſaid it would be a matter of ill enſample. For the licence craved to thoſe of the Caſtle to go out of the Countrey, they held the Petition very ſuſpicious, and could not think there was a ſound meaning in them that had moved the ſame: yet was it not thought meet to anſwer him by a ſimple denial at that time, but rather to keep him in hope, and appoint a new Diet for purſuing the Treaty begun. Thus by conſent the Abſtinence was prorogued, and the laſt of *October* aſſigned for a new meeting at *Perth*.

The Regent dieth at *Striveling*.

The delay grieved the Regent exceedingly, and (as it was ſuppoſed) partly for this, and partly for the croſſings he found in the publick affairs, he contracted a ſickneſs, whereof he died at *Striveling* the eighth of *October*. The adverſary Faction, flattering themſelves in their own conceits, made the like conſtruction of his death which they had made of the other Regents that proceeded, ſaying, That *it was an evident ſign of God's diſpleaſure with the preſent courſes, and that none of thoſe who joyned in the enterpriſe againſt the Queen could proſper better*. But to meaſure God's love or hatred by theſe outward accidents is folly, ſeeing they fall out alike to all, both good and wicked: and for this Nobleman, howſoever he was taken away to the Countrey untimely, he died happily for himſelf, and well reported of all. Before his dying, he commended the care of the King's perſon in moſt earneſt manner to his Lady, and to *Alexander Ereskin* his Brother, appointing him Keeper of the Caſtle till his Son ſhould be grown up and be of a perfect age; and giving moſt wiſe directions both for the one and the other, ended his days in great quietneſs and in the aſſurance of that better life.

He commendeth the care of the King's perſon to his Lady and Brother.

The deſcription of *John Knox* his Life and Death.

In the next moneth *John Knox*, who had returned a little before to *Edinburgh*, departed this life. The Reader will pardon me if here I make a little digreſſion, to ſhew what a man this was both in his Life and Death; the rather becauſe ſome malicious and wicked ſpirits have ſtudied by many forged lies to deprave his fame, only out of hatred of true Religion, whereof he was a zealous promover. He was born in *Gifford* within *Lothian*, of a mean, but honeſt, parentage, and being put to ſchool, made ſuch profit in his ſtudies under that famous Doctor Mr. *John Major*, as he was held worthy to enter into Orders before the years allowed. By reading the ancients, eſpecially the works of S. *Auſtin*, he was brought to the knowledge of the Truth, and for the profeſſion thereof endured many troubles as well in the Cardi-

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nal's life, as after his death. Having happily escaped these dangers, he went into *England*, and became a Preacher of the Gospel, making his chief abode in the Towns of *Barwick* and *Newcastle*. In the beginning of Queen *Marie*'s Persecution he fled in the company of some other Ministers to *Geneva*, and served with them in an *English* Congregation, which was there gathered, until the year 1559; at which time he was called home by the Noblemen that enterprised the Reformation, and, how soon the Church got liberty, placed Minister at *Edinburgh*: in this charge he continued to his last, for the Civil Troubles which forced him to leave the Town ceased no sooner then he returned to the place. But his body grown infirm, and his voice so weak as people could not hear him, teaching in the ordinary place, he made choice of another more commodious within the Town, reading to his Auditory the History of the Passion, in which he said *it was his desire to finish and close his* ℭ*Ministery*. Thus he continued Preaching, though with much weakness, two moneths and more after his return; and knowing that he was not to remain a long time with them, he was instant with the Council of the Town to provide themselves of a worthy Parson to succeed in his place. Mr. *James Lawson*, who at that time professed Philosophy in the College of *Aberdene*, being commended for a good Preacher, Commissioners were directed from the Superintendent of *Lothian*, the Church of *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *John Knox* himself, to desire him to accept the Charge. To the Letter that the Commissioners carried after he had set his hand, he added this Postscript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui sero venies*, Make haste, brother, otherwise you come too late: meaning that if he made any stay, he should find him dead and gone. These last words moved Mr. *Lawson* to take journey the more quickly. When he was come to the Town, and had preached once or twice to the good liking of the people, order was taken by the Superintendent for his admission, and the Diet appointed, at which *John Knox* himself would be present and teach, though he could scarce walk on foot to the Chair. At no time was he heard to speak with greater power and more content to the hearers; & in the end of his Sermon, calling God to witness that he had walked in a good Conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preached the Gospel of Christ, with most grave and pithy words he exhorted them to stand fast in the Faith they had received: and having conceived a zealous prayer for the continuance of Gods blessings upon them, and the multiplying of his spirit upon the Preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his last farewel. The people did convey him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, so loth they were to part with him; and the same day in the afternoon by sickness was forced to take bed.

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Mr. *James Lawson* admitted Minister at *Edinburgh*.

During the time he lay (which was not long) he was much visited by all sorts of persons, to whom he spake most comfortably: amongst others to the Earl of *Morton*, that came to see him, he was heard say, ℭ*My Lord, God hath given you many blessings, he hath given you wisdom, riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of the Realm. In his name I charge you that you use these Blessings aright, and better in time to come nor ye have done in times past. In all your actions seek first the Glory of God, the furtherance of his Gospel, the maintenance of his Church and* ℭ*Ministery; and next be careful of the King, to procure his good and the welfare of the Realm. If ye shall do this, God will be with you and honor you; if otherwise ye shall do it not, he shall deprive you of all these benefits, and your end shall be shame and ignominy.* These speeches the Earl nine years after, at the time of his execution, called to mind, saying, that *he had found them to be true, and him therein a Prophet.*

John Knox his Speech to the Earl of *Morton*.

His last Speech to the Ministers.

A day or two before his death he sent for Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *James Lawson*, and the Elders and Deacons of the Church, to whom he said, *The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be releived of all cares, and be with my Savior Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid Doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end I proponed in all my Preaching was, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the Consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of*

His last Speech to the Ministers and Elders of the Church.

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The Ministers carry a Commission to the Laird of *Grange* from *John Knox*.

This spoken, and the Elders and Deacons dimitted, he called the two Preachers unto him, and said, *There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly: You have sometime seen the courage and constancy of the Laird of* Grange *in God's cause, and now unhappy man he hath cast himself away. I will pray you two, take the pains to go unto him, and say from me, that unless he forsake that wicked course wherein he is entred, neither shall that rock in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a God* (this was young *Lethington*) *make him help, but shamefully he shall be pulled out of that nest, and his carcass hang before the Sun. The Soul of that man is dear unto me, and, if it be possible, I would fain have him to be saved.* They went as he had desired, and conferred a long space with *Grange*, but with no persuasion could he be diverted from his course; which being reported he took most heavily.

He giveth order for making his Coffin.

The next day he gave order for making his Coffin, wherein his body should be laid, and was that day (as through all the time of his sickness) much in prayer, ever crying, *Come, Lord* Jesu; *Sweet* Jesus, *in thy hands I commend my spirit.* Being asked by those that attended him if his pains were great; he answered, that *he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all trouble, and beginning of eternal joys.* Oftentimes, after some deep meditations, he burst forth in these words; *O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of* Jesus. The evening which was to him the last of this wretched life, having slept some hours together, but with great unquietness, (for he was heard to send forth many sighs and groans) *Robert Campbell Knize cleaugh,* and *Iohn Iohnston* (called of *Elphinston,*) which two gave diligent attendance upon him, ask'd after he awaked how he did find himself, and what it was that made him in his sleep mourn so heartily: to whom he answered, *In my life I have often been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me into despair, yet God gave me to overcome all his temptations; and now that subtle Serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me that my labours in the Ministery, and the fidelity I have shewed in that service, hath merited Heaven and immortality. But blessed be God who brought to my mind these Scriptures,* What hast thou, that thou hast not received? *and,* Not I, but the grace of God in me. *With which he is gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battel is at an end, and that without pain of body or trouble of spirit I shall shortly change this mortal and miserable life, with that happy and immortal life which shall never have end.* The prayers which ordinarily were read in the house being ended, it was inquired if he heard them: He answered, *Would to God you had heard them with such an ear and heart as I have done:* adding, *Lord* Jesu, *receive my spirit.* After which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling asleep rather then dying, he ended his life. He was certainly a man indued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his Opinions, as touching the Authority of Princes, and the form of Government which he laboured to have established in the Church: yet was he far from those dotages wherein some that would have been thought his followers did afterwards fall; for never was any man more observant of Church-Authority then he, always urging the obedience of Ministers to their Superintendents, for which

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he cauſed divers Acts to be made in the Aſſemblies of the Church, and ſhewed himſelf ſevere to the tranſgreſſors. In theſe things howſoever it may be he was miſcarried, we muſt remember that the beſt men have their errors, and never eſteem of any man above that which is fitting. As to *The Hiſtory of the Church* aſcribed commonly to him, the ſame was not his Work, but his name ſuppoſed to gain it credit: for beſides the ſcurril diſcourſes we find in it, more fitting a Comedian on a Stage then a Divine or Miniſter, ſuch as Mr. *Knox* was, and the ſpiteful malice that Author expreſſeth againſt the Queen Regent; ſpeaking of one of our Martyrs, he remitted the Reader to a farther declaration of his ſufferings to the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs ſet forth by Mr. *Fox* an *Engliſh*-man, which came not to light ſome ten or twelve years after Mr. *Knox* his death. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man, then to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that Book. But this ſhall ſerve for his clearing in that particular. He died the 27 of *November* in the 67 year of his age, and had his body interred in the Church-yard of S. *Giles*. *An.* 1572.

The Hiſtory given forth in his name was not of his inditing.

In the end of this moneth the Eſtates convening to elect a Regent, made choice of the Earl of *Morton*, as the man in that time of greateſt courage and counſel. The Oath accuſtomed being miniſtred unto him, becauſe through the laſt Regent's death the Meeting appointed at *Perth* had failed; firſt, a concluſion was taken for calling a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 26 of *January*; next the cuſtody of the King and Caſtle of *Striveling* was confirmed to *Alexander Ereskin*, the Earl of *Marre*, being then under age, and he enjoyned to receive none within the houſe that was known to be Popiſhly affected, or of the Queen's Faction; for others it was ordained, that an Earl accompanied with two ſervants only, a Baron with one, and private perſons them alone (but all unarmed) ſhould have acceſs permitted, when their occaſions required. To the Regent himſelf it was injoyned. "That if any "place or Office ſhould fall void, he ſhould prefer none thereto but ſuch as was "ſound in Religion, and for other qualities apt and worthy. That during his Re-"gencie, he ſhould grant no reſpits nor remiſſions for hainous crimes. That he "ſhould not tranſport the King forth of the Caſtle of *Striveling*, without the ad-"vice of the Council. That he ſhould grant no favour to the Murtherers of the "King's Father and Regents. That he ſhould neither enter into league with Fo-"reiners, nor denounce War without the conſent of the Eſtates. And that he "ſhould be careful to entertain the Amity contracted with the Queen of *England*. The Eſtates on the other part did promiſe to aſſiſt him with all their power againſt the King's enemies, and to joyn with him in the reformation of whatſoever abuſes crept in by occaſion of the late Troubles, without offending at the execution of juſtice upon their neareſt and deareſt friend. Order was alſo taken for the entertainment of his houſe, the ſetling of a reſident Council, and the advancing of the Revenues of the Crown to the beſt profit. And theſe were the things done in that Meeting.

The Earl of *Morton* elected Regent.

Rules given to the Regent for his Government.

Soon after came Sir *Henry Killigrew* Ambaſſador from *England*, partly to declare the content which the Queen had recieved in the choice of the Earl of *Morton* to be Regent, and partly to renew the Abſtinence which was then near the expiring. Herein he prevailed ſo far with the Duke and *Huntley*, as they were brought not only to prorogate the Abſtinence, but alſo to name certain Noblemen who ſhould meet for them at *Perth*, with ſuch as the Regent by advice of the Council ſhould nominate, for concluding a perfect Peace. The Laird of *Grange* and thoſe that remained with him in the Caſtle refuſing to be comprehended in that Treaty, went on in victualling and fortifying the Houſe; for impeding whereof the Regent did levy ſome companies of ſoldiers to incloſe the Caſtle; and becauſe the time of Parliament was approaching, he cauſed erect Bulwarks in divers places of the ſtreet, to ſecure the people at their meetings to Sermon, and the Judges that convened to the miniſtration of Juſtice. *Grange*, finding himſelf thus pent up, did by a Proclamation from the Caſtle-wall command all the Queen's ſubjects to depart forth of the Town within the ſpace of 24 hours.

Sir *Henry Killigrew* ſent from *England*.

A Treaty of Peace.

The Laird of *Grange* refuſeth to be comprehended in the Treaty.

The time expired, he made the Cannon thunder upon the Town, to the great ter-

An. 1572. rour of the Inhabitants; yet there was no great hurt done that way: which when he perceived, he hired one of his ſoldiers to ſet fire in the night time to ſome houſes under the wall, which deſtroyed a number of tenements; for a ſtrong Weſtern wind blowing in the time, the fire did ſo rage, as from S. *Magdalen*'s Chappel Weſtward all was conſumed, none daring to put hand to quench the fire, becauſe of the Cannon that played ſtill on the part where they ſaw any concourſe of people. This made him extremely hated, and even they that otherwiſe wiſhed him well were greatly offended with this doing.

He moleſteth the Town of *Edinburgh*, and fireth the houſes.

A Parliament kept at *Edinburgh*.

The Parliament nottheleſs kept, and therein divers Acts were made, partly for maintaining the King's Authority, partly for preſervation of true Religion; which cauſes were held in thoſe days ſo conjoyned, as the enemies of the one were likewiſe eſteemed enemies to the other. Therefore was it then enacted, That *none ſhould be reputed loyal and faithful ſubjects to the King or his Authority, but be puniſhed as Rebels, who made not profeſſion of true Religion. And that all ſuch as made profeſſion thereof, and yet withſtood the King*'s *Authority, ſhould be admoniſhed by their Teachers to acknowledge their offence, and return to his Majeſtie*'s *obedience; and if they refuſed, that they ſhould be excommunicated, and cut off from the ſociety of the Church, as putrid and corrupted members.*

The pacification concluded at *Perth*.

The Parliament breaking up, the Regent by advice of the Council directed to the Meeting at *Perth*, the Earl of *Argile* then created Chancellor, the Earl of *Montroſſe*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Secretary, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and Sir *John Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk. There met with them the Earl of *Huntley*, and Lord *John Hamilton*, Commendatory of *Aberbrothock*, authoriſed by the reſt that maintained the Queen's Authority. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aſſiſting them, after ſome days Conference they were brought to agree upon theſe Articles.

1. That all perſons comprehended in the preſent pacification ſhould acknowledge and profeſs the true Religion eſtabliſhed and profeſſed within the Realm, and maintain the Preachers and profeſſors thereof againſt all oppoſers, ſpecially againſt the Confederates of the Council of *Trent*.

2. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton*, with their friends and followers, ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the King, and to the Government of the Earl of *Morton* his Regent and his ſucceſſors in the ſame, acknowledging themſelves the King's ſubjects by their Oaths and Subſcriptions.

3. That they ſhould confeſs all things done by them, under colour of any other Authority, ſince the time of his Majeſtie's Coronation, to have been unlawful, and of no force nor effect.

4. That an Act of Parliament ſhould be made with all their conſents, ordaining that none of the ſubjects ſhould aſſiſt, fortifie, ſupply, or ſhew any favour, directly, nor indirectly to thoſe who ſhould happen to practiſe againſt the Religion preſently profeſſed, the King's perſon, his Authority, or Regent: And if they ſhould be tried to do any thing to the contrary, the remiſſions granted to them, with all other benefits of the Pacification, ſhould be null, and they purſued for their offences paſt, as if they had never obtained pardon for the ſame.

5. That all perſons profeſſing his Highneſs obedience, who had been diſpoſſeſſed during the late Troubles, ſhould be reponed to their houſes, lands, livings, benefices, and whatſoever goods belonging to them, if ſo the ſame were extant in the hands of the intrometters; horſes and armor only excepted.

6. That the Maſter of *Forbes*, *James Glen* of *Barre* and all other perſons ſhould be ſet at liberty; as likewiſe the Bonds given by the Lord *Semple* and others for entry of priſoners, or for payment of any ranſomes, be diſcharged.

7. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton* ſhould dimit, and cauſe all ſoldiers hired or maintained by them or any of their party to be forthwith dimitted.

8. That all proceſſes of forfeiture which had been led, eſpecially the Sentences given againſt the Earl of *Huntley*, Lord *John Hamilton* and Lord *Claud* his brother, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *Adam Gordon* of *Awchindown*,

down, and the reſt of their friendſhip, for any crimes or offences done in the common cauſe againſt the King and his Authority ſince the 15 of *June* 1567, or for any other cauſe contained in the Summons of Forfeiture raiſed againſt them, ſhould be declared null and of no force, without any other ſpecial declaration: And that the foreſaid perſons ſhould have liberty given them to reduce the ſaid Forfeitures as they ſhould pleaſe. *An.* 1572.

9. That all perſons then returning or who ſhould return to the King's obedience, and for any crime committed in the ſaid common cauſe ſince the time aforeſaid had been diſpoſſeſſed of their lands, heritages, Benefices, Penſions, heritable Offices and other profits whatſoever, whether the ſame had proceeded upon ſentences of Forfeiture or Barratry, or any other way, ſhould be effectually reſtored, and be rehabiliated to their bloods and honors; to the end they might enjoy the ſame as freely as if the ſaid Troubles had never happened.

10. That all actions, crimes and tranſgreſſions committed by them and their followers ſince the 15 of *June* 1567, (Inceſt, Witchcraft and Theft excepted) ſhould be freely remitted, ſo as the ſame did not extend to the Murther of the firſt and ſecond Regents, which are matters of ſuch importance as the Regent now in place would not meddle with. And yet in reſpect of the preſent Pacification, if the ſame be moved to the Queen of *England* by the committers thereof, whatſoever ſhe ſhould adviſe to be done therein ſhould be confirmed in Parliament, and the remiſſion under the hand of the Clerk of the Rolls be as ſufficient as if the ſame were paſſed the great Seal. And if any of them ſhould crave a pardon for other crimes committed before the ſaid 15 day, the ſame (upon notice given of the perſons and crimes) ſhould be granted; the Murtherer of the King's Father, Fire-raiſing, Theft, and the reſſet of Theft, with Inceſt and Witchcraft, being excepted.

11. That all civil Decrees given ſince the ſaid 15 of *June*, wherewith the ſaid perſons or any of them do find themſelves grieved, ſhould be reviewed by the ordinary Judges that pronounced the ſame, and the parties upon their ſupplications be heard to propone any lawful defence, which they might have uſed in the time of the deduction of the proces: providing the Supplications be preſented and their Petitions exhibited within ſix moneths after the date of theſe Articles.

12. That all perſons comprehended in the Pacification, after publication thereof, ſhould indifferently be received in all parts of the Realm as his Majeſtie's good ſubjects; and that nothing done or that hath occurred during the Troubles ſhould be eſteemed a cauſe of deadly feud and enmity, nor admitted as an exception either againſt Judge, party, or witneſſes.

13. That the heirs and ſucceſſors of perſons forfeited, and now departed this life, who are comprehended in this Pacification, ſhould be reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions: and that it ſhould be lawful for them to enter thereto by Breves, as if their fathers and predeceſſors had never been forfeited, and had died at the King's peace; ſpecially the heirs of *John* ſometime Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Gawan* Commendator of *Kilwining*, *Andrew Hamilton* of *Cocknow*, and Captain *James Cullen*.

Unto theſe Articles ſome other particulars were added, which were all confirmed by the Oaths and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners and Noblemen in preſence of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and a time given to *Grange* and thoſe of the Caſtle to accept or refuſe the benefit of the Peace. But that none excepted in the former Abſtinence, nor any at that time forth of the Realm ſhould think themſelves comprehended therein, it was declared, that the benefit of the preſent Pacification ſhould not be extended to them. This was done to exclude the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and Biſhop of *Roſs*, Ambaſſadors for the *Scottiſh* Queen, the one in *France*, and the other in *England*, againſt whom the ſentence of Barratry had been pronounced. A time given to thoſe of the Caſtle to accept the Pacification.

About this time Sir *James Kirkaldy* brother to *Grange*, who had been directed to *France* for ſupply of thoſe within the Caſtle, returned, bringing with him a years rent of the *Scottiſh* Queen's Dowry; but finding the Houſe incloſed, and that there was Sir *James Kirkaldy* returneth from *France*.

An. 1572. was no ſafe acceſs thereto, he went to *Blacknes*, which then profeſſed to hold for the Queen. The Captain had betrayed the ſame, as we ſhewed before, to the *Hamiltons*; and now turning his coat to make his peace with the Regent, he offered to put in his hand both the man and the money. The bargain made, the money was given to the Regent, and *Kirkaldy* detained as priſoner. A few days after, the Captain going abroad to do ſome buſineſs, *Kirkaldy* enticed the ſoldiers by great promiſes to joyn with him, and lay hands upon the Captain's brother and a few Gentlemen left to attend him: which they, following their Captain's enſample, were eaſily induced to do. Thus the Houſe was poſſeſſed in *Kirkaldie*'s name, and he of a Priſoner turned to be chief Commander. But he did not long enjoy this place, for his wife being come thither to viſit him, when ſhe was the next morrow to depart, deſired the convoy of ſome ſoldiers for a mile or two, fearing, as ſhe pretended, to be robbed by Captain *Lambie*, who lay with a company at *Linlithgow* not far from thence: and as he, to ſave her, went forth himſelf to bring her on a part of the way, ſuſpecting no treachery, he was in his return intercepted by *Lambie*, and carried firſt to *Linlithgow*, then to *Dalkeith*, where he was kept ſome days, and afterwards dimitted. In this ſort did fortune ſport her ſelf with that Gentleman, changing his condition up and down three ſeveral times within the ſpace of a few days.

He takes land at *Blacknes*, and is delivered by the Captain to the Regent.

Peace now made with the chief Noblemen of the Queen's Faction, it was ſuppoſed that *Grange* and his partakers would likewiſe be moved to embrace it. Whereupon the Ambaſſador, taking with him the ſubſcribed Articles, went to the Caſtle, and, ſhewing how things had paſſed, uſed many perſuaſions to make them content to be comprehended therein. But they would not, affirming the Conditions to be ſhameful, and ſo far to the prejudice of their Queen, as till they were allowed by her ſelf and by the *French* King they ſhould never admit them. After the Ambaſſador had ceaſed to treat with them, the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Boyd* travelled to the ſame effect, repreſenting the danger and inevitable ruine they ſhould fall into if they did not yield in time. But they ſcorned theſe threats, thinking the ſtrength they were in impregnable, and looking ſtill for ſome ſuccours from *France* and the Duke of *Alva*; or if that ſhould fail, they made no doubt to obtain their Peace at eaſier Conditions then the Noblemen had accepted.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador travelleth to make *Grange* accept Peace, which he refuſeth.

The Regent offended with their obſtinacy, diſcharged all farther dealing with them, and ſent to the Queen of *England* for a ſupply of men and munition; which was granted, and Sir *William Drury* Marſhal of *Barwick* commanded to joyn with him in beſieging the Caſtle. How ſoon the Regent underſtood that the direction was given to the Marſhal, the Lord *Ruthven* was ſent to confer with him of the order that ſhould be kept in the ſervice. They meeting at the Church of *Lamberton* in the *Mers*, for preventing all debates that might ariſe, did agree as followeth.

The Regent intreateth the Queen of *England*'s help for expugnation of the Caſtle.

Articles agreed betwixt the Regent and the *Engliſh*.

1. That neither the Regent nor the General ſhould without the advice and conſent of the other tranſact or make any Compoſition with the beſieged.
2. That if it happen the Houſe to be taken by aſſault, the munition, plate, jewels and houſhold ſtuff pertaining to the King, with the Regiſters and publick Records of the Kingdom there reſerved, ſhould be all delivered to the Regent within three days after the houſe was recovered, and the reſt of the ſpoil diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers.
3. That, ſo far as might be, the perſons within the Caſtle ſhould be reſerved to the trial of Law, wherein the Regent ſhould proceed by the advice of the Queen of *England*.
4. That the Regent ſhould provide the *Engliſh* forces with victuals and all other things neceſſary during the ſiege, as likewiſe aſſiſt them with a convenient power of horſe and foot.
5. That recompence ſhould be given at the General's ſight to the Wives and neareſt friends of the *Engliſh* Soldiers who ſhould happen to be killed.
6. That if any of the Ordnance ſhould break or be otherwiſe ſpoiled, the ſame ſhould be changed with other Pieces of the like quantity within the Caſtle.

7. That

7. That the *Engliſh* General ſhould not fortifie within the ground of *Scotland* without the Regent's advice, and the ſervice finiſhed ſhould immediately retire his forces. *An.* 1573.

8. And laſtly, that for the ſafe return of the ſoldiers and munition, (the loſs which fortune of War ſhould make being excepted) Hoſtages of Noblemens ſons ſhould be delivered to the *Engliſh*, and entertained in the parts moſt adjacent to *Scotland*. *An.* 1573.

Theſe Conditions made, and the Maſters of *Ruthven* and *Semple*, *John Cunningham* ſon to the Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Douglas* of *Kilſpindie* being entred in *Barwick* as pledges, Sir *William Drury* marched with his forces into *Scotland*, and came to *Edinburgh* the 25 of *April*. The Regent giving out a Proclamation (wherein was ſhewed the care that the Queen of *England* had taken for the Peace of the Realm in times paſt, and the liberal ſuccours ſhe had granted at the preſent for the expugnation of the Caſtle, treaſonably detained and fortified by the Laird of *Grange*) *Did require and charge all good ſubjects to carry themſelves as became them towards the* Engliſh *General and his company, and not to injure them either by word or deed, except they would be eſteemed enemies to the Peace, and partakers to the Traitors in their Rebellious attempts.* A Proclamation given out by the Regent.

The next day the Caſtle was ſummoned, and offer made of their Lives if they ſhould yield before the planting of the Cannon: but the Captain, inſtead of anſwer, ſet upon the higheſt Tower his Enſign for a token of Defiance. Then the Pioneers were put to work, and begun to caſt Trenches, and raiſe Mounts for planting the Artillery. The beſieged made all the hinderance they could, playing with their Ordnance upon the workmen, and killing divers ere the Mounts were brought to perfection. How ſoon they were erected, (being five in all, and entituled by the names of their ſeveral Commanders) the Artillery was planted, 31 Pieces in number, more and leſs. All things prepared, and the Parliament finiſhed, which the Regent had called to the laſt of *April* for ratifying the Articles of Pacification, the Battery began the 17 of *May*. On the 27 the Caſtle was made aſſaultable, the Cannon having made great breaches in the fore and back Walls; and the Tower called *David's Tower* being alſo demoliſhed. The 26 early in the morning the aſſault was given in two places. At the Weſt Part, where the aſcent was moſt difficult, the aſſailers were repulſed after an obſtinate fight that continued 3 hours, and 24 perſons killed: on the Eaſt ſide the Blockhouſe called *the Spurre* was taken with leſs reſiſtence, which put the defendants in fear, and made them demand a Parly. This granted, a Truce was taken for the ſpace of two days, in which time the *Engliſh* General uſed many perſuaſions to the Captain to make him render the Houſe; neither was he then unwilling, ſo as the lives and honors of theſe within might be ſaved: but the Regent would give no condition, and have him ſimply to yield. The Captain ſeeing nothing but extremity, reſolved to ſtand to his utmoſt defence: yet when he came back to the Houſe, he found them all within divided, and the greater part ſo diſcouraged as they refuſed to undergo the hazard of a ſecond aſſault; which forced him to other counſels, and ſo following *Lethington's* advice, upon the 29 of *May* being let down by a rope over the wall, he and *Pittadrow* his Conſtable did yield themſelves and the Houſe to the *Engliſh* General in the name of his Queen, whoſe diſcretion (misknowing the Regent) they were willing to abide. The General made them to be attended to his Lodging, whither all that were of any note in the Caſtle were brought. Thereafter they were committed to ſeveral places, moſt of them tranſported to *Leith*, and ſome detained in *Edinburgh*, till the Queen of *England* ſhould ſignifie her will concerning them. The Ladies and Gentlewomen were licenced to depart, as likewiſe the private ſoldiers, and others of meaner ſort.

The Caſtle ſummoned.

The Captain anſwereth by a token of Defiance.

The Caſtle made aſſaultable.

A Truce taken, and the Captain willing to yield upon Conditions.

The Caſtle rendered to the *Engliſh* General.

It was thought that the Queen, in regard of the render made to her Lieutenant, would take a favourable courſe with them, and ſave their lives: but ſhe gave direction to put them all in the Regent's hands to be uſed as he thought meet: which when *Lethington* heard, either deſpairing of life, or not willing to injoy it by the

mercy

An. 1573. mercy of an enemy, he died at *Leith* so suddenly, as he was thought to have made himself away by poison. A man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for Oracles; but variable and unconstant, turning and changing from one Faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last: which should warn all Counsellors to direct their courses by the lines of Piety and true Wisdom; without which the most politick Prudence will prove nothing but Folly in the end. His brother, Mr. *John Maiteland*, who came afterwards to great honors, had his life spared, and was imprisoned in *Tantallon*. *George Creichton* Bishop of *Dunkeld* was sent to *Blacknes*, and the Lord *Home* detained in the Castle, which the Regent gave to his Brother *George Douglas* in custody. *Grange* himself, with his brother Sir *James Kirkaldy*, and two Goldsmiths, *Iames Mosman* and *Iames Cockey*, were publickly hanged in the Mercat-street of *Edinburgh*. Such was the end of Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, a man full of valour and courage, who had sometimes done good service to his Countrey against the *French*, and purchased by that means great honor; but seeking ambitiously to raise his fortunes, and hearkning to perverse counsel, he did break his faith to the Regent, who had put him in trust, and thereby lost all his former esteem, and drew upon himself these troubles wherein he perished. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it, when he was in his best estate, many did foredeem that he should not escape some misfortune. Yet herein he was happy, that at his death he expressed a great sorrow for his sins, and departed this life with a constant and comfortable assurance of mercy at the hands of God.

Lethington dieth at *Leith*.

Grange and his brother executed.

By this defeat of the *Castilians* (so they were commonly named) the Queen's Faction fell quite asunder, nor did it ever after this time make head. The Bishop of *Ross* (who had followed her business as Ambassador in *England*) being at the same time put to liberty, and commanded to depart forth of the Kingdom, went privately to *France*; for he feared the Earl of *Southampton*, and Lord *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom he had touched in his Examination. When he came to *France*, to mitigate the anger they had conceived, he published an Apology for the Depositions he had made, and whilest he lived ceased not to do the duty of a faithful subject and servant to the Queen, soliciting both the Emperor and Pope, the *French* King and other Catholick Princes in her behalf; who gave many good words, but performed nothing. So little are the promises of Strangers to be trusted, and so uncertain their help to Princes that are once fallen from their Estates. At home the Regent applying himself to reform the disorders caused by the late War, begun with the Borders, who had broken out into all sorts of riot, and committed many insolencies both on the *Scottish* and *English* side. Thither he went himself in person, where meeting with the *English* Wardens he took order for redress of by-past wrongs; and, to secure the peace of the Countrey, caused all the *Clannes* to deliver pledges for the keeping of good order, and made choice of the fittest and most active persons to rule and oversee those parts. Sir *Iames Home* of *Cauldinknowes* was made Guardian of the East Marches, the Lord *Maxwel* of the West, and Sir *Iohn Carmichael* of the Middle: who, by the diligence and strict justice they observed upon resetters and entertainers of Thieves, reduced the Countrey to such quietness as none was heard to complain either of theft or robbery.

The Queen's Faction quite defeated.

The Regent's Expedition to the Borders.

The next care he took was to order the Revenues of the Crown, and recover such lands as had been alienated from it, or in any sort usurped; the Jewels impignorated by the Queen he relieved by payment of the moneys for which they were ingaged. He caused repair all the King's Houses, especially the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and furnished the same with munition and other necessaries: and by these doings did purchase to himself both love and reverence, with the opinion of a most wise and prudent Governor.

His care for the King's Houses and Rents.

Yet was it not long before he had lost all his good opinion by the courses he took to enrich himself. Breaking first upon the Church, he subtilly drew out of their hands the Thirds of Benefices, offering more sure and ready payment to the Ministers

He falleth out with the Church.

ſters then was made by their Collectors, and promiſing to make the Stipend of every Miniſter local, and payable in the Pariſh where he ſerved. To induce them the more willingly to this, promiſe was made, that if they ſhould find themſelves in any ſort hurt or prejudged, they ſhould be reponed to their right and poſſeſſion whenſoever they did require the ſame. *An.* 1574.

But no ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the Thirds, then the courſe he took for providing Miniſters was, to appoint two, three and four Churches in ſome places to one Miniſter, (who was tied to preach in them by turns) and to place in every Pariſh a Reader that in the Miniſter's abſence might read Prayers, who had allowed him a poor Stipend of 20 or 40 pounds *Scots*. As to the Miniſters, they were put in a much worſe caſe for their Stipends then before: for when the Superintendents did aſſign the ſame, the Miniſters could come boldly unto them, and make their poor eſtate known, and were ſure to receive ſome comfort and relief at their hands; but now they are forced to give attendence at Court, begging their aſſignation and precepts for payment, or, as their neceſſities grew, ſeeking augmentation, which ſeldom they obtained; or if any petty thing was granted, the ſame was dearly bought with the loſs both of their time and means. The Superintendents were no better uſed, the means allowed to them for their ſervice being withholden; and when they complained, they were anſwered, that *their Office was no more neceſſary, Biſhops being placed in the Dioces, and the Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction belonging to them.*

Two, three or four Churches appointed to one Miniſter.

The Superintendents denied payment of their means.

Theſe things loſt him the Church, which then growing ſenſible of their overſight in denuding themſelves of the thirds, craved to be reponed according to promiſe. But herein divers ſhifts were made, and after ſundry delays it was directly told them, *That ſeeing the ſurplus of the Thirds belonged to the King, it was fitter the Regent and Council ſhould modifie the Stipends of Miniſters, then that the Church ſhould have the appointment or deſignation of a ſurperplus.* They, not able to help themſelves, did in the next Aſſembly take order that the Miniſters who were appointed to ſerve more Churches then one ſhould take the charge of that only at which they reſided, helping the reſt as they might, without neglect of their own Charge. And becauſe the placing of Biſhops was taken for a pretext to withhold the Superintendents means, the Biſhops were inhibited to execute any part of the Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the bounds where the Superintendents ſerved, without their conſent and approbation. This croſſing of one anothers proceedings did ſet the Church and Regent ſo far aſunder, that whileſt he continued in office there was no ſound liking amongſt them.

The Church deſired to be reſtored to the Thirds, but is denied.

An. 1574.

The diſcontents of the Countrey were ſo great by the Juſtice Aires (as they called them) that went through the Countrey, and were exerced with much rigour, people of all ſorts being forced to compone and redeem themſelves from trouble by payment of moneys impoſed. The Merchants called in queſtion for the tranſport of Coyn were fined in great ſums, and warded in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* till they gave ſatisfaction. Nor left he any means unaſſayed that ſerved to bring in moneys to his Coffers: which drew upon him a great deal of hatred and envy.

The Countrey vexed with Juſtice Courts.

I find at this time a motion made for compiling a Body of our Law, and making a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes as were meet to be retained in practice; which were ordained to be ſupplied out of the Civil Law where was any neceſſity, to the end Judges might know what to determine in every caſe, and the ſubjects be foreſeen of the equity and iſſue they might expect of their controverſies. This was entertained a while, and of good men much deſired as a thing beneficial to the countrey, and like to have cut off the occaſion of many pleas. But it ſorted to no effect, by the ſubtle dealing of thoſe that made their gain of the corruption of Law.

A motion for compiling a Body of our Law.

It happened *John Ormeſton* (commonly called *Black Ormeſton*, becauſe of his Iron colour) to be apprehended and brought to triall at the ſame time for the Murther of the King's Father. This man was thought to be privy unto all *Bothwell*'s doings, and a more particular diſcovery expected by him of the form and manner of that Murther. Yet at his Execution he did only confeſs that *Bothwell* had communicated

Black Ormeſton executed for the King's Murther.

An. 1575. cated the purpoſe to him, and ſhewed him the Subſcriptions of the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, Secretary *Lethington*, and Mr. *James Balfour*, teſtifying their conſents to that wicked fact. Nottheleſs the Regent, to the offence of many, did ſuffer the ſaid *Balfour* to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification, and paſſed an Act thereof in open Council. Whether the Subſcriptions of *Argile* and *Huntley* were counterfeit or not, it was uncertain; but of the other two it was eaſily believed, as being men univerſally hated. *Argile* died in *September* following, in whoſe place the Lord *Glamis* was created Chancellor.

Adam Heriot, Miniſter at *Aberdene*, his death and qualities.

In the ſame moneth *Adam Heriot* Miniſter at *Aberdene* departed this life, a man worthy to be remembred. He was ſometime a Frier of the Order of S. *Auſtin*, and lived in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*, an eloquent Preacher, and well ſeen in Scholaſtick Divinity. The Queen Regent coming on a time to the City, and hearing him preach, was taken with ſuch an opinion of his learning and integrity, that in a reaſoning with ſome Noblemen upon the Article of Real preſence, ſhe made offer to ſtand to *Heriot*'s determination. Warning of this being given, and he required to deliver his mind upon that ſubject in a Sermon which the Queen intended to hear, he did ſo prevaricate, as all that were preſent did offend and depart unſatisfied. Being ſharply rebuked for this by ſome that loved him, he fell in a great trouble of mind, and found no reſt till he did openly renounce Popery, and joyn himſelf with thoſe of the Congregation. Afterwards when order was taken for the diſtribution of Miniſters amongſt the Burghs, he was nominated for the City of *Aberdene*, (in which there lived divers addicted to the *Roman* profeſſion) as one that was learned in Scholaſtick Divinity, and for his moderation apt to reclaim men from their Errors. Neither did he fail the hope conceived of him, for by his diligence in teaching Schools and Church he did gain all that people to the profeſſion of the Truth: 14 years he laboured among them, and in end was forced by ſickneſs to quit his Charge. He died of the Apoplexy the 28 of *Auguſt*, in the 60 year of his age, greatly beloved of the Citizens for his humane and courteous converſation, and of the poorer ſort much lamented, to whom he was in his life very beneficial.

An. 1575. A Conflict betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

The next Summer there fell out an accident which was like to have cauſed great trouble, and divided the two Kingdoms. Sir *John Forreſter* Warden of the *Engliſh* ſide and Sir *John Carmichael* of the *Scottiſh* meeting in the Borders, at a place called the *Red Swyre*, for redreſſing ſome wrongs that had been committed, it fell out that a Bill (ſo they uſed to ſpeak) was filed upon an *Engliſh*, for which *Carmichael*, according to the law of the Borders, required him to be delivered till ſatisfaction was made. Sir *John Forreſter*, either wearied with the multitude of buſineſs, or deſiring to ſhift the matter, anſwered that enough was done that day, and at the next meeting the complainer ſhould have ſatisfaction. *Carmichael* urging a preſent performance, they fell foul in words, which made the companies that attended draw their weapons. A great Tumult there was, and at firſt the *Scots*, being inferior in number to the *Engliſh*, gave back. But as they were fleeing they met with a company of *Jedburgh* men, who were come to attend the Warden. This giving them new courage, they turned upon the *Engliſh* and made them flee. The chaſe held the ſpace of two miles. Sir *George Heron*, Warden of *Tindale* and *Rhodeſdale*, with 24 *Engliſh*, was killed; the Warden himſelf, *Francis Ruſſel* ſon to the Earl of *Bedford*, *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others of good note were taken priſoners. When the Regent heard it, he was ſore diſpleaſed, knowing the Queen of *England* would be much offended; whereupon he ſent for the priſoners, and uſing them with all courteſie, excuſed what was done, and permitted them to return home. And the Queen indeed at the firſt report was much incenſed, and thereupon ſent Mr. *Killigrew* to the Regent to require the delivery of *Carmichael*, which divers of the Council withſtood. Yet ſuch was the Regent's care to pleaſe the Queen, as he cauſed him enter into *England*, where he was a while detained. But the provocation being tried to have been made by the *Engliſh*, the Queen dimitted him honorably, and not without rewards. At his return, the Regent meeting the Earl of *Huntington* the *Engliſh* Commiſſioner at *Foulden*, ſome

A meeting in the Borders betwixt the Regent and the Earl of *Huntington*.

ſome two miles from *Barwick*, all things were peaceably compoſed. *An.* 1575.

This year the Duke of *Chatterlerault* ended his life: A Nobleman well inclined, open, plain, and without all diſſimulation and fraud, but too eaſily led by them he truſted, which bred him much trouble; yet, by the goodneſs of God, who doth always favour the innocent and honeſt-minded, he went through all, and died honorably and in peace. Not long after his ſon Lord *John Hamilton* riding to *Aberbrothock*, accompanied only with his ordinary train, (for he held himſelf ſecured by the Pacification) was purſued by *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, who did lie with a number in his way of intention to kill him. As he was refreſhing himſelf at *Couper*, he was advertiſed of the danger, and preſently reſolved to ſingle himſelf from his company and flee to the Caſtle of *Lewchars*, deeming (as alſo it fell out) that they would follow the greater company, which he directed to keep together, and take the South of the River of *Edin*. Neither had they paſſed far when they were invaded by a troop of horſemen, and forced to yield themſelves. The Nobleman beholding this from the other ſide of the River, and knowing how ſoon they found themſelves deceived that they would make haſte to overtake him, changed his firſt reſolution, and fled to the Houſe of *Darſey*, where he was received. *Lochlevin* belayed the Houſe, and kept him incloſed all that night and the day following. But being charged by an Herauld of Arms to diſſolve his forces, and hearing that the Noblemans friends were gathering for his releaſe, he departed home.

Duke *Hamilton* dieth.

Lord *Aberbrothock* purſued by *Lochlevin*.

He is ſaved in the houſe of *Darſey*.

Being called before the Council for his inſolencie, and charged with the breach of the Pacification, he alledged the exception of the firſt Regent's Murther; but that being found no warrant, and he refuſing to give aſſurance for keeping peace, was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburg*, where he remained till ſurety was given.

In the Church this year began the Innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietneſs. Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who was lately come from *Geneva*, a man learned, (chiefly in the Tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, labouring with a burning deſire to bring into this Church, the Presbyterial Diſcipline of *Geneva*; and having inſinuated himſelf into the favor of divers Preachers, he ſtirred up *John Dury*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, in an Aſſembly which was then convened, to propound a queſtion touching the Lawfulneſs of the Epiſcopal Function, and the authority of Chapters in their Election. He himſelf, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the Speaker's zeal, and ſeconded the purpoſe with a long diſcourſe of the flouriſhing eſtate of the Church of *Geneva*, and the opinions of *Calvin* and *Theodore Beza* concerning Church-Government, came to affirm, *That none ought to be Office-bearers in the Church whoſe Titles were not found in the Book of God. And for the Title of Biſhops, albeit the ſame was found in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in the ſenſe that the common ſort did conceive, there being no Superiority allowed by Chriſt amongſt Miniſters; He being the only Lord of his Church, and all the ſame Servants in the ſame degree, and having the like power.* In end he ſaid, *that the Corruptions crept into the eſtate of Biſhops were ſo great, as unleſs the ſame were removed it could not go well with the Church, nor could Religion be long preſerved in purity.*

Innovations in the Church of M. *Andrew Melvil*.

The Epiſcopal Function called in queſtion.

This his diſcourſe was applauded by many, and ſome brethren ſet apart to reaſon and confer upon the queſtion proponed. For the one part Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *George Hay*, and Mr. *John Row* were nominated: Theſe three ſuſtained the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopal Function in the Church. For the other part, Mr. *James Lawſon*, Mr. *Iohn Craig* and Mr. *Andrew Melvil* were choſen to impugn the ſame. After divers meetings and long diſceptation amongſt themſelves, they preſented their Opinions to the Aſſembly in writing as followeth.

Some brethren ſelected to confer upon the queſtion.

1. Firſt that they did not hold it expedient to anſwer the queſtions proponed for the preſent: but if any Biſhop was choſen that had not qualities required by the Word of God, he ſhould be tried by the General Aſſembly.

2. That

An. 1575.

2. That they judged the name of a Bishop to be common to all Ministers that had the charge of a particular flock; and that by the Word of God his chief Function consisted in the Preaching of the Word, the ministration of the Sacraments, and exercise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, with consent of his Elders.
3. That from among the Ministers some one might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds, besides his own Flock, as the General Assembly should appoint.
4. That the Minister so elected might in those bounds appoint Preachers, with the advice of the Ministers of that Province, and the consent of the Flock which they should be admitted.

And, fifthly, that he might suspend Ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the Ministers of the bounds.

The Bishops present in the Assembly.

There were present in this Assembly the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Brichen*, *Dumblane* and *Isles*, with the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Angus*; all of them interessed in that business. Yet neither were they called to the Conference, nor doth it appear by the Register of those proceedings that they did so much as open their mouths in defence of their Office and Calling. What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given a way to such Novelties, and have suffered the Lawfulness of their Vocation to be thus drawn in question.

Another Assembly of the Church.

In the next Assembly I find the same matter moved of new, and put to voices, but with a little change of the question, which was thus formed; *Whether Bishops as they were then in* Scotland *had their Function warranted by the Word of God.* The Assembly, without giving a direct answer, after long reasoning, did for the greatest part (so the Records bear) approve the opinions presented in the last meeting, with this addition, *That the Bishops should take themselves to the service of some one Church within their Dioces, and condescend upon the particular Flocks whereof they would accept the charge.*

The Regent's motion to the Assembly.

The Regent hearing how the Church had proceeded, and taking ill the deposition of Mr. *James Patton* Bishop of *Dunkeld*, who was in the former Assembly deprived for delapidation of his Benefice, sent to require of them whether they would stand to the Policy agreed unto at *Leith*; and if not, to desire them to settle upon some Form of Government at which they would abide. The Assembly taking the advantage of this Proposition answered, that they were to think of that business, and should with all diligence set down a constant Form of Church-policy, and present the same to be allowed by the Council. To this effect they nominated Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *David Cuningham*, Mr. *George Hay*, Mr. *Alexander Arthbuthnet*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, and a number more: the Archbishop of *Glasgow* was named amongst the rest, but he, being urged to take the charge of a particular Flock, excused himself, saying, *That he had entered to his Office according to the order taken by the Church and Estates, and could do nothing contrary thereto, lest he should be thought to have transgressed his Oath, and be challenged for altering a member of the Estate. Yet that it might appear how willing he was to bestow the gifts wherewith God had endued him to the good of the Church, he should teach ordinarily at* Glasgow, *when he had his residence in the City, and when he remained in the Sheriffdom of* Aire, *he should do the like in any Church they would appoint; but without astricting himself unto the same, and prejudging in any sort the jurisdiction he had received at his admission.* This his declaration made, he was no more troubled with that imployment.

The Archbishop of *Glasgow* urged with a particular Flock, answereth the Assembly.

Mr. *Patrick Adamson* provided to S. *Andrews.*

Meanwhile the See of S. *Andrews* falling void by the death of Mr. *John Douglas*, the Regent did recommend to the Chapter his Chaplain Mr. *Patrick Adamson* for the place. The Chapter continuing the Election till the Assembly of the Church did convene,

convene, imparted to them the warrant they had received: and Mr. *Patrick* being enquired (for he was preſent at the time) whether he would ſubmit himſelf to trial, and receive the Office with thoſe Injunctions the Church would preſcrive, anſwered, that he was diſcharged by the Regent to accept the Office otherwiſe then was appointed by mutual conſent of the Church and Eſtate. Hereupon the Chapter was inhibited to proceed. Nottheleſs upon a new charge given them they convened and made choice of him which did ſo irritate the Church, as in the next meeting they gave Commiſſion to the Superintendent of *Lothian* Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and *David Ferguſon* to call him before them, and prohibit him to exerce any part of his Juriſdiction, till he ſhould be authoriſed thereto by the Aſſembly. *An.* 1576.

The Church offended with the Biſhop's anſwer.

A form of Church-policy was in the mean time drawn up and preſented to the Regent by Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Robert Pont*. In a ſhort Preface ſet before it, they proteſted *to wiſh nothing more, then as God had made him a notable inſtrument in purging the Realm of Popery, and ſetling the ſame in a perfect Peace, that he would alſo honor him with the eſtabliſhing of a godly and ſpiritual Policy in the Church; intreating his Grace to receive the Articles preſented, and if any of them did ſeem not agreeable to Reaſon, to vouchſafe audience to the brethren whom they had named to attend. Not that they did account it a work complete, to which nothing might be added, or from which nothing might be diminiſhed; for as God ſhould reveal farther unto them, they ſhould be willing to help and renew the ſame.* The Regent reading the preface, though he did not like the purpoſe they were about, gave them a better countenance then in former times, and named certain of the Council to confer with them, and make report of the Heads whereupon they agreed. But the Conference was not well begun, when it brake off by occaſion of Troubles that aroſe.

A form of Policy preſented to the Regent.

The Diſcontents in the Countrey were great and daily increaſing by the Regent's ſevere proceedings. One againſt *Adam Whitford* of *Milneton* did open the mouths of many men againſt him. This Gentleman was accuſed as one ſet on by *John* Lord *Hamilton* of *Aberbrothock* and Lord *Claud* his Brother to have killed the Regent. The ſuſpicion did ariſe of ſome raſh and boaſting ſpeeches uttered by *John Semple* of *Biltrees*, out of his ſpleen againſt the Regent for an action intended againſt him concerning ſome lands belonging to the Crown, which had been given by the Queen to *Mary Levingſton* his wife, one of her Maids of honor. His words were the more taken hold of, becauſe he was *Milneton*'s Uncle; and upon offer of the Torture he was brought to confeſſion; upon which alſo he was arraigned and condemned to death, and the Scaffold prepared for the Execution; but was pardoned, which did manifeſt that which before was ſuſpected, that by under-hand promiſe of favor he was induced to this confeſſion. The ſame means were tried with *Milneton*, to have furniſhed evidence againſt theſe Noblemen for their forfeiture, which was the chief end of this trial. But he upon his Uncle's confeſſion being put to the Torture, valuing more his honor nor his ſafety, endured it with ſuch reſolution ſhewed both by his words and countenance, as was in all mens opinion taken for an undoubted argument of his innocency, and the others teſtimony nothing regarded: but the Regent much blamed for ſuch rigorous proceeding againſt him upon a falſe or faint-hearted mans confeſſion extorted by fear, or drawn from him by other baſe reſpects; wherefore he was deteſted of his neareſt kinſmen, as the other was honored in all mens eſtimation for his courage and conſtancy. Amongſt other proceſſes he had intended for helping the Revenues of the Crown, one was for the recovery of a parcel of ground which the Queen had gifted to *Mary Levingſton* one of her Maids. The Gentlewoman's Husband, called *John Semple*, made the beſt defence he could, and fearing the Regent's rigour, had burſt forth in ſome paſſionate ſpeeches, avowing that *if he did loſe the lands, he ſhould loſe his life alſo.* This reported to the Regent brought him to be ſuſpected of ſome plot, for a ſpeech was given out that Lord *John Hamilton* and his brother Lord *Claud* were diſcontented with ſome of the Regent's proceedings, and had inſtigated this Gentleman with his Nephew *Adam Whitford* of *Milneton* to kill him as he went down the ſtreet towards

An. 1576. The diſcontents great in the Country.

John Semple and *Adam Whitford* accuſed for conſpiring the Regent's death.

[*The ſame ſtory with the former differently worded.*]

An. 1577. the Palace with an Harquebuſe. *Semple* called in queſtion for this and his other raſh ſpeeches, upon repreſentation of the torture confeſſed all, for he was a fearful man and of no courage. *Milneton* being apprehended in the Iſle of *Bute*, and brought to his examination, denied that any ſuch motion had been made to him, and being put to the torture, indured the ſame patiently, not confeſſing any thing. His conſtancy and the reſolution he ſhewed both in words and countenance made the others confeſſion not to be credited, every one interpreting the ſame to have proceeded of weakneſs and want of courage. The Gentleman's caſe was much pitied, and the mouths of many opened againſt the Regent for uſing ſuch rigour, only upon the confeſſion of a fearful and faint-hearted man: but the Troubles we mentioned did ariſe by another occaſion.

The Earl of *Argile* and *Athol* at variance.

In the High-lands one *Alleſter dow* ℭ*Macallan*, a notorious Thief, who had committed many Robberies, was apprehended by the Earl of *Athol*, who minding to put him to a trial was inhibited by the Council, and Charges directed againſt him for exhibition of the man. The fellow being preſented, after he had ſtayed a while in priſon, was upon *Argile*'s deſire ſet at liberty, and, falling to his accuſtomed depredations, committed divers inſolencies in the bounds of *Athol*. The Earl, to repair this wrong done to his people, prepared to invade *Argile*, and he making to defend his Countrey, all thoſe parts were in an uproar. This reported to the Regent, a meſſenger of Arms was ſent to diſcharge thoſe Convocations, and cite them both before the Council; but they diſobeyed, and by the mediation of friends were ſhortly after reconciled.

A great inſolence committed by *Argile*.

This Trouble was no ſooner pacified, then upon an injury done by the *Clandonald* to the Earl of *Argile*, he took Arms; and being charged to diſſolve his forces, inſtead of obeying, he laid hands on the Meſſenger, tare his Letters in pieces, and made him and his witneſſes ſwear never to return into *Argile* for the like buſineſs. This inſolency, whereof the like had not been ſeen nor heard ſince the Regent's acceptation of the Government, incenſed him mightily; but not knowing how to overtake him in that ſeaſon, (for it was done in the beginning of Winter) he reſolved to uſe the courſe of Law, and proclaim him Rebel.

An. 1577. *Alexander Areskin*, who attended the King, having his own diſcontents, and truſting to better his condition by a change of the Government, dealt ſecretly with the two Earls, *Argile* and *Athol*, after he underſtood them to be agreed, and adviſed them to come, one after another, but much about one time, and mean their caſe to the King, to whom he promiſed they ſhould find acceſs. *Argile* coming firſt complained of the Regent's extreme dealing, in that he had denounced him Rebel to his Majeſty, whoſe true and faithful ſervant he had always been, and requeſted his Majeſty to aſſemble the Nobility, and do him right according to the Laws: withal he intreated that he might be permitted to remain with his Majeſty, till the Nobility ſhould meet for trial of his complaint. The Earl of *Athol* came ſome two days after, to whom the King did communicate *Argile*'s complaint, craving his advice in the buſineſs. And he, as though he had known nothing of the matter, anſwered that the Nobleman's petition ſeemed reaſonable, and that his Majeſty could not take a better courſe then call the Nobility, and by their advice take order for preventing the Troubles that might ariſe by their diſſenſions. The King, liking the advice, commanded Letters to be written for all the Noblemen in the Countrey to meet at *Striveling* the tenth day of ℭ*March*: yet the advertiſement went only (the two Earls having the direction of the Letters) to thoſe that were their own friends, and enemies to the Regent. Amongſt others, the Lords ℭ*Maxwel* and *Ogilvy* were invited to come: of whom the firſt had been lately diſpatched from his office of Wardanry in the Weſt Marches, and committed in the Caſtle of *Blacknes*; the other had of a long time been confined in the City of S. *Andrews*.

Alexander Areskin practiſeth a Change.

Argile and *Athol* agreed.

Argile complaineth of the Regent to the King.

Athol his advice to the King for trying *Argile*'s complaint.

The Regent ſendeth to inform the King of *Argile*'s contempt.

How ſoon the Regent was advertiſed of *Argile* and *Athol*'s being with the King, and that they had moved him to call the Nobility to a Meeting upon a pretext of trying

trying *Argile*'s complaint, he ſent the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Glamis* Chancellor, and the Lord *Ruthven* Theſaurer, with a Letter and certain Notes under his hand to be communicated to the King. In the Notes he made a particular relation of the contempt done by the Earl of *Argile* to his Majeſtie's Authority, and of his practices with *Athol* to diſturb the common peace; deſiring to know his Majeſtie's pleaſure concerning them: "that if his Highneſs would allow him to follow the "courſe of Law, he might do his duty; if otherwiſe his Majeſty thought fit to over- "ſee their diſobedience, that he would be pleaſed to disburthen him of his Office, "and not ſuffer his own Name and Authority to be deſpiſed in the perſon of his ſer- "vant: for as he had at ſundry times made offer to dimit the Regiment whenſoe- "ver his Majeſty was pleaſed to take it in his own hands, ſo will he now moſt wil- "lingly reſign the ſame, ſo as a ſubſtantial courſe were taken for the preſervation "of his Highneſs Perſon, the ordering of his Majeſtie's Houſe, and the diſpencing "of the Revenues of the Crown. Herewith he recommended the keeping of the Peace contracted with *England*, becauſe of the danger that a War might bring not only to the Realm, but alſo to his Highneſs Title and right of Succeſſion in that Kingdom. And having recounted the ſervices done by himſelf from his Majeſtie's birth unto that preſent, ſpecially his aſſiſtence at the King's Coronation, the danger whereunto he expoſed himſelf and his friends in *Lanſide* field and at the ſiege of *Brichen*, the Legations which he had undertaken to *England*, the recovery of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Pacification of the Realm, which at his entry to the Government he found in great trouble, the redeeming of the Jewels and moveables pertaining to the Crown, and the reſtoring of the Royal Patrimony to ſome reaſonable eſtate; in regard of all theſe ſervices he craved no more but an allowance of what he had done in his Office, and a diſcharge of his intromiſſions by the Eſtates of Parliament.

An. 1577.

His offer to dimit the Regency.

Theſe Notes being ſhewed to the Noblemen who were about the King, (for numbers were come upon the rumor of a Change that was in hand) they did all adviſe him to take hold of the offer of Dimiſſion made by the Regent, and accept the Government in his own perſon, after which he might deliberate upon ſuch things as the Regent had moved. Some were of opinion that the King ſhould write to the Regent, and require of him a Dimiſſion: but the greater part, miſliking delays, did reckon it more ſure to do that which was meant at once, and not to protract time with a communing, ſuch as that manner of proceedings would neceſſarily breed. The King liking beſt the perſuaſions that were given him to Reign, (a thing natural to Princes) reſolution was taken to diſcharge the Regent of his Authority, and publiſh the King's acceptation of the Government.

The King is adviſed to accept the Regent's Dimiſſion.

This concluſion was the ſame day imparted to the Regent, who thereupon ſent the Laird of *Whittingham* to deſire the King, before any Innovation was made, to reconcile thoſe of the Nobility that were in variance with others; thinking this way to hold off the publication intended at leaſt for ſome days. But it availed nothing, for immediately were the Chancellor and Lord *Hereis* ſent with this Commiſſion to him in writing: *That his Majeſty conſidering the diſlike which many had of his Government, and the apparent Troubles to fall upon the Realm, had by the advice of the Nobility determined to accept the Rule in his own Perſon; and becauſe delay of time might breed ſome farther grudge and inconvenience, he did therefore require him to ſend his Declaration in writ with all ſpeed, for teſtifying his obedience and allowance of what was done, and to abſtain from all farther adminiſtration or exerciſe of the Office of Regency. As concerning his deſires for the Surety of his Majeſtie's Perſon, the ordering of his Houſe and Revenues of the Crown, with preſervation of the Peace with* England, *and the ſetling of the Borders and High-lands, his Highneſs ſhould omit nothing that lay in his power to do for effecting the ſame, and therein would follow the counſel which he and the reſt of the Nobility ſhould give unto him: and for the diſcharge of his adminiſtration, he ſhould have all granted which with reaſon he could require; the form whereof his Majeſty did will him to draw up, that he might deliberate with his Council what was fit to to be done therein, aſſu-*

A Commiſſion from the King to the Regent.

An. 1577. *ring him that he should be well and graciously used.* With this Commission they did likewise carry a Letter written by the King himself in very loving terms, declaring, That *because he saw no other way to maintain Concord amongst his subjects, he had accepted the Government in his own hands, and that he was confident to have the defects of his age and experience supplied by his Nobility, especially by himself, whom he would ever love and acknowledge as his trusty Cousen, most tender to him in blood,* (these be the words of the Letter) *and one of his true and faithful Counsellors.*

The King's acceptation of the Government.

In the mean time the King's acceptation was published at *Striveling*, and the next day being the 12 of *March* proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, where the Regent himself was assisting, and took instruments of his Dimission in the hands of two Notaries. It grieved divers of his friends that he had so easily condescended to quit the place, which they thought he might with good reason have kept till a Parliament had been called for that purpose. Amongst others the Lord *Boyd*, who was most intire with him, and came to *Edinburgh* some few hours after his Dimission, did chide him bitterly, speaking to this effect: *That he did presume too much of his own wit, who in a matter of so great moment would not once ask the opinion of his friends; and that in a short time he should find that he had done unwisely, to forsake the place committed to him by the whole Estates of the Kingdom at the pleasure of his enemies. For it is sufficiently known,* said he, *that the King is a Child, and that these motions have not proceeded from himself. Now when he hath assumed the Government, and ye left the place intrusted to you, shall he not be governed by those that are about him, whom you know to be your enemies? But ye perhaps do promise ease and safety to your self in a private life: as if you might descend without any danger from the place which ye have held. Wise men have observed that between highest and nothing there is not a mean; and it fears me you have wronged your self in imagining the rest you shall never find. If you had kept your place, they should have seen the faces of men, and not carried things thus at their pleasure; but having forsaken your self, there is nothing left to your friends but to lament your misfortune: and God grant that this be the worst of things.* This said, he went aside, and burst forth in tears. The Regent (whom we will no more call so) excused his doing by the instance that the King made for his Dimission, saying, that his refuse would have made a great Commotion in the Realm; yet did he perceive his error, and in his secret thoughts, which he covered so well as he could, blamed his own rash and precipitate yielding. But there being no place left to resile, the next best he thought was to secure himself and his friends, by discharge of all things that might be laid to him or them during his administration; and therein he employed the Earl of *Angus* and the Chancellor, whom he did constitute his Procurators to compeir before the King, and make Dimission of his Office with such Solemnities as by Law were requisite.

The Lord *Boyd* chideth the Regent for his Dimission.

The Chancellor and Earl of *Angus* imployed in the Regent's Dimission to the King.

This done, the Discharge was given him in most ample form. Therein, after a general approbation of his service, he was declared not to be accusable of any manner of crime, of whatsoever greatness or weight without exception, that might be alledged to have been committed by him in times past: which declaration was ordained to be as valid and sufficient in all respects, as if the highest crime that could or might be imputed to any person had been specially expressed in the same. He was also exonerated of all sums of money, rents, and profits, as well of property as casualty intrometted with by him or his factors and servants since his acceptation of the Regiment, (the Jewels of the Crown, the Furniture of his Majestie's House, Munition and Artillery only excepted.) A provision was adjected, *That the present Discharge should not prejudge the King and his Successors in the revocation or reduction of whatsoever infeoffments given of the property during his Highness Minority, or of whatsoever lands, Lordships, Offices or dignities, fallen in his Majestie's hands by forfeiture, recognition, bastardy, or by any other right and privilege of the Crown.* In all other points

The Regent's discharge of his Administration.

points the Diſcharge was ordained to ſtand firm and ſure for him, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the ſame never to be revoked, or any thing attempted to the contrary: and for his greater aſſurance, the ſame was promiſed to be confirmed by the Eſtates of Parliament in their firſt Convention and meeting. The Noblemen and others of the Eſtates then preſent with the King did likewiſe bind themſelves, their heirs and ſucceſſors, to ſee all the foreſaid points truly fulfilled, under the pain of five hundred thouſand pound. So as nothing was omitted which he could deviſe for his ſecuring. Yet in all this he found no aſſurance: to teach men, that it is not to be had in any worldly thing, but to be ſought of God alone. All men are compelled to acknowledge ſo much in the end, though often too late; which was the caſe of this Nobleman, as we ſhall hear. But better late, as the ſaying is, then never. *An.* 1577.

An. 1577.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

The Sixth Book.

The Contents.

The things that happened after his Majeſtie's aſſuming of the Government in his own Perſon, unto his happy Succeſſion to the Crown of England.

An. 1577. *Morton's* enemies are ſtill practiſing againſt him.

THE King was not yet twelve years complete, when in the manner ye have heard they moved him to aſſume the Government; yet did he ſhew more judgement in his very beginning then could be expected from one of his years. The Earl of *Morton's* enemies, not ſatisfied with his diſplacing, were ſtill caſting how to bring him into the King's diſlike. And firſt ſhewing that there was a neceſſity of the King's reſiding at *Edinburgh*, where was the place of Juſtice, they deſired he ſhould be charged to render the Caſtle. Then informed that he had amaſſed a great Treaſure in the time of his Regiment, they moved the King to require of him ſome moneys for ſupporting the Charges whereunto he would be put at his firſt entry. They did farther talk of the Mint-houſe, and the commodity he reaped thereby. And, to denude him of all Power, they deſired the ſtate of the Borders to be looked unto, and the office of Lieutenandry, which the Earl of *Angus* his Nephew had in thoſe parts, diſcharged. To one or other of theſe they conceived he ſhould be unwilling, and ſo they ſhould find ſome matter againſt him.

The King his calm proceedings with *Morton*.

But the King, refuſing to uſe him with Charges, took a more moderate courſe, and ſent the Chancellor and Theſaurer to feel his mind in thoſe things. He lay then at *Dalkeith*, and having heard their Propoſitions, howbeit he knew thoſe motions did proceed from his adverſaries, and was not ignorant what they intended, he anſwered calmly, *That the Jewels and movables appertaining to the Crown being received of his hand, and he and his Deputies diſcharged, the Caſtle ſhould be rendered moſt willingly.* But for the advancing of moneys he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *That it was not unknown how he had received his Office in a time full of Trouble, and when the Countrey was embroiled in a Civil War, the burthen whereof he ſuſtained upon his private Charge; and that ſince the Troubles ceaſed, he had payed a great many debts, repaired his Majeſties Houſes and Caſtles, and put them in a better caſe then for many years before they had been: That the entertainment of his Majeſtie's Houſe, and maintaining of his own as Regent, was a matter of no ſmall charge, which the ordinary Revenues of the Crown would hardly do; yet when his Majeſty ſhould be of perfect age, and his honorable occaſions did require it, he ſhould not be wanting according to his ability, and beſtow all his means for his Majeſtie's Honor.* Concerning the Mint-houſe he ſaid, *That he had kept it in the beſt order he could, and having now no more charge of it, he wiſhed the King to do therewith as he thought beſt.* For the affairs of the Border, *That he had moved the Earl of* Angus *to undertake that ſervice for the quietneſs of the Countrey; but ſeeing he had no lands in thoſe quarters, and*

that

that the Offices of Wardenry might ſuffice to hold thoſe parts in order, he would adviſe the King to diſpoſe them to the moſt ſufficient that could be found. An. 1578.

The Noblemen returning with theſe anſwers, the King did reſt well ſatisfied. But a pitiful accident that fell out in the time gave an hinderance to theſe buſineſs. The Chancellor going to the Caſtle to make his report to the King, as he returned to his lodging did encounter the Earl of *Crawford* in the Street called commonly *The Schoolhouſe wynd.* There had been an old grudge betwixt the two Families, whereupon the Noblemen paſſed by others without ſalutations. The Street being narrow, and the companies of each ſide great, when they were almoſt parted, two baſe fellows fell a-ſtrugling for the way, and by thruſting one at another raiſed a Tumult, in the very beginning whereof the Chancellor was killed with the ſhot of a Piſtol. It was certainly known that the Noblemen did purpoſe no harm to others, for *Crawford* did call to his followers to give way to the Chancellor, as he on the other ſide called to give way to the Earl of *Crawford*; yet by this unhappy accident were the old diſſenſions that had long ſlept revived, and a freſh enmity raiſed, which turned to the great hurt of both. The death of the Chancellor was much lamented, falling out in the time when the King and Countrey ſtood in moſt need of his ſervice. He had carried himſelf with much commendation in his place, and acquired a great Authority: moſt careful was he to have Peace conſerved both in the Countrey and Church, and laboured much to have the queſtion of Church-Policy ſetled; upon which ſubject he interchanged divers Letters with *Theodore Beza.* Some have blamed him of too great curioſity in that matter, but his intention certainly was pious and commendable.

A pitiful Accident.

The Chancellor killed in a Tumult.

Upon his death the Earl of *Athol* was preferred to be Chancellor, at which the Church did mightily offend; as likewiſe at the admiſſion of the Earls of *Cathnes* and *Eglinton*, with the Lord *Ogilvy*, upon the Council, who were all thought to be Popiſhly inclined. This being meaned to the King, was in ſome ſort ſatisfied by their promiſes and ſubſcriptions to the Articles of Religion; yet the ſuſpicions of their unſoundneſs ſtill continued. And now began they who longed for the change of *Morton*'s Government to repent the alteration that was made; for howſoever he did not favor the Novations in Church-Policy urged by ſome Miniſters, he kept a ſevere hand over Papiſts, permitting none to enjoy any publick Office who was not ſincerely affected to the Truth.

The Earl of *Athol* created Chancellor.

The firſt of *April* the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was delivered to the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay*, who were appointed by the King to receive the Houſe, and a diſcharge given to the Earl of *Morton* of the Jewels, Munition and Movables within the ſame. And the ſame day *John Seaton* of *Touch*, and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhaſſil*, received the keys in name of *Alexander Areskin* Uncle to the Earl of *Marre*, upon a Warrant directed to them for that effect. The Earl of *Morton* reſolving to live private, and to have no more medling in publick affairs, retired to *Lochlevin*, where he ſtayed not long, being recalled to Court by this occaſion. The friends of the Houſe of *Marre*, of whom the principals were the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, out of ſome jealouſie they conceived of *Alexander Areskin* his courſes, and a fear that the young Nobleman who was then grown to ſome years might be prejudged of his right in keeping the Caſtle, practiſed ſecretly to exclude him, and entring one morning with a number of their followers ſeiſed upon the keeper of the gate, took the keys from him by force, and putting him and his men forth placed others in their rooms, whom they cauſed ſwear fidelity to the Earl of *Marre.* An. 1578.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to the Earl of *Marre.*

The Caſtle of *Striveling* ſurpriſed by the Earl of *Marre* his friends.

How ſoon the Council (which then remained at *Edinburgh*) was advertiſed of this change, they prepared to go to *Striveling*, and for their greater ſecurity were furniſhed with ſome companies of men by the Town of *Edinburgh*; but by Letters from the King they were ſtayed. In theſe Letters the King ſhewed that it was a private diſſenſion only that had happened betwixt the friends of the houſe of *Marre*, which he would have peaceably compoſed, and therefore deſired them to come unto him after a day or two in quiet and ſober manner, and aſſiſt the Reconcilement. They obeyed, and coming to *Striveling*, in a frequent Council kept the third of

The Council goeth to *Striveling*, and compoſeth the controverſie.

May

An. 1578. *May* the Controverſie was in theſe terms compoſed: *That the Earl of* Marre *being now come to a reaſonable age, he ſhould attend the King's perſon, and have the cuſtody of the Caſtle of* Striveling, *and that the Maſter his Uncle ſhould remain Captain of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *and when he came to Court have his Table kept as before, and enjoy the place of a Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Chamber.* The Conditions preſcrived to the Earl of *Marre* were, *That he ſhould guard the Caſtle, attend the King's perſon therein, and not remove him to any place whatſoever without the knowledge and conſent of the Council. That he ſhould not receive any within the Houſe whom he knew not to be well affected to the King; admitting an Earl with two only in train, a Lord with one, and Gentleman ſingle: That Mr.* George Buchannan *and Mr.* Peter Young *ſhould continue his Inſtructers, and no others be admitted without the Council's conſent, nor any Religious exerciſe kept within the Caſtle but that which the Parliament had approved.* For the obſerving of theſe Articles the Earls of *Athol, Angus, Argile* and *Montroſs,* with the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay,* became ſureties. For the Maſter his Uncle, and his fidelity in keeping the Caſtle of *Edinburgh,* with the Jewels, Munition and other movables, the Earls of *Athol, Argile, Montroſs,* and the Lord *Ruthven* gave their bond and obligation. Some days after this Broil the Captain his eldeſt ſon, (called *Alexander*) a youth of great hopes, departed this life, as it was thought, of a grief he conceived for the indignity done to his Father.

Conditions preſcrived to the Earl of *Marre.*

This Agreement being made, and the Lords being then to return to *Edinburgh,* the King did ſignifie unto them, that becauſe the Parliament was indicted to the tenth of *July,* he would before that time call a number of every Eſtate together for the preparing of matters; and that, all emulations laid aſide, they might concur and joyn their counſels for the publick good of the Realm. The Diet for this meeting he appointed at *Striveling* the tenth of *June.* The Convention at the time was frequent: of the Clergy, eight Biſhops and as many Abbots were preſent; of the Nobility, nine Earls and eleven Lords, and divers Commiſſioners of Burghs. The Earl of *Morton* at the King's earneſt intreaty came alſo thither, and at his coming was admitted upon the Council, having the precedency allowed him, with the conſent of the reſt, becauſe of the Regency he had a long time ſuſtained.

A Convention at *Striveling.*

The Earl of *Morton* cometh to *Striveling.*

In the firſt meeting the King, after he had given thanks to the whole number for the readineſs they had ſhewed to convene in that place, proponed two things. One was touching the Parliament, and the place where it ſhould hold. The other concerned an Ambaſſage which he intended to ſend into *England.* For the *Parliament,* he ſaid, that *he longed to ſee a meeting of the Eſtates, and would have the time to which it was called preciſely obſerved, wiſhing them all to addreſs themſelves thereto in time, and to come in a peaceable manner, as men diſpoſed to do good, and ſeeking the common profit of their Countrey.* And for *the place, ſeeing his own preſence was neceſſary, and that he could not conveniently remove from* Striveling, *he deſired the Parliament to be fenced at* Edinburgh *at the day appointed, and then prorogated ſome four or five days, and brought to* Striveling. For the *Ambaſſage,* he gave divers reaſons. *Firſt, that having aſſumed the Government in his own hands, he was bound in courteſie to viſit the Queen of* England, *and give her thanks for the kindneſs he had received of her in his Minority. Next, that the diſorder lately fallen out in the Borders* (for about that time ſome Borderers had entred into *England* and committed great Robberies) *laid a neceſſity upon him to clear the Countrey of that fact, and make offer of redreſs. Thirdly, that he had a private buſineſs which touched him nearly, his Grandmother the Lady* Lennox *being newly deceaſed, and he being her only Heir, it concerned him,* he ſaid, *to inquire what her laſt Will was, and to ſee that no prejudice was done to him in his Succeſſion to the lands ſhe poſſeſſed in* England. *Laſtly, if they did think meet,* (but this he remitted to their wiſdoms) *he ſhewed that he could like well to have a motion made of a more ſtrict League betwixt the two Realms during the Queen's life and his.*

The King's motion to the Lords and the reſt of the Eſtates.

It grieved the ordinary Counſellors much that the place of Parliament ſhould be changed, who therefore laboured to diſuade the King from it; but perceiving him reſolved that way, they gave their conſents, though moſt unwillingly. When they came to ſpeak of the Ambaſſage to *England,* they acknowledged the neceſſity thereof; but took exception at the League, pretending the ancient League with

The Counſellors diſuade the change of the place of Parliament.

France.

France. It was replied, *That the caſe of things was much altered from that in former times; that* England *and* Scotland *had now the ſame enemies becauſe of their common Profeſſion, ſo as for their own ſafety it was needful they ſhould joyn together in ſtrict friendſhip; and that the League with* England *might be ſo contracted as the old Amity with* France *ſhould remain inviolate.* The King farther declared, *that he did not mean to give power to his Ambaſſador for concluding a League, wherein he would do nothing raſhly, nor without the advice of the Eſtates; only he deſired the ſame ſhould be moved, and upon the report of the Queen's liking thereof, that the Conditions of the League ſhould be well and gravely adviſed.* After long reaſoning, the matter being put unto voices, it was by plurality agreed, that the ſame ſhould be made one of the Ambaſſadors Inſtructions: againſt which the Earls of *Argile*, *Montroſs* and *Cathnes*, the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Innermaith*, with the Commendatary of *Deir*, took publick proteſtation. *An.* 1578.

An Ambaſſage to the Queen of *England.*

Theſe things bred a new heart-burning amongſt the Noblemen, for they took *Morton* to be deviſer of all, and that he was craftily drawing back the adminiſtration of affairs unto himſelf; which, albeit they diſſembled for the preſent, brake forth after a few days in an open Diſſention. The Citizens of *Edinburgh* were much offended with the King's remaining in *Striveling*, and the remove of the Parliament from their Town; and, as it happeneth in ſuch times of diſcontent, Rumors were diſperſed that the King was detained Captive, and was ſhortly to be ſent into *England*, and the ancient League with *France* diſſolved. This being in the mouths of all men, and talked of not in corners, but in open and publick meetings, a Proclamation was given out the ſixth of *July*, "Declaring the falſhood of thoſe Rumors, "and that the ſame were raiſed by ſome ſeditious ſpirits that could not live quiet "under any ſort of Government. For, as to the King's Detention, it was known to "be moſt falſe, and that it was his own choice to remain at *Striveling*, attended by "thoſe whom the Council by common conſent had appointed for the ſafe cuſtody "of his Perſon. And for the Parliament, which they ſaid was to treat of the diſ-"ſolution of Peace with their old Confederates, and to make up new Leagues with "others, there was no ſuch matter; it being his Majeſtie's only purpoſe to have "ſuch things intreated in that Meeting as might tend to the advancement of God's "honor, the ſafety of his Royal Perſon, and the eſtabliſhment of good Laws for "the quietneſs of the Realm: Whereof if any made doubt, they might be reſolved "at their coming to the Parliament, which was now approaching. Therefore "were all good ſubjects advertiſed not to believe thoſe ſeditious Reports, nor ſuf-"fer themſelves to be led by ſuch wicked ſuggeſtions into Rebellion.

Jealouſies among the Noblemen.

A Proclamation againſt the falſe Rumors diſperſed.

This Declaration prevailed little with the moſt part, for the minds of men were much exaſperated. And the time of Parliament come, the Lords that remained at *Edinburgh* took counſel not to go thither, but to ſend of their number one or two to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſs of it. The Earl of *Montroſs* and Lord *Lindeſay* were choſen to that purpoſe, who coming to *Striveling*, ſhew the King the Noblemens excuſe, and declared all they had in Commiſſion to ſay; wiſhing his Majeſty to prorogate the Parliament unto a better time, and make choice of a fitter place. But he reſolved, by the counſel of thoſe that were preſent, to go on; and coming the next day, which was the 16 of *July*, to the great Hall where the Eſtates were advertiſed to meet, he made a ſhort Speech touching the Liberty of Parliaments, and the neceſſity he had to keep one at that time and in that place, aſſuring all perſons who had any thing to move or propone, that they ſhould have free acceſs, and receive ſatisfaction according to Juſtice. After the King had cloſed his Speech, the Earl of *Montroſs* and Lord *Lindeſay* aroſe, and in the name of the Council and others of the Nobility adhering to them, proteſted againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Parliament, in ſo far as it was kept within the Caſtle, whither they could not ſafely repair, the ſame being in the enemie's power. The King, offended with the Proteſtation, commanded them to keep their Lodgings, and not to depart forth of *Striveling* without his licence: which the Lord *Lindeſay* obeyed; but *Montroſs* the next day early in the morning went away, and returned to *Edinburgh*, where it was given out that he had brought from the King a ſecret direction to the Lords to convene the ſubjects in Arms, and liberate him out of *Morton*'s hands.

The Lords remaining at *Edinburgh* proteſt againſt the holding of the Parliament.

Montroſs and *Lindeſay* charged to keep their lodgings for uſing the Proteſtation.

Thereupon

An. 1578. A Declaration of the Lords remaining at *Edinburgh*.

Thereupon a Declaration was publiſhed, "bearing, That his Majeſty having "aſſumed the Government in his own Perſon, becauſe of the enormities committed "in the time of *Morton*'s Regiment, had appointed the Council to remain at *Edin-* "*burgh* for the better miniſtration of Juſtice. And that by the care they took of af- "fairs, all things had gone well and peaceably till *Morton*, out of his ambitious de- "ſire to rule, did ſuborn ſome inſtruments to ſurpriſe the King's Houſe and Perſon "at *Striveling*, injuriouſly diſplace the Captain, and put his family and ſervants to "the gates. Of which ſeditious enterpriſe although he did pretend ignorance, yet "the progreſs of his actions continually ſince that time did ſhew that he was the "chief plotter of that buſineſs; for after his coming to Court, and admiſſion to be "one of the Council, he had diſordered all things, thralling the King ſo far, that "his beſt ſubjects could have no free acceſs unto him, and uſurping the juriſdicti- "on of his Majeſtie's ordinary Council, in tranſlating the Parliament from *Edin-* "*burgh*, the principal City of the Realm, unto the Caſtle of *Striveling*. Like as to "bear out his wicked and violent deſigns he had of late preſumed to levy ſoldiers at "the King's coſt and charge, intending thereby to maintain his uſurped Authori- "ty, and oppreſs his Majeſtie's obedient and lawful ſubjects. In conſideration of "which abuſes, and leſt notorious preſumptions ſhould by their continual patience "grow to a farther height, they had reſolved, laying aſide all difficulties, to with- "ſtand the violences practiſed by him under the title of the King's Authority, and "to hazard their goods, lives and lands for the delivery of his Majeſtie's Perſon "out of his thraldom; proteſting that the inconveniences which ſhould enſue upon "the preſent Troubles ſhould not be imputed to them, inaſmuch as they were for- "ced unto it for their own juſt and neceſſary defence, the reſtitution of their native "Prince to liberty, and the delivering of the Church and Commonwealth from "the Tyranny of ſuch as have ever ſought, and ſtill do ſeek, the ruine and over- "throw of both."

Proclamations to follow the King or his Lieutenant.

This Declaration publiſhed, all parts of the Realm were in a commotion: Soldiers were levied on either ſide, horſe and foot; and Proclamations ſent to the Sheriffdoms of *Edinburgh*, *Hadington*, *Linlithgow*, *Clackmannan*, *Kinroſs*, *Perth*, *Fife*, *Forfar*, *Lanark*, *Dumbarton*, and to the Bailiaries of *Kyle* and *Gunningham*, to prepare themſelves with victuals for 15 days, and be in readineſs to follow the King or his Lieutenants upon ſix hours warning, as they ſhould be directed. Herewith a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry was given to the Earl of *Angus* for convocating the ſubjects, and purſuing the Rebels who had uſurped the King's Authority with all ſort of rigour: Charges were alſo directed to command the Earls of *Athol* and *Argile* to depart forth of *Edinburgh* within the ſpace of 24 hours, and return to the places of their dwelling, under the pain of Treaſon: the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were enjoyned to apprehend the perſons that had taken Arms within their Town, and not to ſuffer any armed men to enter in the ſame, except ſuch as ſhould have direction from his Majeſty. Which when the Provoſt (*Archibald Stewart*) came to excuſe, as not being in the Town's power to withſtand the forces of the Noblemen, he himſelf was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of *Down*.

The Lords charged to depart out of *Edinburgh*.

The Provoſt of *Edinburgh* committed.

A Proclamation for diſſolving the forces convened at *Edinburgh*.

The Parliament in this mean time went on, and all things proceeded therein as in a time of moſt ſecure Peace. Upon their diſſolving, when it was told the King that the Lords were gathering forces, and that they gave out the ſame to be done by warrant from him, he commanded, by a new Proclamation, *all that were aſſembled in Arms to ſeparate and return to their dwellings within the ſpace of ſix hours, promiſing pardon to ſuch as obeyed.* And leſt any ſhould be deceived with the rumors of his Captivity and ſecret Warrants from himſelf, he again declared, *That it was his own deſire to remain at* Striveling *and be ſerved by the Earl of* Marre, *with whom he knew his ſurety was greater then if he ſhould be at the devotion of thoſe that cauſed the preſent Troubles, whoſe meanings towards him could be no better then it had been in times paſt.* For the Warrants they pretended, *he called God to witneſs, that they had neither word nor writ from him; therefore willed all his good ſubjects to live quiet, and not to be miſled by ſuch falſe informations.* This Proclamation the Lords would not ſuffer to be publiſhed at *Edinburgh*, but, making the greater expedition, drew together

The Lords march towards *Striveling*.

their

their Companies, and marched towards *Striveling*. The first night they camped at *Linlithgow*, and the day following having mustered their Army, which they found to be about 4000, they went to *Falkirk*. *An.* 1578.

The Earl of *Angus*, as Lieutenant for the King, took the fields, and displaying the Royal Banner made towards them. In number he did not equal the others, but they were Gentlemen all, active and resolute. Sir *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassador, riding betwixt the Armies, travelled earnestly to bring them to an Agreement, and by his intreaties and the proponing of honorable conditions did keep them from joyning. In which time one *Tait*, a follower of *Cesford*, who as then was of the Lord's party, came forth in a bravery, and called to the opposite horsemen, asking if any among them had courage to break a lance for his Mistress. He was answered by one *Johnston*, servant to the Master of *Glamis*, and his challenge accepted. The place chosen was a little plain at the river of *Carron*, on both sides whereof the horsemen stood spectators. At the first encounter *Tait*, having his body pierced through, fell from his horse, and presently died. This was taken by those of *Morton*'s side to be a presage of Victory. But by the Ambassador's travels the parties were drawn to the Conditions following. The *English* Ambassador laboureth to compose matters.

1. That the forces on either side should presently separate, and a few horsemen only be retained upon his Majestie's charges, who should be imployed for quieting the Borders, and not against the Lords convened at *Falkirk*, or their adherents in the present action.
2. That the proceedings of the Lords and other partakers with the Chancellor since the tenth of *July* last should be allowed as good service done to the King, in respect his Majesty was assured of their good affection towards his own Person.
3. That the Chancellor and Earl of *Argile* should have their lodging within the Castle of *Striveling*, with the like numbers that were permitted to other Noblemen.
4. That all the Noblemen, Barons, and other Gentlemen who pleased to come unto the King, should be freely admitted to his presence, and have liberty to propone their own affairs.
5. That the Earl of *Montross* and Lord *Lindesay* should be received in the number of the Council.
6. That the King calling to himself eight Noblemen, that is, four of each party, to be nominated by themselves, should consider the griefs and offences of either side, take order for removing the same, and make up a perfect Reconcilement amongst the Nobility.
7. That the Commission of Lieutenandry granted to the Earl of *Angus* should be discharged.
8. And last, that the Captains of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton* should enjoy their offices, till the Reconciliation intended was brought to an end.

Conditions agreed upon.

These Articles being signed by the King, and subscrived by the principals of both parties, the Accord and heads thereof were published at *Striveling* and *Falkirk* the fourteenth of *August*, upon which the Armies dissolved. No stir in our memory was more happily pacified; for should it have come to the worst, as it was not far off, such was the heat and hate of both Factions, that the mischief could not but have been great which would have ensued. The Articles signed.

The place and time of the Noblemens meeting for considering the Grievances of both parties being left to the King's appointing, because delay might breed greater difficulties, his Majesty did assign the 20 of *September* to meet at *Striveling*; whereof he caused the Ambassador give the Chancellor notice, and to desire him to name the four Noblemen whose advice he and the rest would use in that Treaty. The Chancellor answered by Letter, *That neither he nor* Argile *could agree to meet at* Striveling, *nor could they design the four Noblemen whom they would use, because death, sickness and other accidents might hinder one or more of them to convene: but if it should* The twentieth of *September* appointed for a meeting of Noblemen at *Striveling*. The Noblemen decline the meeting.

An. 1578. *should please the King to appoint the place of meeting at* Edinburgh *about the end of* November, *they should keep the day, and for the present nominate ten, of which number they should chuse some four at that time as Arbiters for their party.* The ten they named were, the Earls of *Montross* and *Cathnes*, the Lords *Lindesay*, *Maxwel*, *Hereis*, *Ogilvy* and *Innermeath*, the Abbot of *Newbottle*, and the Lairds of *Bargenny* and *Drumwhassil*. Herewith he desired three things to be granted. *One was, that licence might be given to such an one as they would chuse to pass into* England. *Next, that they who were dispossessed of their places and Offices since the tenth of* July *might be restored; namely* Mr. Mark Ker, *son to the Abbot of* Newbottle, *Master of Requests, and* William Cunningham, *son to the Laird of* Drumwhassil, *Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber. Thirdly, that none should be called in question for their absence upon the late Proclamations, seeing all they who came not to* Striveling *must be understood to have been their adherents.*

The Petition of the Chancellor and the Lords and Gentlemen adhering to him.

The King offended with the Petitions.

This answer communicated to the King did highly offend him. First, that they should usurp the appointing of the time and place of meeting, which was left in his power: next, that they would presume to send a message into *England*, they being his subjects, and neither acquaint him with the person nor the message. For the other Petitions he judged them impertinent, and more fit to be proponed at the meeting of the Noblemen: wherefore in a Letter sent by Mr. *William Areskin* to the Chancellor he shewed, that since they had delayed to nominate the four Noblemen, he himself would make choice of four of them whose names they had given to the Ambassador; to wit, the Lords *Lindesay*, *Ogilvy*, *Innermeath* and *Hereis*; to whom he would joyn the Earls of *Rothes* and *Buchan*, with the Lords *Ruthven* and *Boyd*; and by their advice proceed in the Reconciliation by him intended: which if they should refuse, he would notifie to the Queen of *England* and other Christian Princes the care he had taken to perform all things as they had been lately accorded.

The Noblemen cited to appear at *Striveling*.

To this Letter no answer was given, but that they should advise with their friends, and afterwards signifie their minds: wherewith the King being discontent, he summoned the Noblemen to meet at *Striveling* the 20 of *September*, warning all the subjects whom that business concerned to address themselves thither against the day. At the day none of them appeared, and the more careful the King was to have Peace made, the more they seemed to draw back, protracting time upon frivolous excuses. Wherefore the King for the last Diet appointed the 20 of *October*, which most of them kept. Being all Assembled, the King spake to them to this effect. *Ye do all understand what an earnest desire I have that you should joyn in friendship one with another, which cannot be more contentment to me then it is benefit to your selves; although I have many occasions given me to fall from that desire, yet I abide in the same mind, and shall wish you to lay aside your needless jealousies and suspicions. For as to me I will study to be indifferent, and bestow my favours unpartially, and never repose my self upon any one so much as to deny others the regard which is due to them. Ye that are Noblemen have a special interest in me, and unless there be a correspondence of wills and minds amongst you, I shall never find that concurrence that ought to be for mine honor and the good of the Commonwealth. It is not long since, at your own desires, I accepted the Government of the Realm, being persuaded by you that this was the only way to cease all grudges; but now that I see them increased, it repents me to have yielded to your desires, and intangled my self in such business. What should lett you to be reconciled, and become perfect friends, I know not. If there be any grief or offence that hath exasperated your minds, will ye shew it? I am here with the advice of my Lords to remove it, and see satisfaction made by those that have done the wrong. I hope you do not carry minds irreconcilable. Ye professed that ye laid down Arms for the love ye bare to your King; by the same love I intreat you to lay aside jealousies and suspicions, which ye will doubtless do, except ye mind to expose your Countrey and your selves to utter ruine.*

His Majesties Speech at the meeting.

The Lords are desired to set down their Complaints in writing.

The Lords moved with this Speech professed themselves willing at his Majesties desire to bury all Discords; and that their Agreement might be the more sound, they were required to set down in writing the Injuries and unkindness whereof they complained, that satisfaction might be made at the sight of the King and Noblemen whom he had named. Hereupon the Chancellor and *Argile* presented their

their grievances in ſome ſhort Articles, bearing the unkindneſs they had received from the Earl of *Morton* in the time of his Regiment. Whereunto he anſwered, firſt generally, That what he did in that time was done by order of Law, and that they themſelves had allowed his proceedings, and were ſureties for ratifying the ſame in Parliament. Then replying more particularly to every Article, he gave the King and other Noblemen full ſatisfaction, and made it ſeen, that on the part of the other Lords there was a great miſtaking: for what he did he could not leave undone, without a manifeſt violation of juſtice. "Yet for himſelf, he ſaid, although he had "been ill rewarded by them for his pains taken in the publick ſervice, and received "more unkindneſs at their hands then he had deſerved, he would freely remit all "at the King's deſire. After ſome days ſpent in ſuch reckonings, they were "brought in end to joyn hands. *An.* 1578. The Lords reconciled.

During theſe Contentions in the State, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* held the Church buſied with the matter of Policy, which was put in form, and preſented to the Parliament at their ſitting in *Striveling*. The Eſtates having no leiſure to peruſe it, gave a Commiſſion to divers of their number to meet and confer with the Commiſſioners of the Church, and if they did agree, to inſert the ſame among the Acts of Parliament. How theſe affairs went, and what effect the Commiſſion took, becauſe of the great buſineſs that afterwards was made about the ſame, is neceſſary to be known; wherefore I thought meet to ſet down the Form of Policy as it was preſented, with the notes of their agreement and diſagreement, as they ſtand in the Original, which I have by me. A form of Church-Policy preſented to the Parliament, and remitted to certain Commiſſioners.

Heads and Concluſions of the Church; and firſt of the Policy thereof in General, wherein it differeth from Civil.

FIrſt, The Church of God is ſometimes largely taken, for all them that profeſs the Evangel of *Jeſus* Chriſt; and ſo it is a Company and fellowſhip not only of the Godly, but alſo Hypocrites, profeſſing outwardly one true Religion. 1. Agreed.

2. At other times it is taken for the Elect only and the godly; and ſometimes for them that exerciſe the Spiritual Function amongſt the Congregation of them that profeſs the Truth. 2. Agreed.

3. The Church in this laſt ſenſe hath a certain power granted by God, according to which it uſeth a proper Juriſdiction & Government, exerciſed to the comfort of the whole Church. 3. Agreed that the Church is ſometimes taken for them that exerciſe the Spiritual Function in particular Congregations.

4. This Power Eccleſiaſtical is an Authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediation of *Jeſus* Chriſt, unto his Church gathered, and having the ground in the Word of God, to be put in execution by them unto whom the ſpiritual Government of the Church by lawful calling is committed. 4. Continued to farther reaſoning, and when it is ſaid this power floweth from God to his Church, whether this ſhould be underſtood of the whole Church, or of the Office-bearers, and whether it floweth mediately or immediately.

5. The Policy of the Church flowing from this Power is an Order or Form of Spiritual Government, which is exerced by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God; and therefore is given immediately to the Office-bearer, by whom it is exerciſed to the weal of the whole body. 5. Referred to farther reaſoning.

6. This Power is diverſly uſed; for ſometime it is ſeverally exerciſed (chiefly by the Teachers) ſometime conjunctly by mutual conſent of them that bare office and charge, after the form of judgement: the former is called *poteſtas Ordinis*, the other *poteſtas Juriſdictionis*. 6. The laſt words of the Article are thought not neceſſary, and therefore to be delete.

7. Theſe two kinds of Power have both one Ground, one Final cauſe, but are different in the form and manner of Execution, as is evident by the ſpeech of our Saviour in the 16th and 18th of S. *Matthew*. 7. Agreed.

8. This Power and Policy is different and diſtinct in the own nature from that Power and Policy which is called the Civil Power, and appertains to the Civil Government of the Commonwealth; albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly uſed, that is, to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good ſubjects. 8. Agreed.

An. 1578.

9. Say in stead hereof, For this power is spiritual, not having — deleting the other words,

9. For this Power Ecclesiastical floweth from God immediately, and the Mediator *Jesus* Christ, and is Spiritual, not having a Temporal Head in the earth, but only Christ, the only Spiritual King and Governor of the Church.

10. Agreed.

10. It is a title falsely usurped by Antichrist, to call himself the Head of the Church, and ought not to be attributed to Angel or to man, of what estate soever he be, saving to Christ the Head and only Monarch of the Church.

11. Agreed.

11. Therefore this Power and Policy of the Church should lean upon the Word immediately as the only ground thereof, and should be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, hearing the voice of Christ the only spiritual King, and being ruled by his Laws.

12. Agreed, changing these words, they should not be called Lords over their Flock.

12. It is proper to Kings, Princes and Magistrates, to be called Lords and Dominators over their subjects whom they govern civily; but it is proper to Christ only to be called Lord and Master in the Spiritual Government of the Church, and all others that bear office therein ought not to usurp dominion, nor be called Lords, but Ministers, Disciples and Servants: for it is proper to Christ's Office to command and rule his Church universally, and every particular Church, through his Spirit and Word, by the ministery of men.

13. Change the last words of Ecclesiastical Government, and Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Word of God

13. Nothwithstanding, as the Ministers and others of the Ecclesiastical state are subject to the Magistrate civilly; so ought the person of the Magistrate be subject to the Church spiritually, and in Ecclesiastical Government.

14. Referred to farther reasoning, when the order of Bishops shall be discussed.

14. And the exercise of both these Jurisdictions cannot stand in one person ordinarily.

15. Referred till they come to the attribution of the Power.

15. The Civil Power is called the Power of the Sword, the other Power the Power of the Keys.

16. Agreed as the words are conceived.

16. The Civil Power should command the Spiritual to exercise and to do their office according to the Word of God; the Spiritual Rulers should require the Christian Magistrate to minister Justice and punish Vice, and to maintain the Liberty of the Church, and quietness within their bounds.

17. Defer reth this to be resolved with the 15.

17. The Magistrate commands in things external for external Peace and quietness among the subjects; the Minister handleth external things only for Conscience cause.

18. Referred.

18. The Magistrate external things only and actions done before men; but the Spiritual Ruler judges both the affection and external actions in respect of Conscience, by the Word of God.

19.

19. The Civil Magistrate getteth obedience by the Sword and other external means; but the Minister by the Spiritual Sword and spiritual means.

20. Agreed that neither ought the Magistrate preach, nor minister the Sacraments, nor execute the Censures of the Church, which is to be understood of Excommunication, and referreth the second part of this Article to farther reasoning.

20. The Magistrate ought neither preach, minister the Sacraments, nor execute the Censures of the Church, nor yet prescribe any rule how it should be done, but command the Minister to observe the rule prescrived in the Word, and punish transgressors by Civil means; the Minister again exercises not the Civil Jurisdiction, but teaches the Magistrate how it should be exercised according to the Word.

21. Referred.

21. The Magistrate ought to assist, maintain and fortify the Jurisdiction of the Church; the Ministers should assist their Princes in all things agreeable to the Word, providing they neglect not their Charge in involving themselves in Civil affairs.

22. Referred.

22. Finally, as Ministers are subject to the judgement and punishment of Magistrates in external things, if they offend: so ought the Magistrates submit themselves to the Discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matter of Conscience and Religion.

CHAP.

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Chap. 2. *Of the parts of Policy of the Church, and Persons or Office-bearers to whom the Administration is committed.*

1. The name of the Church in this Article is taken for the Church in the first signification, to wit for the whole Church. Agreed with the rest of the Articles.

First, as in the Policy Civil the whole Commonwealth consists in them that are Governors or Magistrates, and them that are governed and subjects: so in the Policy of the Church some are appointed to be Rulers, and the rest of the members are to be ruled and obey according to God's Word, and the inspiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor *Jesus* Christ.

2. Again, the whole Policy of the Church consists in three things chiefly, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Distribution; with Doctrine is annexed the Ministration of the Sacraments. 2. Referred.

3. And according to this division arises a sort of threefold Officiars in the Church; to wit, Ministers or Preachers, Elders or Governors, and Deacons or Distributers: and all these may be called by one general word, Ministers of the Church. 3. Referred.

4. For albeit the Church of God be ruled and governed by *Jesus* Christ, who is the only King, high Priest and Head thereof; yet he useth the ministery of men, as a necessary middes for this purpose. 4. Referred.

5. For so he hath from time to time, before the Law, under the Law, and in the time of the Evangel, for our great comfort, raised up men indowed with the gifts of his Spirit for the spiritual Government of his Church, exercising by them his power through his Spirit and Word, to the building of the same. 5. Referred.

6. And to take away all occasion of Tyranny, he wills that they should rule with mutual consent of brethren and equality of power, every one according to their Functions. 6. Referred to reasoning of the head of Visiters.

7. In the New Testament and time of the Evangel he hath used the Ministery of the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Doctors, in administration of the Word; the Eldership for good order and administration of Discipline; the Deaconship to have the care of Ecclesiastical goods. 7. Referred.

8. Some of these Ecclesiastical Functions are ordinary, some extraordinary, or temporal. The extraordinary are the Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists, which are not perpetual, and now have ceased in the Church, except when it pleases God extraordinarily for a time to stir up some of them again. 8. Referred.

9. There are four ordinary Offices or Functions in the Church of God; the Pastor, Minister or Bishop, the Doctor, the Presbyter or Elder, and the Deacon. 9. Referred.

10. These Offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the Church, as necessary for the Government and policy of the same; and no mo offices ought to be received or suffered in the true Church of God, established by his Word. 10. Referred.

11. Therefore all the ambitious Titles invented in the Kingdom of Antichrist and his usurped Hierarchy, which are not one of those four sorts, together with the Offices depending thereupon, ought in one word to be rejected. 11. Referred.

Chap. 3. *How the Persons that bear Ecclesiastical Functions are admitted to their Offices.*

First, Vocation or Calling is common to all that should bear Office in the Church, which is a lawful way by which qualified persons are promoved to any special Office in the Church of God. 1. Agreed.

2. Without this Calling it was never lawful for any person to meddle with any Ecclesiastical Function. 2. Agreed.

3. There are two sorts of Calling, one extraordinary by God immediately, as were the Apostles and Prophets, which within a Church already well established hath no place. 3. Agreed.

4. The other calling is ordinary, which beside the calling of God, and the inward 4. Agreed.

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5.Agreed. 5. None ought to preſume to enter in any Office Eccleſiaſtical, unleſs he have a good teſtimony in his Conſcience before God, who only knoweth the hearts of men.

6. 6. This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, Election and Ordination.

7.Referred. 7. Election is the chuſing out of one man or perſon to the Office that is void, by the judgement of the Elderſhip and conſent of the Congregation to whom the perſon preſented is to be appointed.

8.Agreed with the generality hereof. 8. The qualities in general required in all them who ſhould have charge in the Church conſiſt in ſoundneſs of Religion and Godlineſs of life, according as they are ſet forth in the Word.

9.Agreed. 9. In this ordinary Election it is to be eſchewed, that no perſon be intruded in any of the Offices of the Church contrary to the will of the Congregation to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the Elderſhip.

10. None ought to be intruded or placed in the Miniſtery in places already planted, or in any room that is not void, for any wordly reſpect; and that which is called the Benefice ought to be nothing but the Stipend of the Miniſter who is lawfully called.

11.Agreed. 11. Ordination is the Separation and ſanctifying of the perſon appointed by God and his Church, after that he is well tried and found qualified.

12.Agreed. 12. The Ceremonies of Ordination are Faſting, Prayer, and Impoſition of hands of the Elderſhip.

13.Agreed. 13. All theſe, as they muſt be raiſed up by God, and made able for the work whereunto they are called, ſo they ought know that their meſſage is limitted within God's Word.

14.Agreed. 14. Theſe ſhould take the names and titles only (leſt they be exalted and puffed up in themſelves) which the Scripture gives them, as theſe which import labour, travel and work, and are names of Offices and Service, and not of idleneſs, dignity, worldly honor or preeminence, which by Chriſt our Maſter is expreſly reproved and forbidden.

15.Agreed. 15. All theſe Office-bearers ſhould have their own particular Flocks, amongſt whom they ought to exerce their charge, and ſhould make reſidence with them, taking inſpection and overſight of them every one in his vocation.

16. Agreed. 16. And generally ought to reſpect two things; that is, the glory of God, and edifying of his Church, by diſcharging their duties in their Callings.

Chap. 4. *Of the Office-bearers in particular, and firſt of the Paſtors and Miniſters.*

1.Agreed, ſaving the word Biſhop is referred to the place of Viſitation. 1. Paſtors, Biſhops or Miniſters, are they who are appointed to particular Congregations, which they rule by the Word of God, and over which they watch: in reſpect whereof ſometime they are called Paſtors, becauſe they feed their Congregation; ſometime *Epiſcopi* or Biſhops, becauſe they watch over their Flock; ſometime Miniſters, by reaſon of their Service and Office; ſometime alſo Presbyters or Seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have, taking care of the Spiritual Government, which ought to be moſt dear unto them.

2.Agreed. 2. They that are called the Miniſtery, or offer themſelves thereto, ought not to be elected without one certain Flock to be aſſigned to them.

3.Agreed. 3. No man ought to ingyre himſelf, or uſurp this Office without a lawful calling.

4.Agreed. 4. They who are once called of God, and duly elected by men, having once accepted the charge of the Miniſtery, may not leave their Functions; and the deſertors ought to be admoniſhed, and in caſe of diſobedience excommunicated.

5.Referred. 5. No Paſtor may leave his Flock without licence of the Provincial Aſſembly; which if he do, after Admonition not obeyed, let the Cenſures of the Church ſtrike upon him.

6.To

6. To the Paſtor belongeth the Preaching of the Word of God in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, publickly and privately, always to edifie and diſcharge his Conſcience, as God hath preſcribed. And unto them only appertains the miniſtration of the Sacraments; for both theſe are appointed by the Word of God as means to teach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes and other ſenſes, that by both knowledge may be conveighed to the mind. *An.* 1578. 6. Agreed.

7. By the ſame reaſon it pertains to Paſtors to pray for the people, and namely for the Flock committed to their charge, and to bleſs them in the name of God, who will not ſuffer the bleſſings of his faithful ſervants to be fruſtrate. 7. Agreed.

8. He ought alſo to watch over the Manners of his Flock, that he may the better apply his Doctrine to them, in reprehending the diſſolute, and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord. 8. Agreed.

9. It appertains to the Miniſter, after lawful proceeding of the Elderſhip, to pronounce the ſentence of Binding and Looſing upon any perſon, according to the power of the Keys granted to the Church. 9. Agreed, that the Miniſter of the Word may pronounce the ſentence of Excommunication, after lawful proceeding.

10. It belongs to him likewiſe, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the Elderſhip, to ſolemnize Marriage betwixt thoſe that are contracted, & to pronounce the bleſſing of the Lord upon them that enter in that Bond in the fear of God. And generally, all publick Denunciations that are made in the Church before the Congregation concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs belong to the Miniſter's Office, for he is the meſſenger and herauld betwixt God and the people in all theſe affairs. 10. Agreed with the preſent orders concerning Marriage.

Chap. 5. *Of Doctors and their Offices, and of Schools.*

1. ONe of the two ordinary and perpetual Functions that labour in the Word is the Office of Doctor, who may alſo be called Prophet, Biſhop, Elder and Catechiſer, that is, the teacher of the Catechiſm and Rudiments of the Religion. This whole Chapter referred to farther reaſoning.

2. His Office is to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures ſimply, without ſuch application as the Miniſter uſes, to the end that the faithful may be inſtructed in ſound Doctrine, the purity of the Goſpel taught, and not corrupted through ignorant or evil opinions.

3. He is different from the Paſtor, not only in name, but in diverſity of Gifts: For to the Doctor is given the gift of Knowledge, to open up by ſimple Teaching the myſteries of Faith; to the Paſtor the gift of Wiſdom, to apply the ſame by Exhortation to the manners of the Flock, as occaſion craves.

4. Under the name and Office of Doctor we comprehend alſo the order in Schools, Colleges and Univerſities, which have from time to time been carefully maintained, as well amongſt Jews and Chriſtians, as among profane nations.

5. The Doctor being an Elder, ſhould aſſiſt the Paſtor in the Government of the Church, and concur with the Elders his brethren in all Aſſemblies, by reaſon the Interpretation of the Word, which is only judged in matters Eccleſiaſtical, is committed to his charge.

6. But to preach unto the people, to miniſter the Sacraments, and celebrate Marriages, pertains not to the Doctor, unleſs he be otherwiſe called ordinarily; yet may the Paſtor teach in Schools, as he who hath the gift of Knowledge oftentimes, which the example of *Polycarpus* and others teſtifie.

Chap. 6. *The Elders, and their Office.*

1. THe word Elder in the Scripture is ſometime the name of Age, ſometime the name of Office; and when it hath the name of Office is ſometimes taken largely, comprehending as well the Paſtors and Doctors, as theſe who are called Seniors or Elders. 1. Paſſed over.

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2. In our division, we call these Elders whom the Apostle calleth Presidents or Governors; whose Office as it is ordinary, so it is perpetual, and always necessary in the Church of God, and a special Function, as is the Ministery.

2. Agreed, that name of Elders be joyned with Ministers.

3. Elders once lawfully called to the Office, and having Gifts of God fit to exercise the same, may not leave it again; yet such a number of Elders may be chosen in certain Congregations, as one part may relieve another for a reasonable space, as was amongst the *Levites* under the Law in serving the Temple.

3. The perpetuity of Elders referred to farther deliberation.

4. The number of Elders in every Congregation cannot be limitted, but should be according to the bounds and necessity of the people.

4. Agreed.

5. It is not necessary that all Elders be Teachers of the Word, albeit chiefly they ought to be such, and so worthy of double honor.

5. Referred.

6. What manner of persons they ought to be, we remit it to the express Word, and the Canons set down by the Apostle S. *Paul*.

6. Referred.

7. Their Office is as well severally as conjunctly to watch with diligence over the Flock committed to their charge, both publickly and privately, that no corruption of Religion or Manners grow amongst them.

7. Agreed.

8. As the Pastors and Doctors should be diligent in Teaching and sowing the seed of the Word, so the Elders should be careful in seeking the fruits of the same among the people.

8. Agreed.

9. It pertains to them to assist the Pastor in Examining those that come to the Lord's Table, and in Visiting the sick.

9. Agreed.

10. They should cause the Acts of the Assemblies, as well particular as general, to be put carefully in execution.

10. Agreed.

11. They should be diligent in admonishing all men of their duties, according to the rule of the Word.

11. Agreed.

12. Things that they cannot correct by private Admonitions they should bring to the Eldership.

12. Agreed.

13. Their principal Office is to hold Assemblies with the Pastors and Doctors, who are also of their number for establishing good order and execution of Discipline, unto which Assemblies all persons are subject that remain within the bounds.

13. Agreed.

Chap. 7. *Of Elderships, and Assemblies, and Discipline.*

1. Agreed that Ministers and Elders may judge spiritual things within their own bounds.

1. Elderships are commonly constitute of Pastors, Doctors & such as we call commonly Elders that labor not in the Word & Doctrine, of whom & of their power we have spoken.

2. Agreed.

2. Assemblies are of four sorts: for either they are of a particular Congregation, or of a Province, or of a whole Nation, or of all and divers Christian Nations.

3. Agreed that Synods be kept twice in the year by him that hath the charge of Visitation.

3. All Ecclesiastical Assemblies have power to convene lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the Churches pertaining to their Charge.

4. General Assemblies once yearly,

4. They have power to appoint times and places to that effect, and every Assembly to appoint the Diet, time and place for another.

his Majestie's Authority being interponed, and from the General Assembly, Noblemen and such as please to come shall not be excluded, providing that fifteen only, with his Majestie's Commissioner, have voice therein.

5. Agreed.

5. In all Assemblies a Moderator should be chosen by common consent of the whole brethren convened, who should propone matters, gather voices, and cause good order to be kept.

6. Agreed.

6. Diligence ought to be taken chiefly by the Moderator that only Ecclesiastical things be handled in the Assemblies, and no medling be with any thing pertaining to Civil Jurisdiction.

7. Agreed.

7. Every Assembly hath power to send forth of their own number one or mo Visitors, to see how all things are ruled in their Jurisdiction.

8. Visitation

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8. Viſitation of Churches is not an ordinary Office Eccleſiaſtical in the perſon of one man, neither may the name of a Biſhop be attributed to a Viſitor only, neither is it neceſſary to abide in the perſon of one man always, but it is the power of the Elderſhip to ſend out qualified perſons to viſit *pro re nata*. 8. Deferred to the head of Biſhops, and their Reformation.

9. The final end of all Aſſemblies is firſt to keep the Religion and Doctrine in Purity without error and corruption; next to keep Comelineſs and good Order in the Church. 9. Agreed.

10. For this Order's cauſe, they may make Rules and Conſtitutions pertaining to the good behavior of all the members in the Church in their vocation. 10. Agreed, joyning in the end of the Article theſe words, or ſpiritual things only.

11. They have power alſo to abrogate and aboliſh all Statutes and Ordinances concerning Eccleſiaſtical matters that are found noiſome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abuſed by the people. 11. Agreed, that as they make Acts in Spiritual things, ſo they may alter the ſame as the neceſſity of time requires.

12. They have power to execute Diſcipline and puniſhment Eccleſiaſtical upon all tranſgreſſors and proud contemners of the good order and Policy of the Church, ſo as the whole Diſcipline is in their hands. 12. Referred.

13. The firſt ſort and kind of Aſſemblies, although they be within particular Congregations, yet they exerce the power, authority and juriſdiction of the Church with mutual conſent, and therefore bear ſometime the name of the Church. 13. Referred.

14. When we ſpeak of Elders of particular Congregations, we mean not that every particular Pariſh-Church can or may have their particular Elderſhips, eſpecially to Landwart; but we think three or four, mo or fewer particular Churches may have a common Elderſhip to them all, to judge their Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. 14. Referred.

15. Albeit it is meet that ſome of the Elders be choſen out of every particular Congregation, to concur with the reſt of their brethren in the common Aſſemblies, and to take up the delation of offences within their own Churches, and bring them to the Aſſembly. 15. Referred.

16. This we gather of the practice of the Primitive Church, where Elders, or Colleges of Seniors, were conſtitute in Cities and famous places. 16. Referred.

17. The power of the particular Elderſhip is to give diligent labour, in the bounds committed to their charge, that the Churches be kept in good order; to inquire of naughty and unruly perſons, and travel to bring the way again, either by admonition and threatning of God's judgements, or by correction. 17. Referred.

18. It pertains to the Elderſhip to take heed that the Word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, Diſcipline maintained, and the Eccleſiaſtical goods uncorruptly diſtributed. 18. Referred.

19. It belongs to this kind of Aſſembly to cauſe the Ordinances made by the Aſſemblies Provincial, National and General, to be kept and put in execution; to make Conſtitutions which concern τὸ πρέπον, for the decent order of theſe particular Churches which they govern; providing they alter no Rules made by the Provincial and General Aſſemblies, and that they make the Provincial Aſſemblies foreſeen of thoſe Rules they make, and to aboliſh ſuch Conſtitutions as tend to the hurt of the ſame. 19. Referred.

20. It hath power to excommunicate the obſtinate. 20. Referred.

21. The power of Election of them who bear Eccleſiaſtical charge pertains to this Aſſembly within their own bounds, be well conſtitute, and erected of many Paſtors and Elders of good ability. 21. Referred.

22. By the like reaſon their Depoſition alſo pertains to this Aſſembly, as of them that teach erroneous Doctrine, that be of a ſcandalous Life, and after admonition deſiſt not, that be given to Schiſm or Rebellion againſt the Church, manifeſt Blaſphemy, Simony, and all corruption of Bribes, Falſhood, Perjury, Whoredom, Theft, Drunkenneſs, Fighting worthy of puniſhment by the Law, Uſury, Dancing, and ſuch diſſoluteneſs as imports civil infamy; and all other that deſerve ſeparation from the Church. 22. Referred.

23. Theſe alſo who are altogether found unable to execute their Charge ought 23. Referred.

to

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24. But they who through age or ſickneſs, or any other accident, become unmeet to do their office, their honor ſhould remain to them, and others be provided to their Office, the Church maintaining thoſe who are by that occaſion diſabled.

25. Provincial Aſſemblies we call lawful Conventions of the Paſtors, Doctors, and other Elders of any Province gathered for the common affairs of the Churches thereof; which may alſo be called the Conference of the Church and brethren.

26. Theſe Aſſemblies are inſtitute of weighty matters to be intreated by mutual conſent, and aſſiſtence of the brethren within the Province, if need be.

27. This Aſſembly hath power to redreſs, order and handle all things committed or done amiſs in the particular Aſſemblies.

28. It hath power to depoſe the Office-bearers of that Province, for good and juſt cauſes deſerving Deprivation. And generally theſe Aſſemblies have the whole power of the particular Elderſhips whereof they are collected.

29. National Aſſembly, which we call General, is a lawful Convention of the whole Church of the Realm or Nation where it is gathered, for the common affairs of the Church; and may be called the General Elderſhip of the whole Church within the Realm.

30. None are ſubject to repair unto this Aſſembly for giving voice but Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to ſuch a number as ſhall be thought good by the ſame Aſſembly; not excluding other perſons that will repair to it for propounding, hearing and reaſoning.

31. This Aſſembly is inſtitute, that all that is either committed or done amiſs in the Provincial Aſſemblies may be redreſſed, and things generally ſerving for the good of the whole body of the Church within the Realm may be foreſeen, intreated and ſet forth to God's glory.

32. It ſhould take care that Churches be planted in places where they are not planted, and preſcrive a rule for the proceeding of the other two ſorts of Aſſemblies in all things.

33. This Aſſembly ſhould take heed that the Spiritual Juriſdiction and Civil be not confounded nor abuſed; and generally towards all weighty affairs that concern the good order of the Churches within the Realm, it ought to interpone authority thereto.

34. There is beſides theſe another more General Aſſembly, which is of all Nations, and of all eſtates of perſons within the Church, repreſenting the Univerſal Church of Chriſt, which may be properly called the General Aſſembly, or General Council of the whole Church of God.

35. Theſe Aſſemblies were appointed and called together ſpecially when any great Schiſm or Controverſie in Doctrine did ariſe in the Church, and were convocated at the command of godly Emperors, being for the time for avoiding of Schiſms within the univerſal Church of God; which, becauſe they pertain not to the particular ſtate of our Realm, we paſs by.

24.

25. Referred.

26. Referred.

27. Referred.

28. Referred.

29. Referred.

30. Paſſed over.

31. Anſwered before.

32. The laſt part of the Article referred to the heads of Biſhops.

33. Deferred.

34 Agreed in Spiritual matters.

35. Referred.

CHAP. 8. *Of Deacons and their Office, the laſt ordinary Function in the Church.*

1. The Chapter of Deacons and Patrimony of the Church are thought to be ſuppreſſed till the head of Corruptions be reaſoned.

1. THE word Διάκονος is ſometimes largely taken, as comprehending all them that bear office in the Miniſtery and ſpiritual Function in the Church; but as we now ſpeak, is only taken for them to whom the Collection and Diſtribution of Alms of the faithful and Eccleſiaſtical goods do belong.

2. The Office of Deacon ſo taken is an ordinary and perpetual Function in the Church. Of what properties and duties they ought to be that are called thereto, we remit to the Scriptures.

3. The Deacon ought to be called and elected as the reſt of the ſpiritual Officers, and their Office and power is to receive and diſtribute the whole Eccleſiaſtical goods to whom they are appointed.

4. This

4. This they ought to do according to the judgement and appointment of the Presbyteries or Elderships, of the which the Deacons are not, that the Patrimony of the Church and poor be not converted to private mens uſes, nor wrongfully diſtributed. *An.* 1578.

Chap. 9. *Of the Patrimony of the Church, and diſtribution thereof.*

1. BY the Patrimony of the Church we underſtand whatſoever thing hath been at any time before, or ſhall be hereafter, given, or by univerſal conſent or cuſtom of Countries profeſſing Chriſtian Religion applied, to the publick uſe and utility of the Church.

2. So that under the Patrimony of the Church we comprehend all things given or to be given to the Church and ſervice of God; as Lands, Buildings, Poſſeſſions, annual Rents, and the like, wherewith the Church is endowed either by Donations, Foundations, Mortifications, or any other lawful titles of Kings, Princes, or any other perſons inferior to them, together with the continual Oblations of the faithful.

3. We comprehend alſo all ſuch things as by laws, cuſtoms or uſe of Countries hath been applied to uſe and utility of the Church: of which ſort are Tithes, Manſes, Gleibs, and the like; which by the common and municipal Laws and univerſal cuſtom are poſſeſſed by the Church.

4. To take any part of this Patrimony by unlawful means, and convert to the particular and prophane uſe of any perſon, we hold a deteſtable Sacrilege before God.

5. The goods Eccleſiaſtical ought to be collected and diſtributed by Deacons, as the Word of God appoints, that they who bear office in the Church may be provided for without care or ſolicitude.

6. In the Apoſtolick Church the Deacons were appointed to collect and diſtribute whatſoever was collected of the faithful to the neceſſity of the Saints, ſo as none amongſt them did want.

7. Theſe Collections were not only of that which was gathered by way of Alms, as ſome ſuppoſe, but of other goods movable and unmovable, of lands and poſſeſſions, the price whereof was brought and laid at the Apoſtles feet.

8. This office continued in the Deacons hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the Church till the eſtate thereof was corrupted by Antichriſt, as the ancient Canons bear witneſs.

9. The ſame Canons make mention of a fourfold diſtribution of the Patrimony of the Church; whereof one part was applied to the Paſtor, or for his ſuſtentation and hoſpitality; another to the Elders and Deacons, and the whole Clergy; the third to the poor, ſick perſons and ſtrangers; and the fourth to uphold the edifice of the Church, and other affairs ſpecially extraordinary.

10. We adde hereunto the Schools and Schoolmaſters, who ought and may well be ſuſtained of the ſame goods, and are comprehended under the Clergy: to whom we joyn Clerks of Aſſemblies, as well particular as general, Procurators of the Church affairs, takers up of Pſalms, and other Officers of the Church, who are neceſſary.

1. For this whole Chapter, it is thought meet that an Article be preſented to his Majeſty and Eſtates, craving a puniſhment to be appointed for thoſe that put violent hands in Miniſters, and likewiſe to deſire ſuch Immunities and Priviledges to them as ſhall be thought convenient.

Chap. 10. *Of the Offices of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the Church.*

1. ALthough all members of the Church are holden, according to their vocation, to advance the Kingdom of Chriſt *Jeſus* ſo far as lies in their power; yet chiefly Chriſtian Princes, Kings and other Magiſtrates are holden to do the ſame, for they are called in the Scripture *Nurſes of the Church*, becauſe by them it is, or at leaſt ought to be, maintained and defended againſt all thoſe that would procure the hurt thereof.

2. So it pertains to the office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate to fortifie and aſſiſt the godly proceedings of the Church, and namely to ſee that the publick eſtate and miniſtery

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3. To see that the Church be not invaded or hurt by false Teachers and Hirelings, nor the rooms thereof occupied by dumb Dogs or idle Bellies.

4. To assist and maintain the Discipline of the Church, and punish them civilly that will not obey their Censures, without confounding the one Jurisdiction with the other.

5. To see that sufficient provision be made for the Ministery, Schools and Poor; and if they have not sufficient to await upon their Charges, to supply their indigence with their own Rents.

6. To hold hand as well to the safety of the Persons from injury and open violence, and their Rents and Possessions, that they be not defrauded, robbed and spoiled thereof; and not to suffer the Patrimony of the Church to be applied to profane and unlawful uses, or to be devoured by idle bellies, and such as have no lawful Function in the Church, to the hurt of the Ministery, Schools, Poor, and other godly uses upon which the same ought to be bestowed.

7. To make Laws and Constitutions agreeable to God's Word for the advancement of the Church and Policy thereof, without usurping any thing that pertains not to the Civil sword, but belongs to the Offices merely Ecclesiastical; as the Ministery of the Word, Sacraments, or using the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and spiritual execution thereof, or any part of the spiritual Keys, which the Lord *Jesus* gave to the Apostles and their true Successors.

8. And although Kings and Princes that be godly sometime by their own authority, when Churches are corrupted, and all things out of order, do place Ministers and restore the true service of God, after the ensample of some godly Kings of *Judah*, and divers godly Emperors and Kings also in the days of the New Testament: yet where the Ministery of the Church is once well constitute, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly Princes and Magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the Majesty of God speaking by them.

Chap. II. *Of the present Abuses remaining in the Church, which are desired to be reformed.*

1. AS it is the duty of the godly Magistrate to maintain the present liberty which God hath granted by preaching of the Word and the true ministration of the Sacraments within this Realm; so it is to provide that all Abuses which as yet remain in the Church be removed and taken away.

3. Let his Majesty and Estates be supplicated for dissolving these Prelacies, that Ministers may be provided to the several Churches, at least after the death of the present possessors.

2. Therefore first the admission of men to Papistical titles of Benefices, such as serve not nor have any Function in the reformed Church of Christ, as Abbots, Commendators, Priors, Prioresses, and other titles of Abbeys, whose places are now by the just judgement of God demolished, and purged of Idolatry, is plain Abusion, and not to be received in the Kingdom of Christ amongst us.

3. In like manner, seeing they that were called of old the Chapters and Convents of Abbeys, Cathedral-Churches, and the like places, serve for nothing now but to set Fews and Leases of Church-lands (if any be left) and Tithes, to the hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teaches, the same ought to be utterly abolished and abrogated.

4. Passed over.

4. Of the like nature are the Deans, Archdeacons, Chantors, Subchantors, Thesaurers, Chancellors and others, having the like titles, which flowed from the Pope and Canon law only, and have no place in the Reformed Church.

5. Passed over

5. The Churches also which are united and joyned together by annexation to Benefices ought to be separated and divided, and given to qualified Ministers, as God's Word requires: neither ought such abusers of the Patrimony of the Church have voice in Parliament, nor sit in Council in name of the Church and Churchmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and Laws of the Realm made in favors of the Reformed Church.

6. Answered by the Act of Dissolution.

6. Much less is it lawful that one person amongst these should have five or six, ten or twenty Churches, all having the Cure of Souls, and enjoy the Patrimony thereof,

thereof, either by admission of the Prince or of the Church in this light of the Gospel; for it is but mockery to crave Reformation where the like have place. *An.* 1578.

7. And albeit it was thought good, for avoiding greater inconveniences, that the old possessors of such Benefices who imbraced the Religion should enjoy by permission the two parts of the Rents which they possessed before, during their life time; yet it is not tolerable to continue in the like abuse, to give these places and other Benefices of new to men as unmeet, or rather unmeeter, who have no mind to serve in the Church, but live an idle life, as others did who enjoyed the same in time of blindness. 7. An Act to be sought for disponing these united Churches to Ministers after decease of the present possessors.

8. And whereas, by the Order taken at *Leith* 1571, it appears that such may be admitted, being found qualified; either that pretended Order is against all good order, or else it must be understood not of them that are qualified for worldly affairs, or to serve in Court, but such as are qualified to teach God's Word, and have their lawful admission of the Church. 8. Referred.

9. As to Bishops, if the name be properly taken, it is all one with the name of Minister, as was declared; for it is not a name of Superiority or Lordship, but of Office and Watching: Yet because in the corruption of the Church this name hath been abused, and is like to be, we cannot allow this fashion of these new chosen Bishops, nor of the Chapters that are their Electors to such in office. 9. The last part of the Article deferred.

10. True Bishops should addict themselves to one particular Flock, which divers of them refuse; neither should they usurp Lordship over their brethren and the inheritance of Christ. 10. Agreed that Bishops have a particular Flock.

11. Pastors, in so far as they Pastors, have not the Visitation of mo Churches joyned to the Pastorship, unless it be committed to them. 11, & 12. Let the Diocese be divided in such sort as a man may reasonably visit; and for the perpetuity of Visitors, it is referred to farther reasoning.

12. It is a corruption that Bishops should have farther bounds to visit then they may conveniently overtake; neither ought any man to have the Visitation of Churches but he that is chosen by the Presbytery.

13. The Elderships well established have power to send out Visitors with Commission to visit the bounds within their Eldership, and after accompt taken be either continued or changed from time to time, being subject alwayes to their Elderships. 13. Passed over.

14. The criminal jurisdiction in the person of a Pastor is a Corruption. 14. Agreed.

15. It agrees not with the Word of God, that Bishops should be Pastors of Pastors, or Pastors of many Flocks, and yet be without a certain Flock, and no ordinary Teacher; nor doth it agree with the Scripture, that they should be exeemed from the correction of their brethren, and the discipline of the particular Elderships of the Church where they shall serve; neither that they usurp the office of Visitation of other Churches, nor any other Function besides that of other Ministers, unless the same be committed to them by the Church. 15. Passed over.

16. Heretofore we desire the Bishops that now are, either to agree to that order which God's Word requires, and not to pass the bounds prescrived by the general Church, either in Civil or Ecclesiastical affairs, or to be deposed from all Function in the Church. 16. Passed over.

17. We deny not in the mean time that Ministers may and should assist their Princes, when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word of God, whether it be in Council or Parliament, or out of Council: providing always they neither neglect their own Charges, nor through flattery of Princes hurt the publick estate of the Church. 17. Agreed.

18. But generally we say, that no Pastor under whatsoever title of the Church, and specially the abused titles in Popery, of Prelates, Chapters and Convents, ought to attempt any thing in the Church's name, either in Parliament, or out of Council, without the Commission of the Reformed Church within this Realm. 18. Referred.

19. It is provided by Act of Parliament, that the Papistical Church and jurisdiction shall have no place within the Realm, and that no Bishop nor Prelate should use any jurisdiction in time coming flowing from the Pope's Authority: and likewise that no other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be acknowledged within this Realm, but that which is and shall be in the Reformed Church, and flowing 19. Agreed that an Act be made that none hurt or diminish the Patrimony of the Church.

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5. Agreed. places, uſurping the name and authority of the Church, to hurt the Patrimony thereof, or uſing any other Act to the prejudice of the ſame ſince the year 1560. by abuſion and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the Church and Laws of the Realm; which therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and in time coming utterly diſcharged.

20. The dependences alſo of the Papiſtical juriſdiction are to be aboliſhed, of which ſort is the mingled jurisdiction of the Commiſſars, in ſo far as they meddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, & have no Commiſſion of the Church thereto, but were elected in time of our Sovereign's Mother, when things were out of order. It is an abſurd thing that divers of them, having no Function in the Church, ſhould be Judges in depoſing Miniſters from their places. Wherefore they would be either diſcharged to meddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, or it would be limited to them in what matters they might judge, and not hurt the liberty of the Church.

21. Anſwered before. 21. They alſo that before were of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate in the Pope's Church, or that are admitted of new to the Papiſtical titles, and now tolerated by the Laws of the Realm to poſſeſs the two parts of their Eccleſiaſtical Rents, ought not to have any farther liberty, but to intromet with the portion granted and aſſigned unto them for their life-times, and not under the abuſed titles which they carry to diſpone the Church-rents, ſetting in fews and leaſes the ſame at their pleaſure, to the great hurt of the poor labourers that dwell upon the Church-lands, and the prejudice of the Church, contrary to good conſcience and all order.

Chap. 12. *Special Heads craved to be reformed.*

1. Agreed. 1. WHatſoever hath been ſpoken of Church-Offices, the ſeveral power of Office-bearers, their conjunct powers, and laſt of the Patrimony of the Church, we underſtand it to be the right Reformation which God requires but becauſe ſomething would be touched in particular concerning the eſtate of the Countrey, and that which we crave preſently to be reformed in the ſame, we have collected them in the Heads following.

2. Agreed. 2. Seeing the whole Countrey is divided in Provinces, and theſe Provinces in Pariſhes, as well to Landwart and in Towns, in every Pariſh and reaſonable Congregation there would be placed one or mo Paſtors, and no Paſtor or Miniſter be burthened with the Charge of more Churches then are allenarly.

3. Agreed. 3. And becauſe it will be thought hard to find out Miniſters to all the Pariſh-Churches of the Realm, we think, by the advice of ſuch as the Prince or Church may appoint, Pariſhes in ſmall Villages or to Landwart may be united, and the principal or moſt commodious Church, at which the Miniſter reſides, repaired ſufficiently; the reſt that are not found neceſſary being ſuffered to decay, and the Church-yards reſerved for Burial-places. As alſo where the Congregation is too large, the ſame would be divided.

4. Agreed. 4. Doctors would be appointed in Univerſities, Colleges and other places needful for opening the Scriptures, and teaching the Rudiments of Religion, who would alſo be ſufficiently provided.

5. Deferred untill joyning of Churches. 5. As to Elders, there would be in every Congregation one or mo appointed for cenſuring of manners, but not an Aſſembly of Elders, except in Towns and famous places, where men of judgment and ability may be had: And theſe to have a common Elderſhip placed amongſt them, to treat of all things that concern the Congregations of whom they have the overſight.

6. Agreeed as depending on the former. 6. And as there ought men to be appointed for the dividing or uniting of Pariſhes, as need and commodity requires; ſo by the general Church, with the conſent of the Prince, ſome that fear God, and know the eſtate of the Countreys, would be choſen to deſign the places where particular Elderſhips ſhould convene; taking conſideration of the Dioces, as they were divided of old, and of the eſtate of the Countreys and Provinces.

7. Likewiſe

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7. Likewiſe concerning Provincial and Synodal Aſſemblies, conſideration would be taken how many, and in what places they ſhould convene: how often the ſame muſt be referred to the liberty of the general Church.

7. Paſſed over in the Article of Provincial Aſſemblies.

8. The National Aſſemblies, called commonly the General, ought to be maintained in their liberty, and have their own place, with power to the Church to appoint times and places of meeting; and all men, as well Magiſtrates as ſubjects, be ſubject to their judgement in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, without reclamation or appellation to any Judge, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical.

8. Agreed as before.

9. The liberty of electing perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Functions, obſerved without interruption ſo long as the Church was not corrupted by Antichriſt, we deſire to be reſtored and retained within this Realm; ſo as none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince or any other inferior perſon, without lawful Election and the Aſſent of the people over whom the perſon is placed, according to the practice of the Apoſtolick and Primitive Church.

9. Agreed to the general.

10. And becauſe this order cannot ſtand with Patronages and Preſentation of Benefices uſed in the Pope's Church, we deſire all thoſe that truly fear God to conſider, that Patronages and Benefices have no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the ſame, and to the liberty of election of Paſtors, and ought not now to have place in the light of Reformation: And therefore whoſoever will embrace the light of God's Word, and deſires the Kingdom of his Son *Jeſus* Chriſt to be advanced, would alſo embrace and receive the Policy which the Word of God craves, otherwiſe it is in vain that they have profeſſed the ſame.

10. Referred.

11. Notwithſtanding, for other Patronages of Benefices not having *Curam animarum*, ſuch as Chaplanries, Prebendaries, founded upon Temporal lands, Annuals or ſuch like, they may be reſerved to the ancient Patrons, and be diſponed by them to Scholars, Burſers, when they fall void, as they are required by Act of Parliament.

11. To be ſought of the Parliament.

12. As to the Church-rents in general, we deſire that order be maintained and admitted which may ſtand with the ſincerity of God's Word and practice of the Church of Chriſt in the pureſt times thereof: that is, that the whole Patrimony of the Church (the ſmall Patronages before mentioned being excepted) may be divided in four portions, one thereof to be aſſigned to the Paſtor, for his entertainment and keeping Hoſpitality; another to the Elders, Deacons and other Officers of the Church, as Clerks of Aſſemblies, takers up of Pſalms, Bedles, and keepers of the Church, ſo far as they are neceſſary, joyning therewith the Doctors of Schools, for help of the old Foundations, where need requires; the third portion to be beſtowed upon the poor members of Chriſt; and the fourth upon the Reparations of Churches, and other extraordinary charges, that are profitable to the Church and Commonwealth.

12. Referred to the head of Deacons.

13. We deſire therefore the Eccleſiaſtical goods to be uplifted and faithfully diſtributed by the Deacons, to whoſe office the Collection and Diſtribution belongeth, that the poor may be anſwered of their portion, the Miniſters not diſtracted from their Callings, and the reſt of the Theſaury of the Church beſtowed upon the right uſes.

14. If theſe Deacons be elected with ſuch qualities as God's Word requires, there is no fear to be taken of their abuſe: yet becauſe this Vocation appears to be dangerous to many, let them be obliged, as they were of old, in an yearly account to the Paſtors & Elderſhip; and, if the Church and the Prince think expedient, let ſurety be found for their fidelity, and that the Church-rents ſhall no way be dilapidated.

15. And to the effect this order may take place, all other intromettors with the Church-rents, Collectors general or ſpecial, whether by the appointment of the Prince or otherwiſe, muſt be diſcharged of farther intromiſſion, and ſuffer the Church-rents hereafter to be wholly intrometted with by the Deacons, and diſtributed to the uſes before mentioned.

16. And alſo to the effect that the Eccleſiaſtical Rents may ſuffice theſe uſes, we deſire all Alienations by Fews or Leaſes of the Rents of the Church, as well Lands as Tithes, in diminution of the old Rentals, to be reduced and annulled, & the Patri-

An. 1578. mony of the Church fully reſtored. As likewiſe that in time coming the Tithes be ſet to none but to the laborers of the ground, as was agreed, and ſubſcrived by the Nobility, or then not ſet at all.

Chap. 13. *The Concluſion, ſhewing the Utility that ſhall flow from this Reformation to all Eſtates.*

1. SEeing the end of this Spiritual Government and Policy is, that God may be glorified, the Kingdom of *Jeſus* Chriſt advanced, and they who are of his myſtical body live peaceably, keeping a good Conſcience; we do boldly affirm that all who have true reſpect to theſe ends will even for conſcience cauſe gladly agree, and conform themſelves to this order, advancing the ſame ſo far as lies in them; that their Conſcience being ſet at reſt, they may be repleniſhed with ſpiritual gladneſs in giving full obedience to God's Word, & refuſing all corruption contrary to the ſame.

Next, this Realm ſhall become an enſample and pattern of good and godly order to other Nations, Countreys and Churches profeſſing the ſame Religion; that as they have praiſed God for our continuing in the ſincerity of the Word without all Errors, ſo they may have the like occaſion when we ſhall conform our ſelves to that Diſcipline, Policy and good order which the ſame Word and purity of Reformation craves at our hands: otherwiſe that fearful ſentence may be juſtly ſaid to us, *That ſervant that knoweth the Maſters will, and doth it not*, &c.

3. Moreover, if we have any pity or reſpect of the poor members of *Jeſus* Chriſt, who greatly increaſe and multiply amongſt us, we will not ſuffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the Patrimony of the Church that juſtly belongeth to them. And by this order, if it be duly put in Execution, the burthen of the Poor ſhall be taken off the Countrey, and the ſtreets cleanſed of their cryings and murmurings, ſo as we ſhall not be any more a ſcandal to other Nations, as we have hitherto been.

4. Beſides, it ſhall be a great eaſe and commodity to the whole Commons, relieving them of the building and repairing of their Churches, Bridges, and other like publick works; it ſhall be a relief to the laborers of the ground in paiment of their Tithes, and all other things wherein they have hitherto been rigorouſly uſed by them that were falſely called Church-men, and their Taskſmen, Factors, Chamberlains and Extortioners.

5. Finally, to the King's Majeſty and Eſtate this profit ſhall redound, that the affairs of the Church being ſufficiently provided according to the foreſaid diſtribution, the *Superplus* may be liberally beſtowed for the ſupporting the Prince's eſtate, and the affairs of the Commonwealth.

6. So to conclude all, being willing to apply themſelves to this Order, the people ſuffering themſelves to be ruled according thereto, the Princes and Magiſtrates not exempted, and they that are placed in the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate ruling and governing rightly, God ſhall be glorified, the Church edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged, Chriſt *Jeſus* and his kingdom advanced, Satan and the kingdom of Darkneſs ſubverted, and God ſhall dwell in the midſt of us to our comfort in *Jeſus* Chriſt, who with the Father and Holy Ghoſt abideth bleſſed in all eternity. *Amen.*

The courſe the Aſſembly took for admitting this form of Policy.

THis was the form of Policy preſented to the Parliament, and the effect of the Commiſſion granted for the ſame. Such general Heads as did not touch the Authority of the King, nor prejudge the Liberty of the Eſtate, were eaſily agreed. The reſt were paſſed over or deferred, as we have ſeen, to farther reaſoning; which could not after this time be obtained of the Council, one excuſe or other being ſtill pretended. The Miniſters perceiving they would not ſpeed this way, did in their next Aſſembly reſolve to put their Concluſions in practice, without inſiſting any more for Ratification thereof. And beginning with Mr. *James Boyd*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, whom they hoped to find moſt tractable, he was deſired to ſubmit himſelf to the Aſſembly, and to ſuffer the Corruptions of the Epiſcopal eſtate to be reformed in his perſon. After long reaſoning kept with him by the Moderator *David*

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* urged to ſubmit himſelf.

vid Ferguſon and ſome others, he preſented his anſwer in writing. *An.* 1578.

I underſtand the Name, Office and Reverence given to a Biſhop to be lawful and allowable by the Scriptures of God; and being elected by the Church and King to be Biſhop of Glaſgow, *I eſteem my Calling and Office lawful, and ſhall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, ſubmitting my ſelf to the judgement of the Church, if I ſhall be tried to offend, ſo as nothing be required of me but the performance of thoſe duties which the Apoſtle preſcribeth. As to the Rent, Living and Privileges granted to me and my ſucceſſors, I think I may lawfully and with a good conſcience enjoy the ſame. And for aſſiſting the King with my beſt ſervice in Council and Parliament, as my ſubjection ties me thereto, ſo I eſteem it no hurt, but a benefit to the Church, that ſome of their number ſhould be always preſent at the making of Laws and Statutes; wherein for my ſelf I neither intend, nor by the grace of God ſhall ever do any thing but that which I believe may ſtand with the purity of the Word of God, and the good of the Church and Countrey.*

The Archbiſhop's Anſwer preſented in writing.

This Anſwer read in open Aſſembly was judged inſufficient, and he required to bethink himſelf better, and be preſent in the afternoon. But he excuſing himſelf, returned not to the Aſſembly: whereupon Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, and ſome brethren in the Weſt, to urge his Subſcription to the Act made at *Striveling* for Reformation of the eſtate Epiſcopal; and if he did refuſe, to proceed againſt him with the Cenſures of the Church. The Biſhop taking grievouſly theſe proceedings, and having received about the ſame time a great wrong at the hands of his Couſen *Robert Boyd* of *Baydinheth*, by the demoliſhing of the Houſe of *Lockwood*, which is in the Barony of *Glaſgow*, contracted a melancholy, whereof he died not long after at *Glaſgow*. Nothing did more grieve him then the ingratitude of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to *Glaſgow*, placed him Principal in the College, beſtowed otherwiſe liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindneſs with moſt diſgraceful contempt. In private and at the Biſhop's Table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did uſe him with greater reſpect, giving him his titles of dignity and honor; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greateſt reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and uſe him moſt uncivilly. The Commiſſion of the Aſſembly he exerced with all rigour, and by threatning the Biſhop with the Cenſures of the Church, induced him to ſet his hand to certain Articles which, as he profeſſed in his ſickneſs, did ſore vex his mind; yet being comforted by Mr. *Andrew Polwart*, Subdean of *Glaſgow*, he departed this life in great quietneſs. He was a wiſe, learned, religious Prelate, and worthy to have lived in better times then he fell into. His corps was ſolemnly buried in the Quire of the Cathedral, and laid in the ſepulchre of Mr. *Gawan Dumbar*, one of his predeceſſors.

The anſwer doth not content the Aſſembly.

The Archbiſhop contracts ſickneſs, and dieth.

The small reſpect carried to Biſhops in theſe Aſſemblies of the Church made them diſhaunt and come no more unto the ſame. Yet matters went on; and becauſe the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* did abſent himſelf, Commiſſion was given to certain of their number to call him before them, and charge him to remove the Corruptions in the eſtates of Biſhops in his own perſon, which they reckoned to be ſeven; ordaining him, and the Biſhops that would ſubmit themſelves to correction, to ſet their hands to the Conditions following.

The conditions preſcribed to Biſhops.

1. That they ſhould be content to be Miniſters and Paſtors of a Flock.
2. That they ſhould not uſurp any criminal juriſdiction.
3. That they ſhould not vote in Parliament in name of the Church, unleſs they had a Commiſſion from the general Aſſembly.
4. That they ſhould not take up for maintaining their ambition the Rents which might maintain many Paſtors, Schools and Poor, but content themſelves with a reaſonable portion for diſcharging their Office.
5. That they ſhould not claim the title of Temporal Lords, nor uſurp any Civil juriſdiction, whereby they might be withdrawn from their Charge.
6. That they ſhould not empire over Presbyteries, but be ſubject to the ſame.
7. That they ſhould not uſurp the power of Presbyteries, nor take upon them to viſit any bounds that were not committed to them by the Church.

An. 1578. Laſtly, it was provided, that if any more Corruptions ſhould afterwards be tried, the Biſhops ſhould agree to have them reformed.

What troubles hereupon aroſe, both in the Church and Countrey, we ſhall afterwards hear.

A Tumult in *Glaſgow* for pulling down the Cathedral.

In *Glaſgow* the next Spring there happened a little diſturbance by this occaſion. The Magiſtrates of the City, by the earneſt dealing of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and other Miniſters, had condeſcended to demoliſh the Cathedral, and build with the materials thereof ſome little Churches in other parts for the eaſe of the Citizens. Divers reaſons were given for it; ſuch as the reſort of ſuperſtitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vaſtneſs of the Church, and that the voice of a Preacher could not be heard by the multitudes that convened to Sermon; the more commodious ſervice of the people; and the removing of that Idolatrous monument, (ſo they called it) which was of all the Cathedrals in the Countrey only left unruined, and in a poſſibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of Quarriers, Maſons and other workmen was conduced, and the day aſſigned when it ſhould take beginning. Intimation being given thereof, and the workmen by ſound of a Drum warned to go unto their work, the Crafts of the City in a tumult took Arms, ſwearing with many oaths, that he who did caſt down the firſt ſtone ſhould be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified, till the workmen were diſcharged by the Magiſtrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the Council for Inſurrection: where the King, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the Crafts, did allow the oppoſition they had made, and inhibited the Miniſters (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that buſineſs, ſaying, *That too many Churches had been already deſtroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuſes in that kind.*

The matter brought before the Council.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* returned from *England*.

A little before this time the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, being returned from *England*, related in Council the effects of his Negotiation, and was approved by all. For that which he had in Commiſſion touching the Lady *Lennox*, he remitted the anſwer to the Queen's own Letters delivered to the King. Concerning the Diſorders fallen out in the Borders, the Queen, he ſaid, did accept the excuſe he made in good part, ſaying, ſhe was aſſured that both the King and Council were offended therewith, and that ſhe was content the ſame ſhould be redreſſed by the advice of the Wardens on both ſides: only deſired that in time coming the King would make choice of wiſe and experienced men, inclined to peace and juſtice, to command in thoſe parts. As to the League, he declared that the Queen had a good inclination unto it, holding the ſame a moſt ſure means to repreſs the practices of enemies both at home and abroad: But in regard he had no warrant to deſcend into particulars, he had abſtained from any dealing therein, and could not but teſtifie that he ſaw in her a great care of the King his good eſtate, and that both he and his meſſage were moſt kindly accepted.

The report of his Commiſſion.

The Lord *Ruthven* made Lieutenant of the Borders.

The King in this mean time, to pacifie the Borders, which were broken looſe, chiefly in the Weſt parts, gave the Lord *Ruthven* a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry, which he diſcharged with great commendation, and bringing with him the Lord *Maxwel*, who was Warden of the bounds, returned to *Striveling* the twentieth of *January*. A frequent Council was there kept for the time, wherein the Lord *Maxwel* being challenged of negligence in his office, did anſwer, *That he had only the title of a Warden, and that the limitations of his charge, and the exceptions granted to the Gentlemen of the Countrey, made the Office needleſs and contemptible. But if the King ſhould be pleaſed to diſcharge the exceptions, and give him a free Commiſſion, ſuch as his predeceſſors had wont to have, he ſhould ſtrive to do his beſt ſervice to his Majeſty and the Countrey.* This anſwer was not well taken, and the Lord *Hereis* (as one known to have greateſt experience in theſe matters) being deſired to give his opinion, delivered the ſame in a long ſpeech to this purpoſe. *Your Majeſty*, ſaid he, *hath in deliberation a buſineſs of great importance, whereof it were more fitting any man ſhould give his opinion then I, by reaſon of the ſuſpicion I ſtand in with the preſent Warden; for what I ſay will be interpreted to proceed of ſpleen, and of a deſire to have the*

charge

charge taken from him, and not of any care I take of your Majeſtie's ſervice, or the good and benefit of the Countrey: yet ſeeing your Majeſty commands me to ſpeak, I will rather hazard on ſuch miſinterpretings, then keep back any thing which I know to be uſeful and neceſſary for the errand. And what I ſpeak, I deſire it to be underſtood of the Weſt marches only, to which my experience chiefly reacheth. But becauſe the evils would firſt be known, I will begin at them, and then propone the fitteſt and moſt eaſie remedies to my conception. Sir, a little before the death of your Majeſtie's Noble Grandfather, King James *the Fifth, ſome few diſloyal ſubjects of this Realm fleeing into* England, *did plant themſelves in a parcel of waſte ground that lies oppoſite to the Weſt Borders of* Scotland, *and being maintained by the* Engliſh *grew unto ſuch numbers, and became ſo inſolent, as they made daily Incurſions upon the Countrey. Your Majeſtie's Grandfather did hereupon imploy certain forces againſt them, intending to ſack and deſtroy their houſes, and make them unable from thenceforth to annoy his ſubjects. But theſe forces not being rightly governed, and lacking the proviſion that was required for ſuch an enterpriſe, were put to the worſe, and ſhamefully diſcomfited. At that time, what by ranſoming priſoners, what by the ſpoil they got, they gained above one hundred thouſand Marks, wherewith, and by the depredations they have made ſince that time, they are become wealthy, have built eight or nine ſtrong houſes upon the frontiers of your Realm, that no Warden's power is able to force. They have joyned in alliance with divers of our own Borders, as wickedly diſpoſed as themſelves, and are ſo feared, that every man is glad of their friendſhip, without which none is thought to have any ſurety either of life or goods. When your Grandfather departed this life, which was in the year* 1542, *they did not exceed the number of* 20 *or* 30 *men at moſt. Now they are grown to three or four hundred, dwell nigh to others, are well armed, have good horſes, and upon a ſimple ſhout are ready to joyn in defence one of another. The Borderers on the* Scots *ſide are not in this condition; for the ſpace of twenty miles there is not a ſtrength in which an honeſt man may ſleep ſafe, no Town nor ſtrong hold to retire unto in time of neceſſity, neither is the Countrey populous, nor is it fruitful, the ground being a paſture ground, barren, and profitable only for the beſtial; the people that inhabit the ſame poor, unruly, and not ſubject to order. So what for the number of theſe wicked men that live in the* Engliſh *Borders, what for the evil diſpoſition of our own, it is a charge moſt difficile to guard theſe Marches, and to contain the people from doing or receiving wrong. The only remedy in this time of Peace is, to keep our own Countreymen in awe and fear of Juſtice, ſo as neither they break looſe themſelves, nor have any dealing with their neighbors under hand in their wicked practices. And how this may be done moſt ſurely, your Majeſty and this honorable Council is to think; my opinion I have ſet down in ſome Articles, which I humbly ſubmit to your Majeſtie's and Council's cenſure.* An. 1579.

Having thus ſpoken, he preſented a writing containing theſe Heads.

Articles preſented by the Lord *Hereis.*

1. That the Warden ſhould make his reſidence in *Lochmaben* with his family; and if in the Winter ſeaſon he made his ſtay in *Dumfreis*, he ſhould depute a ſufficient Gentleman for holding Courts of Juſtice weekly, according to the ancient form.
2. That the Warden ſhould be aſſiſted with five or ſix of the wiſeſt men in the Countrey, of which number two ſhould be of the name of *Johnſton*; and leſt their chief ſhould think the Warden's proceeding againſt his followers partial, and done out of old rancor, that a moderate courſe ſhould be kept in confiſcation of their goods, the half being allowed to the wives and children of them that ſhould happen to be convicted and executed, and the other half diſponed to the Laird of *Johnſton* himſelf.
3. That the Barons and landed men within the bounds ſhould preſent their tenants and ſervants as they ſhould be required, and no man excuſed or exempted.
4. That the Lords *Carlile* and *Hereis*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Apilgirth*, *Lag* and *Johnſton*, ſhould remain nigh to the Warden; and when the Lord *Maxwell* hath not the charge, that he be obliged to dwell in the Houſe of *Langhome*; or if he be Warden himſelf, that he maintain a Captain therein with twelve horſemen to be ready upon all occaſions.

An. 1579.

5. That the Warden be allowed a guard of 24 horſemen with their Captain, who ſhall be laid in the Town of *Annand*.
6. That the King's Houſes of *Lochmaben* and *Annand*, with the Watch-tower called *Repentauce*, be repaired, a great bell and fire-pan put into it, with ſome honeſt man to watch and give warning to the Countrey where the fray is, and a husband land allowed him for his ſervice.
7. That the lands called *The debateable lands* be viſited, that it may be known how much thereof is claimed by the broken men of the Countrey to be their ſteedings, and ſecurity taken of them for keeping good order.
8. That days of truce be kept every 40 days once, or within two moneths at leaſt, and ſuch as ſhall be found to be robbed of their goods be redreſſed to the double, and with ſafer, according to the law of Marches.

Laſtly, that his Majeſty every year in the moneth of *September* ſend one or two of the Council to try the eſtate of the Countrey, what duty the Warden doth, and if the Barons and landed men do give their aſſiſtence; that where any defect is found the ſame may be puniſhed.

The Lord *Maxwel* excepteth againſt the Articles.

At theſe Articles the Lord *Maxwel* took exception, eſpecially at the firſt and ſecond: for the Houſe of *Lochmaben* he ſaid was his own, as heritable Steward of *Annandale*; and that any part of the Eſcheats ſhould be given to the Laird of *Johnſton*, he held it prejudicial to the Warden's Office, and ſaid it would be an occaſion for other Barons to ſuit the like. But that which did moſt diſpleaſe him (though this he diſſembled) was, that any ſhould be joyned with him as aſſiſters: for he would needs be abſolute in theſe parts, and have all to depend of him; which ambition he ſtill nouriſhed, and thereby in end wrought his own ruine. Yet the King, not willing to diſplace him, (for he underſtood his power to be great in theſe Marches) made offer to continue him in the charge, and to allow him a company of 24 horſemen with a Captain for repreſſing the outlaws, upon three conditions. Firſt, that he ſhould take the advice of the Barons of the Countrey in all affairs, and proceed in the miniſtring of juſtice by their counſel. Next, that none ſhould be declared fugitives but by their conſents. And, Thirdly, that the ſervants of landed men ſhould not be apprehended, till their Maſters were firſt charged to exhibit them, unleſs they were taken in the fact, and, as they ſpeak, *with the red hand*. He excuſing himſelf, and profeſſing a great willingneſs to give his attendence to any other whom his Majeſty ſhould appoint; the Lord *Hereis* was choſen Warden, and the cuſtody of the Weſt Marches committed to him.

The Earl of *Athol* dieth.

In the beginning of this year (to wit, upon the 24 of *April*) the Earl of *Athol* died at *Kincarne* of a ſickneſs contracted in *Striveling*, where he and ſome other Noblemen had been feaſted by the Earl of *Morton*; and, as report ſpeaketh always the worſt of great mens deaths, ſo the rumor at this time went, that *Morton* had made him away by poiſon: which his Lady and friends did ſo ſtrongly apprehend, as when the Council was examining the Phyſicians that embalmed his corps, whether they perceived any ſign of poiſon at his unbowelling, they took upon proteſtation, that the trial of the Council ſhould not prejudge the criminal purſuit which they intended before the Juſtice. And albeit the Phyſicians did upon their oaths declare that his death was not cauſed by any extraordinary mean, yet the ſcandal was foſtered a long time by a ſort of rhyming Libels, which were afterwards tried to be compoſed by one *Turnbull* a Schoolmaſter at *Edinburgh*, and another called *William Scot*, who were executed for the ſame at *Striveling* in the end of the Summer.

Certain Libellers executed at *Striveling*.

Commiſſion for apprehending the Lord *Hamilton* and his brother Lord *Claud*.

A conſultation was held at the ſame time in *Striveling* for puniſhing the Murtherers of the two Regents, which by the edict of Pacification was delayed unto the King his aſſuming of the Government in his own perſon. Touching the form of proceeding, the opinions of thoſe that were privy to the buſineſs were different: for ſome thought that the perſons who were ſuſpected ſhould be ſummoned to a day, and form of Proces kept with them; others judged that there needed no ſuch formality, ſeeing the Authors were known, and the ſentence of Forfeiture pronounced

nounced againſt them ſtood unreduced. To uſe a Citation, they ſaid, was to give them warning to flee, whereas otherwiſe they might be taken unprovided, and brought to their cenſure. At laſt it was agreed that a Commiſſion ſhould be given to ſome Noblemen that had power, and affected the buſineſs, to apprehend them. This Commiſſion was given to the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre* and *Eglinton*, and to the Lords of *Ruthven*, *Cathcart* and *Boyd*; which was not ſo cloſely carried, but advertiſement went to the Lord *Hamilton* and his brother Lord *Claud*, ſo as they eſcaped. The Lord *Hamilton*, going on foot through the moſt part of *England* in the habit of a Seaman, fled into *France*. Lord *Claud*, after he had lurked a while amongſt his friends at home, found refuge in the North parts of *England*. Others of their friendſhip who ſtood in fear ſaved themſelves where beſt they could. *An.* 1579.

They eſcape and depart forth of the Realm.

Upon the report of their eſcape, charges were directed for rendering the Houſes of *Hamilton* and *Draffan*, which belonged to the Earl of *Arran* their elder Brother, and were poſſeſſed by the Lord *Hamilton* as adminiſtrator to his brother, becauſe of his diſeaſe. The Earl of *Arran* himſelf they had kept in the Caſtle of *Draffan*, attended by ſome ſervants, and he was known to have no part in any of theſe facts wherewith they were charged, ſo as by way of juſtice his eſtate could not fall under forfeiture; yet ſome colour of right behoved to be made for bringing the ſame under the Court's diſpoſing. To this effect it was deviſed, that a Complaint ſhould be preferred in the name of the Earl of *Arran* and his Majeſtie's Advocates, bearing the miſerable condition of the ſaid Earl, and how he was detained in cloſe priſon by his two brothers without fire, air, and the company of his honeſt friends; his living violently poſſeſſed by the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, his Sheriffeſhip of *Lanrick* uſurped, himſelf denied the benefit of marriage, and debarred from ſucceſſion againſt all Law: for if he was an idiot or furious, (as they gave out) he ought to have had Curators given him by the King; and if he was *mentis compos*, it was an intolerable wrong to uſe him in that ſort. Therefore deſired Letters to be directed for his exhibition before the Council, that it might be known in what eſtate he was, and an honorable proviſion appointed unto him, ſuch as befitted his birth and condition. This deſire being judged reaſonable, ſummons were directed againſt the two Brothers that were fled, and they not appearing at the day were denounced Rebels. But this not ſufficing to work their ends, the diſobedience of the Keepers in not rendring the Strengths when they were charged was made the Earl's crime, and he found to have incurred the pain of Treaſon; an act of the greateſt injuſtice that could be done. Nottheleſs upon this ground were both the Caſtles at that time demoliſhed, and Captain *James Stewart* afterwards preferred to the Earldom of *Arran*

Charges directed for the rendring the Houſes of *Hamilton* and *Draffan*.

A Complaint preſented in name of the Earl of *Arran*.

Whileſt theſe things were doing, *Monſieur No* a *Frenchman*, Secretary to the Queen of *Scots*, came to *Striveling* with Letters and ſome Preſents to the King; but becauſe in the Superſcription of the Letters he was only intituled *Prince of Scotland*, the meſſenger was denied acceſs, and neither his Letters nor Preſents received. The reſt of this Summer was ſpent for the moſt part in ſummoning the Gentlemen of the name of *Hamilton*, and putting them under ſurety, that they ſhould not give ſupply to the Fugitives, and be always ready to anſwer before the Council when they ſhould be called. Dame *Margaret Lion*, Counteſs of *Caſſils*, who not long before had married the Commendator of *Aberbrothock*, was ſuffered to poſſeſs the Joyncture ſhe had by her firſt Husband upon the like condition. And becauſe many were put in fear, by this proceeding, that the Pacification of *Perth* ſhould be altogether annulled, his Majeſty made a publick Declaration, *That what was done in the preſent purſuit, was only for the Murther of his Father and Regents, (unto which both in honor and conſcience he was tied) and that no Article of the Pacification ſhould be infringed or called in queſtion.*

The Queen of *Scots* her Secretary denied acceſs to the King.

The Gentlemen of the name of *Hamilton* put under ſurety.

In the beginning of *July* the Earl of *Athol*'s Funerals were performed with great ſolemnity, and his body interred in the Church of S. *Giles* at *Edinburgh*; after which *Colin* Earl of *Argile* was created Chancellor in his place. The King then reſolving to ſhew himſelf to his people, and to fall into the exerciſe of his Princely Authority, cauſed proclaim a Parliament to be kept at *Edinburgh* the twentieth of *October*.

The Earl of *Argile* created Chancellor.

A Parliament indicted.

Whileſt

An. 1580. Whileſt things were preparing for his remove, the Lord *D' Aubigny* arrived from *France* of purpoſe to viſit the King, as being nigh of blood, and Couſen-german to his Father. The King receiving him kindly, after a few days entertainment at *Striveling* took him in company to *Edinburgh*, when he grew into ſuch favor by his courteous and modeſt behavior, as the King would not permit him to return unto *France*; and moving his grand Uncle to reſign in his favors the Earldom of *Lennox*, he gave to him in recompence the title of the Earldom of *March*. Soon after the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which was fallen by Lord *John Hamilton*'s forfeiture, was beſtowed on him, and he preferred to be one of the Privy Council.

The Lord *D' Aubigny* cometh from *France*.

He is created Earl of *Lennox*.

This ſudden and unexpected Preferment got him much hatred, and being of the *Roman* profeſſion, his enemies filled the countrey with rumors, that he was ſent from *France* only to pervert the King in his Religion. Nottheleſs in the Parliament which held at the time appointed divers good Acts were made in favor of the Church; but the matter of Juriſdiction, which the Miniſters did chiefly urge, was put off to a new Commiſſion. Some moneths before the King had required them, by a Letter directed with *John Doncanſon* his Miniſter, to abſtain from making any novation in the Church-Policy, and to ſuffer things to continue in the ſtate wherein they were unto the Parliament approaching, without prejudging the deciſion of the Eſtates by their Concluſions. But they, neglecting the Letter, went to examine the Conference kept at *Striveling* the year preceding; and whereas in that Conference divers Heads were remitted to a farther conſultation, they ordained nothing to be altered either in form or matter of that which amongſt themſelves was concluded. They farther called the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* in queſtion for granting Collations upon ſome Benefices, and for giving voice in Parliament, not being authorized thereto by the Church. This did ſo diſpleaſe the King, as from that time forth he did not countenance the Miniſters as in former times; and upon the complaint of perſons who otherwiſe deſerved not much regard, (that the Church might find in what need they ſtood of his favor) he ſuffered divers Sentences to paſs in Council, ſuſpending their Cenſures and Excommunications.

The Earl of *Lennox* hated becauſe of his credit with the King.

The King writeth to the Aſſembly of the Church.

The proceedings of the Church diſpleaſe the King.

This diſſenſion betwixt the King and the Church brought with it many evils; for upon the notice of it divers Jeſuites & Prieſts did reſort into the Countrey, and at home ſuch as were Popiſhly affected began openly to avow their profeſſion. In S. *Andrews*, Mr. *Nicholl Burn*, profeſſor of Philoſophy in S. *Leonard*'s College, made open Apoſtaſie from the Truth; as Mr. *Archibald* and *John Hamiltons*, Regents in the new College, had (not long before) done. In *Dumfreis*, Mr. *Ninian Daliel* Schoolmaſter did read to his Scholars the *Roman* Catechiſm; and in *Paiſlay* a number of Papiſts aſſembling together, did in deriſion ſing a Soul-Maſs for the Miniſters, as if they and their Religion had been utterly gone. Theſe things being complained of, and not much hearkened to, the Miniſters in their Sermons fell to regrate the countenance given to Papiſts in the Court, and the dangers wherein both the King and Countrey were brought by the ſecret practices of the *French*.

Jeſuites and Prieſts reſort to the Countrey.

The King, to ſtay theſe declaimings which he knew to be made againſt the Earl of *Lennox*, called the Miniſters to *Edinburgh*, and ſhewed them what travel he had taken to convert his Couſen, and how he had obtained his conſent for taking a Miniſter in his houſe, which would be to good purpoſe, and ſerve both to debar Jeſuites from acceſs to the Nobleman, and win him by conference to a greater liking of the Truth, deſiring therefore that one of their number might be appointed for ſome ſhort ſpace to attend him. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, then Miniſter at *Leith*, being held the fitteſt, as well for his skill in the *French* tongue as for his moderation otherwiſe, was with the King's approbation nominated to this ſervice; by whoſe labors the Nobleman was brought in a ſhort ſpace to joyn himſelf to the Church, and openly in S. *Giles* to renounce the Errors wherein he had been educated. Yet did not this remove the jealouſies of the people, which were increaſed by the intercepting of certain Diſpenſations ſent from *Rome*; whereby *the Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them, ſo as in mind they continued firm, and did uſe their diligence to advance in ſecret the* Roman *Faith*.

The King his care for reclaiming the Earl of *Lennox*.

The Earl joyns himſelf to the Church, but is ſtill ſuſpected.

Theſe

An. 1580.

These Dispensations being shewed to the King, he caused his Minister Mr. *John Craig* form a short Confession of Faith, wherein all the Corruptions of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine as outward Rites, were particularly abjured, and a clause inserted (because of these Dispensations) by which the Subscribers did *call God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said Confession, and did not feign or dissemble in any sort.* This Confession the King, for an Example to others, did publickly swear and subscribe; the like was done by the whole Council and Court; and observers appointed to take notice of those that did not resort to Sermon, or behaved themselves in any sort scandalously. So careful was the King to have the Church satisfied, and the rumors of the Court's defection from Religion repressed.

A Confession of Faith formed because of the Dispensations from *Rome*.

After this all things continued quiet for a while, till by a bruit suddenly raised, none knew by whom, the Earl of *Morton* was taxed for keeping secret intelligence with the Queen of *England*, and a purpose he had to put the King in her hands. *Morton* complaineth of this in Council, and desireth a Trial. But the King, not willing to make business for a Tale whereof the Author would hardly be found, put it off, saying that he knew it to be a lie, and a malicious invention of enemies, and thereupon sent forth a Proclamation against lies and carriers of tales, tending to breed discord betwixt him and his Nobility. Yet, as if some such thing had been feared, a motion was made some days after in Council for guarding the King's person, and electing of an high Chamberlain, (which Office none had born for many years in this Kingdom) who should have twenty four to attend him, all of them the Sons of Barons or Noblemen, and be ever at hand to accompany the King whithersoever he went.

A rumor raised against the Earl of *Morton*.

A motion of electing a Chamberlain.

The motion was applauded of all, and after some ten days deliberation the Earl of *Lennox* preferred to the place. *Alexander Areskin*, Captain of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, was chosen to be his Deputy, and a Roll made of the Gentlemen that should give attendance. These were the Masters of *Marshal, Rothes, Cassils, Lindesay, Levingston, Elphingston, Hereis*, and *Ogilvy*, the Lairds of *Cowdinknowes, Bargainy, Bomby, Kilsyth, Minto, Strathurd* and *Moncreeffe*, Mr. *Mark Ker* of *Preston Grange, George Douglas* of *Rumgavy*, Captain *James Stewart* son to the Lord *Ochiltrie, Alexander Ruthven* the Commendator of *Inchaffrey*, the Prior of *Goldingham, Alexander Home* of *North-Berwick*, and *James Chisholme*. As extrrordinaries, the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lairds of *Gesford, Alexander Home* of *Manderston*, and *William Stewart* of *Caverston*, were added to the number. All these took the Oath of Fidelity to the King, and obedience to his Chamberlain in the things they should be directed for his Majestie's service.

The Earl of *Lennox* created Chamberlain.

The Earl of *Morton*, albeit he was much displeased with these courses, did carry a fair countenance, and concealing his discontents waited still on the King, and was assisting in Council and publick meetings. Once he minded to have withdrawn himself from Court, and to have lived privately; but was detained by a dissension that fell out in the time betwixt the Lord *Ruthven* and Master of *Oliphant*, who had married a daughter of *Lochlevin*; whom whilest he labored to protect, he drew upon himself the hatred of the Lord *Ruthven*, and thereby was laid more open to the malice of his enemies. Sir *Robert Bowes* being sent at the same time Ambassador from *England*, to charge the Earl of *Lennox* with some practices against the Peace of the two Realms, the blame as well of his employments as his sudden departing was laid upon him: for the Ambassador's Commission and Instructions being questioned, and he desired to exhibit the same before the Council, he refused to shew them but to the King himself; which not being admitted, he went away complaining that the Queen had deserved better then thus to have her Ambassage misregarded.

A trouble betwixt *Oliphant* and *Ruthven*.

The Earl of *Lennox* charged by the Ambassador of *England*.

His sudden departure amazed the Court not a little before, wherefore to excuse the King, and try what the Accusations were wherewith *Lennox* should have been charged, *Alexander Home* of *North-Berwick* was sent in Commission to *England*: but the Queen denying him access, he was remitted to the Lord Thesaurer, who courteously told him, *That the Queen had refused him presence, not for any dislike she had of himself, whom she knew to be sound in Religion, and one that loved his King and his Countrey;*

Alexander Home sent into *England*.

He is remitted to the Lord Thesaurer.

An. 1580. *trey; but becauſe the King had not uſed her well, calling in queſtion the credit of her Ambaſſador, and requiring him to ſhew his Inſtructions, which was ſtrange, he keeping himſelf within the bounds of his Commiſſion. But your King,* ſaith he, *is young, and miſled by new Counſellors, whoſe fault the Queen knoweth it to be; I ſhould therefore adviſe your King to hearken to her Majeſtie's counſel, who carrieth to him a true motherly affection, and make more accompt of her then of his* French *Couſen, who is ſubject to the* French *King, matched with a* French *woman, addicted wholly to that Faction, and, what profeſſion ſoever he maketh, a Papiſt in Religion. The* Hamiltons, ſaith he, *being now exiled, he hopeth to be deſigned Succeſſor and heir to the Crown: but let your King know that Ambition hath no limits, and that the Troubles which the* French *made in* Scotland *are not yet forgotten, which would have perilled the Liberty of that Kingdom, if the Queen by her prudence and power had not prevented the ſame.*

The Theſaurer's conference with *Alexander Home.*

Alexander Homes his anſwer to the Theſaurer.

The Gentleman profeſſing his thankfulneſs for her Majeſtie's good opinion of him, anſwered, "That if he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with the Queen, he "would ſatisfie her Majeſty in that point which concerned her Ambaſſador. And "for the King his Maſter, albeit he was young and of few years, yet God had "given him great wiſdom and underſtanding; and that he would never willingly "do the thing that might diſpleaſe the Queen, nor hearken to any that ſhould "otherwiſe adviſe him; for he knew her Majeſtie's good affection, and would not "forget the care ſhe had of him in his tender age. That he could not be juſtly blamed "for favoring his Couſen; but as the Nobleman (he believed) would never adviſe "the King his Maſter to any thing that might prejudice the Amity with *England*, "ſo he was perſuaded that his credit did not extend ſo far as to make any publick "breach with the Queen. *But there are more dangerous plots in hand,* ſaith the Theſaurer, *then your King is wary of, and it is no wiſdom to put too much confidence in any one perſon. Always time will diſcover the truth of every thing; at the preſent you muſt have patience, for the Queen will not ſee you.* Thus was he dimitted.

Ult. Decemb.

The Earl of *Morton* challenged for the Murther of the King's Father.

Upon his return, & report of the Conference he had with the Theſaurer, the King was eaſily made to believe that all proceeded from the Earl of *Morton* and his intelligence in the Court of *England*, which by one way or other was held needful to be ſtopt. After ſome conſultation taken about this, it was reſolved to charge him with the Murther of the King's Father; for a rumor had gone in former times that he was conſcious and privy unto it. Captain *James Stewart* (a man eager to win credit by what means ſoever) takes the matter in hand, and coming one day as the King was ſitting in Council at *Halirudhouſe*, deſired to be heard; being admitted, he fell upon his knees, and directing his ſpeech to the King, he ſaid, *Out of the duty I owe to your Majeſty, I am come hither to reveal a Wickedneſs that hath been long obſcured. The Earl of* Morton, *who ſitteth there in a place unſeemly for him, was one of thoſe that conſpired your Father's Death; and how dangerous it is to your Majeſtie's Perſon that he ſhould be ſo near unto you, let the Noblemen here preſent conſider: for me, I ſhall make good what I ſpeak, only let him be committed and put to trial.*

The Earl of *Morton* his anſwer.

The Earl riſing up with a diſdainful ſmile, anſwered, *By whoſe inſtigation this Gentleman cometh to accuſe me I know not, and I wonder what grounds he buildeth upon in charging me with this crime; for none that ever ſuffered for it did touch me therewith, and it is known what diligence and ſeverity I uſed againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected of that Murther. If I pleaſed I could many ways decline this challenge, but my Innocency is ſuch as I fear not the moſt rigorous trial. Sir,* (with this he turned himſelf to the King and ſaid) *do in it as you pleaſe; either here or before any other Judge I ſhall be ready to anſwer, and when my Innocency is cleared, your Majeſty will think what the malice of thoſe that have ſet on this man to accuſe me deſerveth.*

Captain *James Stewart* his reply.

Captain *James Stewart* ſitting all this time on his knees, replied, *that by no mans inſtigation, nor out of any private grudge of his own, did he intend this accuſation, but his deteſtation of the fact, and the love of his Majeſtie's ſafety and honor, had only incited him thereto. For that he ſpeaks of his diligence and ſeverity; let me but ask him,* ſaid he, *how and why he did prefer Mr.* Archibald Douglas *his Couſen to the place of a Senator in the College of Juſtice, who was known to have been an actor in that Murther, if he himſelf had no part in it.* As the Earl was about to anſwer, the King commanded

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the Captain to go forth, and the Earl being likewiſe removed, after a ſhort delibe- *An.* 1580.
ration taken with the Council he was committed in a Chamber of the Palace, where he abode two nights. The third day he was conveyed to the Caſtle with a company of his own friends, who did earneſtly move him to make an eſcape. But he chiding them with great bitterneſs ſaid, *That he had rather die ten thouſand deaths, then betray his Innocency in declining trial.* After ſome few days he was removed to *Dunbritton* Caſtle, that he might be farther from his friends, and kept from all intelligence with them. The King had ſent privily to apprehend Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, who dwelt then at *Norham*; but he having notice of the Earl's committing fled into *England*,

Morton is committed 2. *Januarii.*

18. *Januar.*

In the *July* preceding the Aſſembly of the Church had convened at *Dundy*, where it was concluded, *That the Office of a Biſhop, as it was then uſed and commonly taken within the Realm, had neither foundation, ground nor warrant in the Word of God: and thereupon an Ordinance was made, that all perſons either called to the ſaid Office, or that ſhould be called thereto at any time thereafter, ſhould be charged to dimit and forſake the ſame, as an Office whereunto they are not called of God; as alſo to deſiſt and ceaſe from Preaching, miniſtring the Sacraments, or uſing in any ſort the Office of a Paſtor, till they ſhould be admitted of new of the general Aſſembly, under the pain of Excommunication.* In the end of the Act it was directed, *That concerning the Patrimony of the Church poſſeſſed by the Biſhops, the next Aſſembly ſhould reaſon and adviſe upon the diſponing thereof.*

An Aſſembly of the Church, with their proceedings againſt the Biſhops.

Whether the folly or iniquity of this Ordinance was greater, it can hardly be ſaid; for granting that the Office of a Biſhop had been as they judged unlawful, there was no reaſon to diſcharge them of uſing the miniſterial Office till they ſhould be received of new. And what a fooliſh thing was it to think that the Prince and Eſtates would permit the Rents of the Biſhops to be diſponed at their appetites? They ſaw what was done with the other Prelaces, and how the Abbots and Priors were no ſooner declared to be no Office-bearers in the Church, but preſently they turned temporal Lords, and carried the Rents with them quite away from the Church. And could they look for other dealing with the Biſhopricks? Sure it was, if the titulars themſelves did not find the credit to enjoy them, that others of the Laiety would have invaded the ſame, as afterwards alſo they did.

The iniquity of their proceedings.

But to paſs this, the Earl of *Lennox* deſiring by all means to win the favor of the Church, ſent to this Aſſembly Sir *William Stewart*, a Brother of *Traquaire*, with a Letter to this effect: *That it was not unknown to them, how it had pleaſed God to bring him ſince his coming into the Countrey to the knowledge of the Truth, which he eſteemed more then all worldly happineſs, and that he had made open profeſſion thereof, firſt in S.* Giles *Church at* Edinburgh, *and afterwards ſubſcribed the Confeſſion of Faith at* Striveling, *and was yet, if any farther was thought needful, ready to perform whatſoever ſhould be required: aſſuring them of his beſt advice in all things tending to God his glory, and to the good of the Church; requeſting, together with the aſſiſtence of their prayers, that he might continue in their good favors.* But all this could not remove their ſuſpicions of his counterfeiting, ſtill he was taxed in publick Sermons, and made odious to the people. Neither was it long after this Aſſembly diſſolved, that *John Dury*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, was called before the Council, and committed in the Caſtle for certain ſpeeches of that kind uttered by him in Pulpit; but upon the ſupplication of his fellow Miniſters, and promiſe of forbearing, he was after a ſhort ſtay in the Caſtle licenced to return to his Charge.

A Letter from the Earl of *Lennox* to the Aſſembly.

John Dury committed to the Caſtle.

In *October* following Mr. *John Row* Miniſter of *Perth* departed this life, who for his piety and ſingular moderation deſerveth here to be mentioned. In his younger years having applied his mind to Letters, & taking the degree of a Maſter in Arts, he became a pleader in the Conſiſtory of S. *Andrews*, (a Judicatory then much frequented) and grew to be ſo skilled in the Canon Law, as he was choſen to negotiate the affairs of the Church in the Court of *Rome*. *Julius* the Third did then govern that See, of whom he was well accepted, and in poſſibility to have attained unto ſome preferment if he would have ſtayed there; for he gained the favor of all to whom he was known, and was in ſpecial grace with *Guido Aſcanius Sforția*,

The death of M. *John Row*.

An. 1580. *Sfortia,* Cardinal of *Sancta Flora,* who made ſuch account of his skill and knowledge in the Laws, that he would have him paſs Doctor in the Univerſity whereof he was Chancellor. After ſome eight or nine years abode in thoſe parts coming home to viſit his Countrey, and giving account of the affairs wherewith he had been truſted, he found the ſtate of the Church quite overturned, and the Countrey all in Tumult by the Reformation which was then in hand, Thereupon doubting what courſe then to take, and minding to return to *Rome,* he was diſſuaded by the Prior of S. *Andrews,* who held him in good eſteem, and afterwards induced by the perſuaſion of *John Knox* to betake himſelf to the Miniſtery, which he exerciſed a certain ſpace at ——— in *Fife,* till by the General Aſſembly he was tranſlated to the Town of *Perth*; there he continued unto his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1580, and of his age the 54. A man whileſt he lived well reſpected, and much lamented at his death by the people whom he ſerved.

An Ambaſſador from *England.*

In *January* next Sir *Thomas Randolph* came Ambaſſador from *England.* His errand was to interceed with the King for the Earl of *Morton* his liberty; to which purpoſe, having called to mind the ſervices done by the Nobleman in his Majeſtie's Minority, and chiefly the diligence he had uſed in finding out and puniſhing the Murtherers of his Father, which by the malice of his adverſaries was now laid to his charge, he requeſted in the name of the Queen his Miſtris, that the Nobleman might be releaſed from his Ward, declaring that her Majeſty would eſteem it a ſingular kindneſs done unto her, and otherwiſe would take it ill to be denied in ſo juſt and reaſonable a matter. The King, after he had heard him patiently, made anſwer, *That the many good offices he had received from his Siſter the Queen did tie him to a thankful requital, but in that particular which touched him ſo nigh, (the trial of his Father's Murther) he knew ſhe would excuſe him; always, becauſe of her interceſſion, he would be the more careful to have the Trial rightly carried, and as liberty had been given to his adverſaries to accuſe, ſo the like and greater ſhould be allowed him for his defence.*

His Majeſtie's anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

An Aſſembly of the Eſtates

The Aſſembly of the Eſtates being called at the ſame time, and the Ambaſſador pretending that his Inſtructions concerned them in a part, did in the hearing of them all charge the Earl of *Lennox* as one that had travelled to divert the King's mind from keeping Friendſhip with *England,* and done beſides many ill offices ſince his coming to *Scotland,* both to the King and Kingdom: *For he hath put,* ſaid he, *the King's moſt faithful ſubjects and ſervants from their places, brought in others nothing ſo truſty, ſtirred up the King againſt the Miniſters of God's Word, making no other account of them then as of Seditious rulers and turbulent perſons; he hath looſed the Borders,* ſaid he, *and made Juſtice there to ceaſe, and hath practiſed with forein Princes for the invading of* England: which he offered to manifeſt by Letters intercepted and brought to the Queen his Miſtris. *But this beyond all meaſure doth grieve her, that a Prince of ſuch hopes, joyned in ſuch nearneſs of blood, and for whom ſhe had taken ſo great care, ſhould be thus miſled and abuſed by wicked devices. If ſuch a perſon ought to be tolerated to poſſeſs the King alone, and rule all things at his pleaſure, your honors may judge.* This diſcourſe moved few or none, the wiſer ſort eſteeming the Letters he produced counterfeit, as afterwards alſo was known.

The Ambaſſador labours with Noblemen to take Arms for *Morton's* Liberty.

This courſe not prevailing, he dealt privately with the friends of *Morton,* and thoſe that he knew envied *Lennox* his credit, to take Arms, and procure both *Morton's* Liberty and the Baniſhment of the Earl of *Lennox*; aſſuring them of aid both of men and moneys from the Queen of *England*: and by his perſuaſions brought the Earls of *Argile, Montroſs, Angus,* & *Marre* and *Glencarn* to enter into a Confederation for performance both of the one and other. But this Combination held not long, being quickly diſcovered and broken. Of all the number *Angus* and & *Marre* only ſtood firm, reſolving to hazard all rather then & *Morton* ſhould periſh.

Forces ſent by the Queen of *England* to the Borders.

The Queen of *England,* to make good her Ambaſſador's promiſe, ſent down at the ſame time certain forces to the Borders; which troubled the Court a little, but was to no purpoſe, only it gave occaſion to haſten *Morton's* Trial and Execution. The King, not to be taken unprovided if Invaſion ſhould be made by *England,* ſent forth Proclamations, commanding all the ſubjects to be in readineſs for reſiſting ſuch attempts; and withal levied ſome companies of horſe and foot, to guard his perſon

perſon againſt any ſudden aſſault. Next, a courſe was taken for confining thoſe of *Morton*'s friendſhip in ſome remote parts of the Realm, and the Earl of *Angus* charged to keep Ward beyond the river of *Spey*, the Laird of *Lochlevin* being be-north the water of *Cromarty*. The Lairds of *Mains* and *Carmichael*, with *Morton*'s two natural Sons, *James* and *Archibald*, were cited to appear before the Council. The Laird of *Johnſton* was diſcharged of his Wardenry in the Weſt Marches, and the Lord *Maxwel* put in his place. *Angus*, for not entring within the time prefixed, was denounced Rebel, and prohibitions made to reſſet or ſupply him in any ſort under pain of Treaſon. *Mains* and *Carmichael*, and *Morton*'s two Sons not appearing before the Council, were likewiſe proclaimed Rebels. *An.* 1581. The proceeding againſt *Morton*'s friends at Court.

This rigorous proceeding, and a fear the Ambaſſador took that his practices were diſcovered, made him to depart ſecretly to *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton*, Maſter of the horſes, was thereupon directed to complain both of his dealings, and of the forces ſent unto the Borders in a time of Peace; but he was ſtayed at *Berwick*, and not ſuffered to go any farther. Then order was taken for bringing *Morton* to his Trial, and Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Montroſs* and Captain *James*, who was then firſt ſtyled Earl of *Arran*, to make his convoy to *Edinburgh*. When the Commiſſion was ſhewed to the Earl of *Morton*, and that he found named in it *James* Earl of *Arran*, he wondered what man he was, for he knew the Earl of *Arran* to be deceaſed, and had not heard that Captain *James* did aſſume that title. Thereupon asking the Keeper of the Caſtle who was Earl of *Arran*; when it was anſwered, that Captain *James* was the man; after a ſhort pauſe he ſaid, *And is it ſo? I know then what I may look for*; meaning, as was thought, that the old Propheſie of *the falling of the heart by the mouth of Arran* ſhould then be fulfilled. Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but ſome ſpared not at the time when the *Hamiltons* were baniſhed, in which buſineſs he was held too earneſt, to ſay, that he ſtood in fear of that Prediction, and went that courſe only to diſappoint it. But if ſo it was, he did find himſelf now deluded, for he fell by the mouth of another *Arran* then he imagined. However it was, this is ſure, that the news did at firſt perplex his mind not a little, and that after this time he gave over all hope of life. *An.* 1581. The Ambaſſador departeth ſecretly to *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton* denied paſſage into *England*. *Morton* brought from *Dumbritton* to *Edinburgh*.

Being brought to *Edinburgh* his Proceſs was made the firſt of *June*. The Indictment charged him with conſpiring and concealing the Murther of King *Henry*, and of being *art and part* (as the phraſe is) in committing the ſame. He denied all, and pleaded not guilty. The Jurors being called, he excepted againſt *Argile*, the Lord *Seaton* and the Laird *Waughton*; yet they were all received upon their purgation, that they had not given any counſel to his hurt or prejudice. This done, and they all ſworn according to the cuſtom, they went apart, and after they had conſulted a while, returning into the Court, the Earl of *Montroſs* Chancellor of the Aſſiſe declared him convict of counſel, concealing, and being art and part of the King's Murther. At theſe laſt words he ſhewed himſelf much grieved, and beating the ground once or twice with a little ſtaffe he carried in his hand, ſaid, *Art and part, art and part! God knoweth the contrary*. When doom was given that he ſhould be taken to the place of Execution, hanged on the Gibbet, have his Head cut off, his Body quartered and affixed in the moſt publick places, he uttered not a word, nor did he ſeem to be moved therewith; and becauſe it was drawing towards night, he was conveyed back to the lodging wherein he was kept. *Morton* his Indictment. Sentence pronounced.

In the morning Mr. *James Lawſon* with two or three other Miniſters did viſit him. They asking how he had reſted that night, he anſwered, that of a long time he had not ſlept more ſoundly: *Now I am*, ſaith he, *at an end of my troubles; ſome nights before my trial I was thinking what to anſwer for my ſelf, and that kept me from ſleep, but this night I had no ſuch thoughts*. Then falling to ſpeak of his preſent caſe and the Sentence pronounced againſt him, they ſaid that he ſhould do well to unburthen his mind, and declare what his part was of the King's Murther. He anſwered with a great atteſtation that he never gave conſent to that wicked fact. *The Earl* Bothwel, ſaid he, *upon my return from* England, *(where I remained a while, becauſe of Seignior* Davie's *ſlaughter) came to me in* Whittingham, *and after a long diſcourſe brake the matter unto me, ſaying that the Queen would have the King taken away, for that ſhe blamed* The Miniſters conference with the Earl of *Morton*.

An. 1581. *him more of* Davie's *murther then all the actors; and asked what would my part be therein. I made him this anſwer, that being newly relieved of a great trouble, I would not willingly enter into another, and that I would have no medling in that buſineſs. He not ſatisfied with my anſwer, inſiſted to have me conſent, ſaying, The Queen would have it done. If ſo be, ſaid I, bring me the Queen's hand-writing, that I may know that it is her mind. This he never did; and if he had brought it, I was fully reſolved to have turned my back upon* Scotland, *and baniſh'd my ſelf, till I ſaw better times.* Next, they inquired whether Mr. *Archibald Douglas* had any dealing with him in that purpoſe. Whereunto he anſwered, that Mr. *Archibald* (being at that time a depender upon *Bothwell*) did bring him (he being then at S. *Andrews*) a letter from *Bothwell*, containing credit, and that he travelled to perſuade him to give his aſſiſtence to that fact: but he excuſed himſelf, becauſe he ſaw no warrant from the Queen, as *Bothwell* had promiſed. After the Murther committed, he ſaid that Mr. *Archibald* came again unto him, and told him that he did accompany *Bothwell* and *Huntley* to the place, and was aſſiſting to the fact. *Therefore can I not deny,* ſaith he, *that I foreknew and concealed the ſame; but to whom ſhould I have revealed it? for the King, when he was advertiſed of the danger, would not believe it. But they have condemned me of art and part,* ſaid he, *which is more then concealing; but as I wiſh God to be merciful to me now at my laſt, I never gave counſel nor conſent thereto.* The Miniſters replying that he could not juſtly complain of the Sentence, being guilty of foreknowledge and concealing by his own declaration; he acknowledged the ſame to be true: but, ſaith he, *It would have gone alike with me if I had been as innocent as S.* Steven, *or as guilty as* Judas. *But of that I am not to complain, nor will I ſtand to my juſtification, being aſſured, howſoever men have carried themſelves in it, God hath dealt juſtly with me; and that I am to ſuffer nothing but that which I have merited, yea worſe.*

The Sentence mitigated.

This Confeſſion reported to the King, the rigor of the Sentence was mitigated, and order given that he ſhould be beheaded only, and his body committed to burial. In the afternoon, when it was told him by his Keeper that the time was come, and all things were in a readineſs, he ſaid, *I praiſe God I am alſo ready*: and making forth was met by the Earl of *Arran* in the very entry, who deſired him to ſtay and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion. He anſwered, *I pray you trouble me not, for I am now to prepare my ſelf for death, and cannot write in this eſtate.* The Earl ceaſing to urge that point any farther, deſired he might be reconciled with him, proteſting that he had done nothing upon any particular grudge: he anſwered, *It was no time to reckon quarrels, I forgive you and all others.* When he was come to the Scaffold, which was erected in the publick ſtreet, he repeated the ſubſtance of his Confeſſion; and in ſome few words exhorted the people to continue in the profeſſion of the true Religion, and maintain it at their power, intreating them to aſſiſt him with their prayers to God. The chief Miniſter did then conceive a prayer, during the time whereof he lay proſtrate upon his face, and was greatly moved, as appeared by the rebounding with many ſobs and ſighs. The prayer ended, divers came to be reconciled with him, whom he received very kindly: all the reſt that were on the ſcaffold he took by the hand, bidding them farewel, and going towards the Block, laid down his head, and cried aloud, *In thine hand, O Lord, I commit my ſpirit: Lord Jeſus, receive my Soul.* Which words he was ſtill uttering whenas the Axe fell and cut off his head. His corps left on the place lay from the hour of execution to Sun-ſetting, covered with a beggerly cloak, every man fearing to ſhew any kindneſs, or ſo much as to expreſs a ſign of ſorrow. His corps was afterwards carried by ſome baſe fellows to the common ſepulchre, and his head fixed on the *Tolbuith*.

Arran deſireth *Morton* to ſubſcribe his Confeſſion.

Morton his anſwer.

Morton his behavior at his death.

Morton's qualities and good parts.

Never was ſeen a more notable example of Fortune's mutability: he who a few years before had been reverenced of all men and feared as a King, abounding in wealth, honor and number of friends and followers, was now at his end forſaken of all, and made the very ſcorn of Fortune; to teach men how little ſtability there is in honor, wealth, friendſhip, and the reſt of theſe worldly things which men ſo much admire. He was of perſonage comely, of a mean ſtature, and a graceful countenance, and ſingular courage, whereof in the civil Troubles he gave many proofs; wiſe and able for Government, a lover of juſtice, order and policy; but inclined to

cove-

covetouſneſs, which the wants and neceſſity he indured in his younger years was thought to have cauſed; and given too much to the pleaſures of the fleſh, as at his dying he acknowledged with a great remorſe. In this laſtly moſt happy, that though his death in the worlds eye was ſhameful and violent, yet did he take it moſt patiently, quitting this life with the aſſurance of a better. *An.* 1581.

The day following the Earl of *Arran* in Council made a diſcourſe of his proceedings in the trial of *Morton*, declaring what he had done and how to come to the knowledge of the fact, for which he had ſuffered, he was forced to uſe ſome rigorous dealing towards his ſervants, and put certain of them to the torture: leſt this ſhould be imputed to him as a crime, his deſire was to have his Majeſtie's and the Council's approbation. This was eaſily obtained, and an Act made ratifying all that he had done in that buſineſs, as good ſervice to his Majeſty and the Eſtate. Yet was it well enough known, that the inquiſition he made upon *Morton*'s ſervants was to find out where his gold and money was hidden, and for no purpoſe elſe. Near about the ſame time he took to wife the Earl of *March* his Lady, a woman intolerable in all the imperfections incident to that ſex. She had forſaken her Huſband not long before, and obtained ſentence againſt him for alleged impotency; yet was ſhe known to be with child even then by *Arran*, which made the Proceſs on her part more ſhameful: nor was his part a whit better, nay rather much worſe, having been a long time entertained in the Nobleman's houſe, and furniſhed by him in every thing neceſſary, whileſt his eſtate was but yet mean; to have repayed the Nobleman ſo diſhonorably, was accounted a vile ingratitude. The Marriage always went on, and their unlawful love held that way legitimated.

Arran's proceeding againſt *Morton* and his ſervants approved.

Arran his marriage with the Counteſs of *March*.

In *Auguſt* next the Earl of *Lennox* was created Duke of *Lennox*, Lord *Robert Stewart* Uncle to the King by his Mother made Earl of *Orkney*, *William* Lord *Ruthven* Earl of *Gowry*, and *John* Lord *Maxwel* Earl of *Morton*. *Arran*, although he had aſſumed the title before, would then alſo be created Earl, which was done with great ſolemnity, and the firſt place beſtowed on him, for he would not endure to be ſecond to any, and took ſo ill the credit which he ſaw the Duke carried with the King, as he ſpared not to affront him at all occaſions. The Laird of *Farnherſt* was then newly returned from *France*, where he had lived divers years in exile, and by the Duke's favor, to whom the King could deny nothing, had reſpit given him for certain crimes committed in the King's Minority. As it was paſſing in Council, the Earl of *Arran* did proteſt againſt it, alleging an Oath made at *Striveling* by the Counſellors, not to give way to reſpits or remiſſions granted to the King's enemies. Herewith the Duke offended, and a great heart-burning grew amongſt them, which in the Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* in the moneth of *October* following burſt forth in an open breach. The queſtion was about ſome priviledges belonging to the Chamberlain in time of Parliament, which *Arran* would not acknowledge, taking upon him, as Captain of the Guard, to place near unto the King whom he pleaſed. The Duke not indaring this inſolency, abſented himſelf from Parliament; which did ſo irritate the King, as the next day he went to *Dalkeith*, taking the Duke with him, and charged *Arran* not to come towards Court. Many were glad to ſee them thus committed amongſt themſelves, and for a while matters went ſo hot, as it was not expected the diſcord ſhould be ſuddenly appeaſed. The Duke had the advantage of the King's favor; *Arran* ſtrengthened himſelf with the common cauſe, giving out that the quarrel was for Religion, and for oppoſing the Duke's courſes, who craftily ſought the overthrow thereof. And all this time the frowning of the Court continued, you ſhould have ſeen him and his Lady repair ſo devoutly to Sermon and Prayers, that the people believed this to be the ground of the diſſenſion, and that he was only diſliked for his ſincerity in Religion. But *Arran* knowing this would not long bear out, and fearing to loſe the King's favor altogether, he imployed ſome friends to make offer of ſatisfaction to the Duke; and in end things were ſo compoſed, as *Arran* did quit the commandment of the Guard, and the charge thereof was given to the Duke.

To return to the matters of the Church. There was a general Synod this year kept at *Glaſgow* in the moneth of *April*, wherein the queſtion of Biſhops was again agi-

An. 1581. tated; and becauſe of the ſcruples which ſome brethren had at the Act concluded in *Dundy* the year preceding, eſpecially where it was ſaid, *that the Office of a Biſhop had no warrant of the Word of God*, the Aſſembly declared, that their meaning was to condemn the eſtate of Biſhops as they were then in *Scotland*. A number of the more wiſe and moderate ſort interceded that the concluſion of that matter might be for a time deferred, becauſe of the inconveniences it would draw upon the Church; but they were cried down by the multitude. Amongſt others, one Mr. *Robert Montgomery*, Miniſter at *Striveling*, was ſo fervent in the cauſe, as he would have the Aſſembly cenſure thoſe that had ſpoken in defence of that corrupted Eſtate. Yet before the end of that year this zealous man did ſuffer himſelf to be more pitifully corrupted, the ſtory whereof ſhall now be related. The See of *Glaſgow* being then void, it was ſuggeſted to the Duke of *Lennox* by ſome flatterers, that he had a fair occaſion preſented to make himſelf Lord of that City, and of the lands pertaining to that See, if he ſhould only procure a gift thereof to ſome one that would make a diſpoſition of the ſame to him and his heirs. The offer was made to divers, who refuſed all, becauſe of the condition required. At laſt the agents in that buſineſs fell upon this *Montgomery*, who was content to accept it. A gift was thereupon formed, and a Bond given by him, "That how ſoon he was admitted Biſhop, he ſhould diſpone "the Lands, Lordſhips, and whatſoever belongeth to that Prelacy, to the Duke "and his heirs, for the yearly payment of one thouſand pounds *Scots*, with ſome "horſe-corn and poultry. A vile bargain it was, for which juſtly he ought to have been repulſed. But the Church paſſing this point, made quarrel to him for accepting the Biſhoprick, which the King would not acknowledge to be a reaſon ſufficient. *If they could charge him with any fault in Doctrine or Life, he was content they ſhould keep their order; but to challenge him for accepting the Biſhoprick, he would not permit the ſame, having lately ratified the Acts agreed upon at* Leith *Anno* 1571, *touching the admiſſion of Biſhops, and ordained the ſame to ſtand in force until his perfect age, or till a change was made thereof in Parliament.*

Montgomery his Simoniacal bargain for the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*.

This related to the Church, they did appoint *Montgomery* his Life and Doctrine to be inquired upon, if poſſibly they could find any matter againſt him: which done, an accuſation was framed, and he cited to anſwer in the next Aſſembly. The Articles laid to his charge were theſe.

Inquiſition made of *Montgomery* his life and doctrine.

1. That he preaching at *Striveling* had proponed a queſtion touching the Circumciſion of women, and affirmed they were circumciſed in the skin of their forehead.
2. That teaching in *Glaſgow* he ſhould ſay, the Diſcipline was a thing indifferent, and might ſtand this or that way.
3. That he called the Miniſters captious, and men of curious brains.
4. That he laboured to bring the Original Languages in contempt, abuſing the words of the Apoſtle in the 1 *Cor.* 14. and jeſtingly asked, In what School were *Peter* and *Paul* graduated?
5. That to prove the lawfulneſs of Biſhops in the Church, he had uſed the examples of *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*.
6. That in his Doctrine he ſaid it was ſufficient to baptize in the name of the Father only, or in the name of the Son, or in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeeing they are all one God; and to that effect alleged the nineteenth of the *Acts*.
7. That he ſhould have called matters of Diſcipline, and the lawful Calling of the Church, Trifles of policy.
8. That he charged the Miniſtery with Sedition, warning them not to put on or off Crowns; for if they medled therewith, they would be reproved.
9. That he condemned the particular application of Scripture, diſdainfully asking, In what Scripture they found a Biſhop for a thouſand pounds, horſe-corn and poultrey, *&c.*
10. That he oppugned the Doctrine of our Saviour, ſpeaking of the number of the wicked and them that periſh.

11. That

11. That he denied any mention to be made in the New Teſtament of a Presbytery or Elderſhip. *An.* 1581.
12. That he accuſed the Miniſters of Paſquils, Lying, Backbiting, &c.
13. That the Church being traduced with infamous Libels, he did not only not find fault therewith, but ſeemed to approve the ſame, having uſed in his preaching the very words of the Libel caſt in the King's chamber againſt the Miniſters.
14. That theſe three moneths paſt he had been negligent in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and given no aſſiſtence to the Elderſhip.

The Articles were ſent to the King by ſome Miniſters, who were deſired to ſhew his Majeſty that the Accuſation was not founded upon the accepting of the Biſhoprick, but upon erroneous points of Doctrine. The King anſwered, *That whatſoever colour they gave to the proceſs, he knew that his yielding to accept the place was the true quarrel; and for himſelf, albeit he loved the Religion, and agreed fully therewith, he allowed not divers heads of their Policy; always for the particular in hands, he would leave the man to make his own anſwer.* This reported to the Aſſembly, they went on with the Accuſation, and *Montgomery* being called, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* became his accuſer. The Articles upon his denial were admitted to probation, but few of them were verified; yet the concluſion of the Aſſembly was, that he ſhould continue in his Miniſtery at *Striveling*, and meddle no more with the Biſhoprick under pain of Excommunication. Meanwhile the Presbytery of *Striveling* (for they had now erected Presbyteries in divers places of the Countrey) was enjoyned to try his Converſation, and how he did exerciſe Diſcipline, if poſſibly any thing might be found againſt him that way.

The Articles againſt *Montgomery* communicated to the King.

It fell out at the ſame time, that Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did utter ſome reproachful ſpeeches in a Sermon againſt the Duke of *Lennox*, ſaying, *That within theſe four years Popery had entered into the Countrey and Court, and was maintained in the King's Hall by the tyranny of a great Champion, who was called Grace. But if his Grace continued in oppoſing himſelf to God and his Word, he ſhould come to little Grace in the end.* The King, advertiſed of this, ſent *James Melvil* his ſervant to complain to the Aſſembly, requiring ſome order to be taken therein. The Miniſter being put to his anſwer, ſaid, *That he praiſed God for two things: Firſt, that he was not accuſed for any thing done againſt his Majeſty and the Laws; Secondly, that he perceived the Church had obtained ſome victory: For when he was laſt queſtioned for his Sermon, the Council did make themſelves Judges of Miniſters Doctrine; now that he ſaw the complaint remitted to the Aſſembly, he was glad, and willingly ſubmitted his Doctrine to their trial: Only, that he ſhould not give advantage to his enemies, he deſired the Apoſtolick Canon to be kept, which prohibiteth an accuſation to be received againſt an Elder but under two or three Witneſſes.*

Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* queſtioned for ſpeeches in Pulpit.

Balcanquel's anſwer.

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* and *David Ferynſon* were upon this directed to ſhew the King, that the Aſſembly was willing and ready to try the complaint: but withal, that the liberty craved by the perſon accuſed could not be denied, he being a Preſbyter. So if it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to ſend an accuſer aſſiſted by two or three witneſſes, the accuſation ſhould be received, and juſtice done. The King not liking this anſwer, for he knew the difficulties he ſhould have to find out an accuſer, followed the buſineſs no more: but the Miniſter not contenting, that the cauſe ſhould thus deſert, would needs have the judgement of the Aſſembly, whether or not he had uttered in his Sermon any ſcandalous or offenſive words; for they had been all Auditors of that he ſpake. This being put to voices, the Aſſembly declared his Doctrine to have been good and ſound, and that he had given no juſt offence thereby to any perſon. When this was told the King, he was much offended; for not many days before, whenas the ſame Miniſter with his Collegue *John Dury* was called to give accompt of ſome ſpeeches they had uttered in Pulpit, it was excepted, *that the King and Council could not be Judges of their Doctrine*; and now his Majeſty having complained to themſelves, and they being Auditors of the ſpeeches, when he expected ſome cenſure to be inflicted, they had juſtified all that was ſpoken,

The King ceaſeth from purſuing the complaint.

Balcanquel's Sermon approved by the Aſſembly.

An. 1582. and ſo would force him to take other courſes then he deſired to follow.

But to return to *Montgomery* his cauſe: the Miniſters of *Striveling*, as they were enjoyned, made a viſit of the Church, to try what they could find againſt him. All they got delated was, that he had baptized ſome children begotten in fornication, not calling the offendors before his Seſſion. Upon this declaration he was cited to appear, and becauſe he kept not the Diet, ſuſpended from his Function. He notthelefs preached ſtill, and exerciſed all the parts of his Miniſtery, as in former times; which they took to be an high contempt, and therefore did ſummon him to the Aſſembly which was ſhortly to meet at S. *Andrews*, to hear their ſentence approved, and to anſwer to ſuch other things as in that meeting ſhould be laid to his charge: and becauſe they underſtood, that againſt the inhibition of the laſt Aſſembly he was ſtill laboring to ſecure himſelf in the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, and had cited the Chapter before the Council for refuſing to convene to his Election, they likewiſe charged him to compeir before the Synod of *Lothian*, to hear the ſentence of Excommunication pronounced againſt him.

Montgomery ſuſpended by the Presbytery of *Striveling*.

He is cited to appear before the Synod of *Lothian*.

An. 1582. The Synod inhibited to proceed.

The King being informed of this, cauſed warn the Synod to appear the twelfth of *April* at *Striveling*, diſcharging in the mean time all proceeding in the buſineſs. Mr. *Robert Pont* and with him a few others compeiring at the day, he in the name of the reſt proteſted, *That albeit they had compeired to teſtifie their obedience to his Majeſty, yet he did not acknowledge his Majeſty and Council Judges in that matter, the ſame being a cauſe Eccleſiaſtick, and that nothing done at that time ſhould prejudge the Liberties of the Church and Laws of the Realm.* This proteſtation the Council rejected, inhibiting the Miniſters to uſe any proceeding againſt *Montgomery*; which becauſe of the General Aſſemblie's approaching they yielded unto, only they cauſed charge him to appear before the Aſſembly. When the Diet came, he appeared, and firſt proteſting for remedy if they ſhould uſe him wrongfully, he ſaid, that the proceſs of *Striveling* could not be allowed, for that he was never lawfully ſummoned to hear any Sentence given againſt him. The Presbytery of *Striveling* remitting themſelves to the proceſs, the Aſſembly declared the ſame to be rightly deduced, and ratified the ſuſpenſion pronounced. As they were proceeding to his Cenſure for contempt of the Sentence, Mr. *Mark Ker*, then Maſter of the Requeſts, preſented a Letter from his Majeſty, inhibiting them to trouble the Biſhop for any thing that concerned the Biſhoprick, or whatſoever cauſe preceding; for that the King would have thoſe things heard and handled in his own preſence. The Aſſembly anſwered, that becauſe of his Majeſtie's requeſt they ſhould look more carefully to the buſineſs, and ſee all things carried rightly according to juſtice.

An Aſſembly at S. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Mark Ker* ſent to diſcharge the Aſſemblie's proceeding.

The Maſter of Requeſts replying that his Majeſty had willed them by his Letter to deſiſt, and treat no more of that buſineſs; Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who preſided for the time, anſwered, *That they did not meddle with things belonging to the Civil power; and for matters Eccleſiaſtick, they were warranted to proceed in theſe, ſpecially with one of their own number.* He perceiving that notwithſtanding of his Majeſtie's Letter they would proceed, cauſed a meſſenger of Arms, whom he had brought with him, charge them under pain of Rebellion to deſiſt. Then was *Montgomery* called to ſee if he would abide by the charges uſed at his inſtance: but he was retired to his lodging, and could not be found; (and the night drawing on) was appointed to be ſummoned to the next morning to receive his Cenſure. After the hour appointed, one *William Montgomery* having procuration from him appeared, and appealing from the Aſſembly to the King and Council, gave this for a reaſon amongſt others, that *he who was his accuſer in the laſt Aſſembly was turned to be his Judge.* But the Aſſembly rejecting the Appellation, fell preſently a reading the *enorm crimes* (ſo they called them) whereof he was guilty; nor was there any thing omitted that ſerved to aggravate the ſame; corruption in Doctrine, diſſoluteneſs of Life, contempt of the Churche's Sentence, Falſhood and breach of promiſe, Lying, Perjury, moving of Sedition, and ſtirring up certain of the Nobility againſt the Church. Of all theſe he was declared culpable, and ordained therefore to be deprived, and caſt forth of the Church.

The Aſſembly diſcharged under pain of Rebellion to deſiſt.

The Aſſembly proceedeth, and findeth him culpable of divers crimes.

Montgomery falling from his reſolution, ſubmits himſelf to the Aſſembly.

How ſoon he heard that this concluſion was taken, his courage, which ſeemed before high and reſolute, began to cool; whereupon preſenting himſelf to the Aſſembly,

bly, he renounced his Appeal, desiring conference of some godly and learned brethren: which granted, he was induced by them to confess his offence in divers particulars, submitting himself to the will of the Assembly; and in end, to promise solemnly in the presence of the whole number, that he should meddle no farther with the Bishoprick of *Glasgow*, and neither accept of it nor of any other Office in the Church, without the advice and consent of the General Assembly. Yet this gave not an end to the business; for how soon he returned to the Court, and perceived the King's countenance cast down upon him for that he had done, he undertook of new to settle himself at *Glasgow*, and had Letters from his Majesty to the Gentlemen of those parts to assist him. At his coming to *Glasgow* with purpose to preach the Sunday following, a number of the Students in the College entered into the Church on Saturday at night, and excluding him, did keep the Chair for Mr. *Thomas Smeton* their Principal; who taking for his Theme that saying in the Gospel, *He that enters not by the door, but by the window, is a thief and a robber*, inveighed against the Bishop for his Simoniacal entry, and the levity he had shewed in all his proceedings. The next Sunday the Bishop with a great convocation of Gentlemen came to the Church, and displacing the ordinary Preacher, Mr. *David Weymes*, made the Sermon himself. The Presbytery of *Glasgow* intending process against him for molestation of the Church, and usurping the place of the ordinary Preacher; *Matthew Stewart* of *Minto*, Provost of the City, came and presented a Warrant from the King to stay all proceedings against the Bishop, willing them to desist. Mr. *John Howeson*, Minister of *Cambustange*, moderating in his course, (as the custom then was) and replying somewhat peremptorily, that notwithstanding his Warrant they would proceed, some words of offence passed; whereupon the Provost, pulling him from the Seat, made him prisoner in the *Tolbuith*.

An. 1582.

Montgomery changeth, & returneth to his first course.

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* his Sermon at *Glasgow*.

Montgomery processed for preaching at *Glasgow*.

The Moderator of the Presbytery imprisoned in the *Tolbuith*.

The rumor of this fact ran quickly through the Kingdom, and a solemn Fast being kept by the appointment of the former Assembly, the Causes whereof were made to be the abundance of Sin, the Oppression of the Church, the Dilapidation of the Rents, & the danger wherein the King stood by the company of wicked persons, who did seek to corrupt him in manners and Religion: the insolency committed at *Glasgow* was likewise adjected, and furnished matter of long discourse to the Preachers. Amongst others *John Dury* did exclaim mightily against the Duke of *Lennox*, upon whom the blame of all things was laid, and thereby did so irritate the King, as he would needs have him removed forth of the Town. Charges to that effect were directed, commanding the Magistrates within the space of 24 hours to remove him: who not daring disobey, yet being unwilling to use their Minister in that sort, travelled with him to depart quietly, and leave the Town. The Minister proponing the case to the General Assembly, (for upon advertisement given by the Ministers of *Edinburgh* they were there convened) desired their advice: for *to leave his Flock at the pleasure of the Court*, he said, *might work a prejudice to the Church; and to depart privately, as the Magistrates advised him, might be imputed to fear, or then make him to be thought guilty of some fault*. The brethren after a short consultation did advise him to stay till he should be commanded to depart, and then obey. Meanwhile Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* and *David Ferguson* were sent to the King, who was then at *Striveling*, to intreat his Majestie's favor unto him, and therewith to request a continuation of the Diet, for the appearing of the Ministers of *Glasgow* at *Perth*. The King desiring to have matters quieted, answered the last Proposition first, saying, *That if the Assembly would delay the Process which they had against the Provost of* Glasgow *and his Assisters, he would likewise dispense with the appearing of the Ministers at the appointed time*. And as to *John Dury* he said, *that upon his Supplication, how soon the Duke returned to Court, whose interest was greatest in that business, order should be taken with him, and consideration had of the Assemblie's request*. But they not satisfied herewith, striving to make good what they had taken in hand, went on with the Process of *Glasgow*, and leading probation against *Minto* and the rest, decerned them to be excommunicated and cast forth of the society of the Church; only the pronouncing of the Sentence was delayed, till they saw what course was kept with their brethren before the Council.

A solemn Fast kept.

John Dury Minister at *Edinburgh* was removed from his Charge.

Ministers directed to the King.

Mr.

An. 1582. Mr. *John Davidſon*, then Miniſter at *Liberton*, pretending a Warrant from the Church, had in his private Pariſh pronounced Biſhop *Montgomery* excommunicate, which (albeit done againſt all form) was allowed, and intimated in all the Churches of the Countrey. The Duke of *Lennox* notwithſtanding did ſtill entertain him in his company, and at ſome occaſions had made him to preach publickly. Thereupon Mr. *Alexander Archbuthnet* and Mr. *Adam Johnſton* were directed by the Aſſembly to intimate unto the Duke his Excommunication, and the Acts of the Church againſt ſuch as kept excommunicate perſons in their company. The Duke taking them up ſomewhat hotly, asked them, *Whether the King or the Church were Superiors;* and thereafter anſwered them directly, *That he was commanded by the King and Council to entertain him, which he would not forbear to do for any fear he had of their Cenſures.* This amongſt other Grievances of the Church was ordained to be repreſented to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners appointed to attend the Council at *Perth*. But touching this the King anſwered, *That the Excommunication was null, and declared ſuch by the Council, as being pronounced againſt equity and all lawful form, no Citation being uſed, nor any Admonition preceding, which all Laws and even their own Diſcipline appointed to be obſerved.* To their other Grievances they received general anſwers; and for the brethren of *Glaſgow*, their trial was continued to the tenth of *September* next.

Mr. *John Davidſon* excommunicated *Montgomery*.

Before which time the Surpriſe of the King's perſon at *Ruthven* fell out, which altered the ſtate of all affairs. Some of the Nobility combining themſelves for defence of Religion and the Liberty of the Kingdom, (as they pretended) upon notice of the Duke of *Arran*'s abſence from the Court, placed themſelves about the King, and detained him ſome days at the Houſe of *Ruthven*. The principals in this attempt were *John* Earl of *Marre*, *William* Earl of *Gowry*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindeſay*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, the Maſters of *Glamis* and *Oliphant*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Paiſlay*, *Driburgh* and *Cambuſkeneth*, the Lairds of *Lochlevin*, *Eaſter Weemes*, *Cleiſh*, and the Conſtable of *Dundy*. The King at their firſt coming ſuſpected there was ſome practice in hand, yet diſſembled the matter, thinking to free himſelf the next day when he went abroad to his ſport; but as he was about to go, the Maſter of *Glamis* ſtept to the door of the Parlour, and told him he muſt ſtay. The King ask'd the reaſon: he anſwered, he ſhould know it ſhortly. When he ſaw it to be ſo, and found his Liberty reſtrained, he grew into a paſſion, and after ſome threatning ſpeeches burſt forth in tears. The Maſter ſeeing him weep, ſaid, *It is no matter of his Tears, better that Bairns ſhould weep then bearded men:* which words entered ſo deeply into the King's heart, as he did never forget them. The news went quickly of the Noblemens being at Court in ſuch numbers, which made the Earl of *Arran* haſte thither, for he held himſelf aſſured of the Earl of *Gowrie*'s friendſhip, as being of his alliance, and having kept one courſe in the purſuit of the Earl of *Morton*; his only fear was, that he ſhould be ſtayed by the way, therefore having croſſed the Ferry, he ſingled himſelf from his company, and taking one only ſervant with himſelf, directed his Brother *William Stewart* to keep the High-way with the reſt. By this mean he did eſcape thoſe that lay in wait for him, and came in the evening to *Ruthven*: where when he had entered the gate, he asked what the King was doing, as meaning to go directly to him; but was conveyed to another room, and told that he muſt have patience, and think his fortune good that he was come to that place with his life ſaved; as he himſelf judged, when a little after he heard that the horſemen which lay in wait of him, and encountred his Brother near unto *Dublin*, after divers wounds given him, had taken him priſoner.

The Surpriſe of the King at *Ruthven* 23. *Aug.* 1582

The King ſtayed from his ſport by the Maſter of *Glamis*.

Arran withholden from the King.

A day or two after ſome Noblemen imployed by the Duke of *Lennox*, who remained then in *Dalkeith*, came to Court, but were not permitted to ſpeak with the King, nor ſee him, except in Council. Being examined what their buſineſs was, they told that the Duke of *Lennox* had ſent them to learn of the King in what condition he was, and if he was detained againſt his will, as the rumor went, he might, with the aſſiſtence of other good ſubjects, ſee him made free. The King preſently cried out that he was Captive, which he deſired all his ſubjects know, and that the Duke ſhould do what he might to procure his Liberty. The Lords prayed his

The Duke of *Lennox* ſendeth to enquire of the King's eſtate.

his Majeſty not to ſay ſo, "for that he ſhould not be denied to go whither he plea- *An.* 1582.
"ſed, only they would not permit the Duke of *Lennox* and Earl of *Arran* to miſlead
"him any longer, and oppreſs both Church and Kingdom, as they have done.
"Wherefore he ſhould do well to cauſe the Duke retire himſelf quietly to *France*, The Duke of *Lennox* willed to retire to *France*.
"otherwiſe they would be forced to bring him to an accompt of his doings, and
"proceed againſt him with rigour of Law. This they willed the ſame Noblemen whom he had ſent to ſignifie unto the Duke, and that they were reſolved to maintain what they had undertaken at the utmoſt hazard of their lives and eſtates.

After they were gone, the King's anger being ſomewhat aſſwaged, and fearing the Duke's caſe more then his own, he was moved to ſend forth a Proclamation to this effect: "That for pacifying the preſent Commotions, and removing ſome Dif- A Proclamation declaring the King's contentment with his ſtay at *Perth*.
"ferences fallen out amongſt the Nobility, his Majeſty had thought it expedient
"to interpoſe himſelf a Mediator; and for the better working of an Union amongſt
"them, had reſolved to make his Reſidence in *Perth* for a time, till he ſaw what good
"effects his travels might produce. And leſt his ſtay in theſe parts ſhould be inter-
"preted to be a Detention of his Perſon, becauſe of the Noblemen and others that
"had lately repaired to Court, his Majeſty declared, that it was his own free and
"voluntary choice to abide there; and that the Noblemen and others who did pre-
"ſently attend had done nothing but what their duties obliged them unto, and
"which he took for a good ſervice performed both to himſelf and to the Common-
"wealth. Therefore inhibited all the ſubjects to attempt any thing that might
"tend to the diſturbance of the Realm, commanding them alſo that had levied
"any forces upon pretext of his Majeſtie's reſtraint, to diſſolve the ſame within
"ſix hours under the pain of death. This Proclamation was dated at *Perth* the 28 of *Auguſt*, ſome ſix days after the Surpriſe of his Perſon at *Ruthven*.

The Duke in the mean time was gathering forces, and grown to be ſtrong by his The Duke is adviſed to go unto *Dumbritton*.
friends and others that repaired unto him; when a Letter came from the King, ſignifying that it was his pleaſure he ſhould leave the Realm, and depart forth thereof before the 20 of *Septemb.* The Letter he communicated to his friends, who did all adviſe him to retire unto *Dumbritton*, where he might with more ſafety ſtay for a while, and if he found not an opportunity to right himſelf, ſhould have good occaſion of ſhipping for *France*. When he was come thither, the reſort of Nobemen and Barons and others were ſo great unto him, that the Nobility offending therewith, directed Letters, charging him to live more private with his ordinary retinue, and all others that were in his company to return to their houſes within 12 hours after the charge, and not to come nigh the part where he remained, or ſhould happen to reſide during the time of his abode in the Countrey.

The bruit of this Change being carried to *England*, the Queen ſent Sir *Henry Cary* An Ambaſſador from *England September* 12.
and Sir *Robert Bowes* unto the King, to adviſe him, in regard of the danger he was fallen into by the perverſe counſels of the Duke and Earl of *Arran*, to take in good part the Lords enterpriſe, and reſtore the Earl of *Angus*, who had lived exiled in *England* ſince the time of *Morton*'s Execution. This laſt they obtained with no great difficulty, ſo as the Nobleman was ſoon after reconciled & accepted in favor: but to the firſt point, the King having a ſuſpicion that the attempt was not made without the Queen of *England*'s knowledge, he gave good general anſwers, whereby it was hoped that upon the Nobleman's good behavior in a ſhort time his offence would be mitigated. The King alſo conceiving that a gentle uſage would bring them to reconcile with the Duke of *Lennox*, began to give them a more gracious countenance then before. But he found them untractable, and not without great inſtance did purchaſe their conſents to a few days prorogation of his departing, upon promiſe that he ſhould be purſued as a Rebel if he went not away at the time appointed, wind and weather ſerving: yet was his going put off upon divers occaſions till the middeſt of *December*, at which time he was forced to depart, as we ſhall hear. The Earl of *Angus* received in favor *October* 12.

The Lords in the mean while, careful to ſtrengthen themſelves, brought the King The Lords bring the King to *Halirudhouſe* *Octob.* 8.
to *Halirudhouſe* in the beginning of *October*, knowing that the people of *Edinburgh* did affect their enterpriſe, as appeared by the reducing of *John Dury* their Miniſter immediately upon the news of the King's Reſtraint, and the triumph they made,

ſinging

An. 1582. ſinging as they went up the ſtreet the 124 Pſalm, *Now Iſrael may ſay*, &c. They underſtood alſo that the Aſſembly of the Church was to convene in the ſame Town the ninth of that moneth, and doubted not to find them favorable enough. To this Aſſembly Mr. *William Areskin* (ſtyled then *Commendatory of Paiſlay*) was ſent by the Noblemen, to declare that the cauſes moving them to that enterpriſe were the evident peril they perceived the Religion was brought unto, with the diſorders and confuſions introduced into the State: whereof having diſcourſed a while, he came in end to deſire the Aſſemblie's approbation of their proceedings, as that which would incourage them much, and diſhearten the common adverſary. This Propoſition made, firſt it was voiced, whether the dangers of the Church and diſorders of State were ſuch as in their hearing were related: which being affirmatively anſwered by the whole Aſſembly, Mr. *James Lawſon*, Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *John Craig* were appointed to ſignifie unto the King what the Aſſembly had found, and to require his own judgement therein. The King, eſteeming it moſt ſure for himſelf to temporize, ſaid, *That he believed Religion was in hazard, and indirect courſes taken to overturn the ſame, wherewith he acknowledged his own danger to be conjoyned: and for abuſes crept into the Commonwealth, as they were too many, ſo he expected that all good ſubjects, and they for their own parts, would help to remove the ſame.* This anſwer returned to the Aſſembly, they concluded an Act in this form.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh.*

The Lords ſend to obtain the Aſſemblies approbation.

The Aſſemblie's Ratification of the attempt at *Ruthven.*

For aſmuch as the Noblemen and others joyned with them in the late action of Reformation, out of a deſire to have the Church and whole profeſſors of the true Religion underſtand the grounds and occaſions moving them to repair towards the King's Majeſty, to ſeek redreſs of the diſorders fallen out in the Commonwealth, have made publick atteſtation to the whole Aſſembly, that the motions and grounds of their enterpriſe were, and are, to deliver the Church of God within this Realm, and the true Religion therein profeſſed, from the evident peril and danger wherein all men perceived the ſame to ſtand; as likewiſe to guard and preſerve the innocent Perſon of the King his Majeſty and Eſtate, being in no leſs hazard then the other, and to remove the corruptions and confuſion entered into the body of the Commonwealth: wherein as they are well perſuaded themſelves to have done good ſervice to God, and to have performed their duty to their Sovereign and countrey; ſo they wiſhed all that feared God ſhould judge and eſteem well of their action, eſpecially that the brethren of this Aſſembly ſhould declare their good liking and approbation thereof, and ordain all the Paſtors and Miniſters within the Realm to publiſh in their particular Churches the cauſes and grounds moving them to the ſaid enterpriſe; exhorting all Noblemen, Barons, and other faithful ſubjects to give their beſt concurrence and aſſiſtance thereto: The Aſſembly, having weighed the ſaid deſire with the whole circumſtances thereof, have in the fear of God after mature deliberation reſolved, found and voted, no man gainſaying, That not only the Church of God within this Realm, and true Religion profeſſed in the ſame, but alſo the King his moſt noble Perſon and Royal eſtate, were and ſtood in extreme danger and hazard, beſides the manifold groſs abuſes that had invaded the Commonwealth, before the late enterpriſe, which his Majeſty had acknowledged and profeſſed to the Commiſſioners of the preſent Aſſembly: And that therefore the ſaid brethren could not but think their Honors, imploying themſelves hereafter for averting the like dangers, to have done good and acceptable ſervice to God, their Sovereign and native Countrey; and the proſecution thereof, all partiality ſet aſide, will be acceptable to all that fear God, and tender the preſervation of the King's Perſon, and proſperous eſtate of the Realm. And to the effect the ſame may be made the more manifeſt and notorious, it is thought expedient that all the Miniſters within the Realm, upon the firſt occaſion, ſhall publickly declare unto their particular Flocks the peril wherein the Church of God and true Religion, the King his moſt noble Perſon and eſtate ſtood, with the grounds that moved the ſaid Noblemen unto the late action, recommending the ſame to the conſideration of all good ſubjects, exhorting them, as they tender the glory of God, and love the preſervation of the King and Countrey, faithfully to concur aud joyn with the ſaid Noblemen in proſecuting the ſaid grounds, to the full deliverance of the Church, and perfect Reformation of the Commonwealth. And if any ſhould be found either by word maliciouſly, or violently by way of deed, to oppoſe to that good cauſe, they ſhall be called before the particular Elderſhips, and order put unto them by the Cenſures of the Church; and in caſe of their wilful and obſtinate continuing therein, be dela-

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ted to the King and Council, to be puniſhed for their offence civilly. An. 1582.

This Act of the date the thirteenth of *October* 1582 was publiſhed in all the Churches of the Realm, to the offence of many good men, who were grieved to ſee a bad cauſe thus coloured and defended. But the Lords, knowing that this Approbation could not ſecure them, had laboured the King to convocate the Eſtates for the ſame purpoſe. The eighteenth of the ſame moneth being appointed for their meeting, there came to the convention for the Church eſtate, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Orkney*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Newbottle*, *Paiſlay*, *Driburgh*, *Cambuskenneth*, *Culroſſe*, *Inchaffray*, *Coldingham*, and *Pittinweyme*; of the Nobility there were preſent the Earls of *March*, *Arrol*, *Marſhal*, *Bothwell*, (who ſome few moneths before returned from beyond Sea) *Marre*, *Rothes*, *Glencarn*, *Eglinton*, *Gowrie*, and *Morton*; the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Home*, *Ogilvy*, *Hereis*, *Boyd*, —— and *Sinclare*. But from the Burghs there came not any Commiſſioners, nor could they be moved to countenance this action in any ſort; conceiving, as it fell out, that how ſoon the King obtained his Liberty he would cenſure and condemn the fact as treaſonable.

A Convention of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh*.

To theſe always that convened the King had a Speech much to this effect: *That of all the Vexations he had tried ſince his acceptation of the Government in his own perſon, the diſtraction of the Nobility was the greateſt, and at the preſent did grieve him moſt; for the removing whereof he had called them together, and expected their beſt counſel and help. In other things*, he ſaid, *that needed Reformation, he would be willing to follow their advice*. One of the Lords, I find him not named, made anſwer, "That the diſſenſions "of the Nobility were cauſed chiefly by ſome that, having his Majeſtie's ear, did "abuſe his favors, ruling all things at their pleaſure, and diſdaining the advice of other fellow-counſellors. Then falling into particulars he ſaid, "That the Duke "of *Lennox* and Earl of *Arran* had miſgoverned all affairs, and brought divers abu- "ſes into the State, which unleſs ſome Noblemen had taken a courſe to remedy by "their repairing to his Majeſty, both Religion and State in a ſhort time had been ſubverted. After this the Earl of *Marre*, *Gowry* and *Glencarn*, who had been the chief actors in that attempt, roſe up, and having declared the cauſe which moved them to take that action in hand, did humbly offer to ſubmit themſelves to the cenſure of his Majeſty and the Eſtates; and thereupon removing themſelves forth of the Convention, it was found and declared, *That in their repairing to the King upon the* 22 *of* Auguſt *laſt, and abiding with him ſince that time, they had done good, thankful, and neceſſary ſervice to the King and Countrey. Alſo that their taking of Arms, making of Conventions, entring in Conflicts, taking and detaining of Priſoners, contracting of Leagues and bonds, and all other deeds done by them, which might appear to be againſt his Majeſtie's Authority, in ſo far as the ſame was done without his Highneſs Warrant, ſhould be reputed and eſteemed good ſervice done to the King and State; and that they and their partakers ſhould be exonered of all Action, civil or criminal, that might be intended againſt them, or any of them, in that reſpect: Inhibiting therefore all the ſubjects to ſpeak or utter any thing to the contrary, under the pain to be eſteemed calumniators and diſperſers of falſe rumors, and to be puniſhed for the ſame accordingly.*

The King's ſpeech to the Eſtates.

The attempt of *Ruthven* declared to be good ſervice.

This Declaration paſſed, it was ordained that the Earl of *Arran* ſhould be detained in the Caſtle of *Ruthven* till the Duke was gone out of the Realm, after which he ſhould be confined on the North of the water of *Jern*: and that four companies ſhould be levied upon the publick charges, two of horſemen and as many foot, to guard the King and Noblemen who did attend him, till the preſent Troubles were quieted. Then were ſome Grievances proponed in name of the Church; but theſe laid by till another time, the Lords not willing to irritate the King for ſuch matters, having once ſecured themſelves.

The Earl of *Arran* ordained to be detained till the Duke was gone.

The Duke, to keep the word which the King had given for his departing, took ſhiping in the Weſt parts about the midſt of *October*, & being hindred by contrary winds fell ſick at Sea. The King, advertiſed of his ill diſpoſition, adviſed him to travel through *England* in regard of the winter ſeaſon, and to remain at *Blackneſs* till a ſafe conduct was procured from the Queen. He had not ſtayed many days there, when a rumor was raiſed, as was thought, by his enemies, that he was to be brought again

The Duke falling ſick at Sea, taketh journey by land.

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An. 1582. to Court, and the Lords turned out, or used with more violence. This made a new stir; whereupon the Lord *Hereis* was sent to command him to begin his journey, and to be in *Berwick* the 22 day of *December*. He craved to see the King, and be permitted only to salute him; but this being denied, he departed in great heavineſs.

The Duke desiring to see the King before he went away, is denied.

In the beginning of *January* two Ambassadors arrived sent by the *French* King, the one named *Monsieur la Motte*, the other *Monsieur Menevil*: *La Motte* came by *England*, (with whom came alongst Mr. *Davidson* Ambassador from Queen *Eliz.*) the other by Sea; both having the same Instructions, which were, to work the King's Liberty in the best sort they could, to confirm his mind in the love he bare to the *French*, and to renew the purpose of Association. This last business was set on foot the year before, and almost concluded in this sort; *That the Queen of* Scots *should communicate the Crown with her Son, and both be joyned in the Administration of affairs; that so he might be acknowledged for a lawful King by all Christian Princes, and all domestick Factions suppressed.* But upon the Duke's sequestring from Court it was left off, and not mentioned again till now. The Assembly of the Church in the last meeting had made this one of their special Grievances, and complained of it as a most wicked practice. And now the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, hearing that purpose to be moved of new by the *French* Ambassadors, declaimed bitterly against them in their Sermons; especially against *La Motte*, who, being a Knight of the order of S. *Esprit*, did wear the badge of a white Cross upon his shoulder. This they called *The badge of Antichrist*, and him *The Ambassador of the bloody murtherer*, meaning the Duke of *Guise*, who, they said, procured him to be sent hither.

Two Ambassadors from *France*, *La Motte* and *Menevil*.

The purpose of Association renewed.

The Ministers declaimed in their Sermons against the Ambassadors.

It grieved the Ambassadors much to hear these out-cries which daily were brought unto them; but perceiving the King's Authority not able to restrain the liberty which the Preachers had taken, they did not complain, but urged earnestly their dimission. The King, desirous to entertain the ancient Amity betwixt the two nations, and dimit them with some contentment, desired the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to give them a Feast before their parting. To impede this Feast, the Ministers did on the Sunday preceding proclaim a Fast to be kept the same day on which the Feast was appointed: and to detain the people at Church, the three ordinary Preachers did one after another make a Sermon in S. *Giles* Church, without any intermission of time, thundering curses against the Magistrates and other Noblemen that waited on the Ambassadors by the King's direction; nor stayed their folly here, but, the Ambassadors being gone, they pursued the Magistrates with the Censures of the Church, and were with difficulty enough stayed from proceeding with Excommunication against them, for not observing the Fast they proclaimed.

The Magistrates of *Edinburgh* desired to feast the Ambassadors.

The Ministers proclaim a Fast, *Febr.* 16.

Of all this the King seemed to take no notice, for he saw not a way to repress these Disorders; and much perplexed he was with the reports of the Duke of *Lennox* his death, who partly of grief, partly through the long and troublesome journey he made in that cold and rainy season, contracted a Fever at his coming to *Paris*, whereof after a few days he died. Some hours before his expiring there came to him a Priest or two, to do their accustomed service; whom he could not admit, professing *to die in the Faith of the Church of Scotland*, and to keep the oath he had given to the King inviolate. This the King made to be proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, that the people might see what wrong the Duke had sustained during his abode in the Realm, by the uncharitable suspicions both of Ministers and others. But this belongs to the year following.

The Duke of *Lennox* dieth at *Paris*.

26. *May*, 1583.

Meanwhile the King ceaseth not to think of his own Liberty, using all means to put the Lords that attended him out of an opinion that he had any meaning to free himself. And the Duke being gone, whom they feared most, they esteemed the danger the less: for *Arran* was not well loved, because of his violent courses; and *Morton*, who had the greatest following, was put from his charge in the Borders, and the same given to the Laird of *Johnston*: the King had likewise by their advice sent Colonel *Stewart* and Mr. *John Colvil* in a joynt Commission to the Queen of *England*, to move her for restoring the lands in that Kingdom which appertained to his Grandfather the Earl of *Lennox*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, together with the by-run profits intrometted by the Thesaurer or Master of Wards; as likewise

The King directeth Ambassadors to *England*.

wiſe to communicate unto her the courſe he had taken for quieting the Realm, and to deſire her aid and aſſiſtence therein. Some Inſtructions beſides were given them to propone; as touching the King's Marriage, the matters of the Border, and the contracting of a defenſive League; by all which they held themſelves ſecured of his Majeſtie's favor. But for the Negotiation it ſorted to no effect, by the contrary courſes the two Commiſſioners took after their coming to the Court of *England*. The King foreſeeing the ſame when they were firſt imployed, had moved Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Preacher at *Leith*, (a man wiſe and moderate) to accompany them, and pacifie the contentions which poſſibly might ariſe amongſt them; but their emulations were ſo great, as all he could do ſcarce ſerved to keep them from open diſcord. *An.* 1583. The Negotiation took no effect.

Before I enter upon the accidents of the next year, the death of Mr. *George Buchannan*, which happened in the end of *September*, muſt not be paſſed; a man ſo well deſerving of his Countrey, as none more: he was of an excellent wit, and learning incomparable, born nigh to the High-lands, within the Pariſh of *Killern*, and of the houſe of *Drummakill*. His Uncle by the mother, called *Herriot*, took care to have him trained up in Letters, perceiving his inclination to be ſet that way: wherein he profited ſo much, as he went beyond all his inſtructors; Nature, it ſeems, having formed him thereunto. In the year 1539, being called in queſtion by the *Franciſcan* Friers upon the malice they bare him for ſome bitter verſes written againſt them and their profeſſion, which he did to pleaſe King *James* the Fifth, whom they had in ſome things offended, he was committed as ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*; but made an eſcape to *France*, where he lived a long time, and became acquainted with many learned men, with which that Countrey did then abound. His Paraphraſe of the Pſalms, a rare Work, and other Poems, he wrote for moſt part whileſt he ſtayed abroad; and for his learning and quick ingeny was admired of all men. Returning into *Scotland* about the year 1560, after he had profeſſed Philoſophy ſome years in S. *Leonard*'s College within the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, he was choſen to attend the King, and bring him up in Letters. In his age he applied himſelf to write the *Scottiſh* Hiſtory, which he penned with ſuch judgement and eloquence as no countrey can ſhew a better. Only in this is he juſtly blamed, that with the Factions of the time, and to juſtifie the proceedings of the Noblemen againſt the Queen, he went too far in depreſſing the Royal Authority of Princes, and allowing their controlment by ſubjects: his bitterneſs alſo in writing of the Queen and Troubles of the time all wiſe men have diſliked. But otherwiſe no man did merit better of his nation for Learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory. He died in a great age at *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the common place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and have had ſome Statue erected for his memory. But ſuch pompous monuments in his life he was wont to ſcorn and deſpiſe, eſteeming it a greater credit, as it was ſaid of the *Roman Cato*, to have it asked *why he doth lack a Statue, then to have had one, though never ſo glorious, erected.* The life and death of Mr. *George Buchannan*.

The Summer following the King found the occaſion to free himſelf of his Attenders. For being at *Falkland*, and pretending to viſit his Uncle the Earl of *March*, who did then reſide in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*; after he had taken ſome little refreſhment, he went to take a view of the Caſtle, accompanied with *Colonel Stewart* Captain of the Guard, to whom he had communicated his purpoſe; and having entered into the Caſtle, commanded the gates to be ſhut, and theſe that followed to be excluded. The Earls of *Argile*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſs* and *Rothes*, came thither the next morning, and were all welcomed by the King. Of the Noblemen that had waited on him ſince his reſtraint at *Ruthven*, only the Earl of *Gowry* was admitted into the Caſtle by the Colonel's means; for he had ſometimes followed him as a ſervant. The Earl how ſoon he came in preſence fell on his knees, and craving pardon for the fact of *Ruthven*, did humbly ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy, who, after he had checked him in ſome few, but grave ſpeeches for his ingratitude to the Duke of *Lennox*, accepted him in favor, upon condition of a more loyal behavior in time coming. *An.* 1583. *January.* 28. The King freeth himſelf of his Attenders. The Earl of *Gowry* confeſſeth his fault, and is pardoned.

Some few days the King abode in the Caſtle, and in a Council kept there the ſe-

An. 1583. cond of *July*, made choice of the Earls of *March*, *Argile*, *Gowry*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſs* and *Rothes*, to remain with him, as Noblemen that he held of beſt judgement, moſt indifferent and freeſt of faction; the reſt he commanded to retire to their houſes, till he ſhould take farther order. In the ſame meeting was Colonel *Stewart*'s ſervice approved, and a Proclamation ordained to be made, charging all the ſubjects to contain themſelves in quietneſs, and prohibiting any to come towards Court accompanied with a greater number then was appointed; to wit, 15 with an Earl, as many with a Biſhop, ten with a Lord, and as many with an Abbot or Prior, with a Baron ſix; and all theſe commanded to come in a peaceable manner, under great penalties.

An Act following the ſervice of Colonel *Stewart*.

The Earl of *Arran* called again to Court.

Then the King, to ſhew himſelf at Liberty, went to *Edinburgh*, and from thence he went to *Falkland*, then to *Perth*, where he remained ſome weeks. Being there, the Earl of *Arran* by *Gowrie*'s procurement was brought again to Court, after whoſe coming a Declaration was publiſhed by the King to this effect.

His Majeſties Declaration touching the attempt of *Ruthven*.

"We, with the advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, having thought expedient to notifie unto the world, but eſpecially to all our good and loyal ſubjects, "our true mind touching the things that fell out in the year paſt, declare the ſame "to be as followeth. That is, howſoever, for preſerving of publick quietneſs, We "did patiently endure the Reſtraint of Our Perſon at *Ruthven*, with the ſecluding "of Our Counſellors from us, and all that enſued thereupon; yet did We take it "deeply to heart, and did account no otherwiſe of it then a fact moſt treaſonable, "attending till it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore Us to Our former eſtate and Liberty: which having now by his goodneſs obtained, to make known Our indifferent "diſpoſition towards all Our good ſubjects, and that We do not ſeek the harm and "ruine of any one whomſoever, We have reſolved to forgive and forget all offences "by-gone, eſpecially that which was committed in *Auguſt* laſt, and hath been ſince "that time ſtrongly maintained, providing the Actors and aſſiſters do ſhew themſelves penitent for the ſame, ask pardon in due time, and do not provoke Us by "their unlawful actions hereafter to remember that attempt. Willing all Our "ſubjects, by the example of this Our clemency, (whereof ſome already have made "proof) to diſcharge all quarrels amongſt themſelves, and not to malice one another for whatſoever cauſe by-gone, all which We will have buried in oblivion; "and to this have ordained publication to be made hereof in all the principal "Burghs, *&c.*

The diſconted Lords confined.

The diſcontented Lords, notwithſtanding of this Declaration, were ſtill convening, and making the beſt proviſion they could for their own ſurety. For at *Arran*'s hand, who had now the diſpoſing of all things, they expected no good. The King hereupon took purpoſe to confine ſome of the principals in ſeveral Countreys, and to commit others who were reckoned moſt turbulent. The Earl of *Angus* was confined beyond *Spey*; *John Levingſton* of *Dunypace* and *Patrick Drummond* of *Carnock* in the Countrey of *Galloway*; *Lochlevin* and *Buchan* in *Innerneſs*; the Maſter of *Glamis*, Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord of *Cleiſh*, were charged to enter themſelves in the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*; *William* Commendator of *Paiſlay* in *Blackneſs*; and Mr. *John Colvil* commanded to keep Ward in *Edinburgh*. The whole (*Angus* only excepted) diſobeying the charge, were denounced Rebels; and Proclamations made, commanding all the ſubjects to be in readineſs for reſiſting the practices of ſeditious ſubjects. An oath alſo was taken of all the Kings domeſticks, that they ſhould not keep intelligence with any of the Rebels or others known to be in his Majeſtie's mal-grace. And at this time was Mr. *John Metellan*, who came afterwards to be Chancellor, admitted Counſellor of Eſtate.

All of them (*Angus* excepted) for their diſobedience were denounced Rebels.

Ambaſſage from *England* the beginning of *September*.

The Queen of *England* being advertiſed of this alteration in Court, ſent Sir *Francis Walſingham*, her principal Secretary, to the King, to challenge him for breach of promiſe in re-admitting the Earl of *Arran*, and caſting off the Noblemen who had maintained his Authority, and hazarded their lives and eſtates in defence of his Crown. The King anſwered, *That he was a free Prince, and in ruling his affairs might follow the courſe which he thought to be moſt convenient; that the Queen would*

His Majeſtie's anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

not

not take it well, if he or any other ſhould direct her in matters that concerned her ſubjects: and for the promiſe alleged, he ſaid, *it was made in time of his Reſtraint, to the performance whereof he was not tied.* As to theſe ſubjects of whom the Queen ſeemed ſo careful, he ſaid, *that he had freely offered to pardon them, upon the acknowledgement of their offence and promiſe of amendment; which he would faithfully obſerve: expecting of the Queen his Siſter that neighbourhood which became Princes living in amity and friendſhip, and that ſhe would not countenance his ſubjects in their Rebellion.* An. 1583.

The Ambaſſador replying, "Sir, the Queen my Miſtris will never meddle with "your affairs, but to work your good and quietneſs; yet ſhe taketh it unkindly, "that the promiſes made unto her are ſo lightly regarded. One *Holt* an *Engliſh* Je- "ſuit, who is thought to have an hand in *Throgmorton*'s Treaſon that was of late "detected, being in your priſon, at the requeſt of the *French* Ambaſſador was per- "mitted to eſcape; whereas the Queen my Sovereign looked daily to have him delivered in *England*, as was promiſed. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *it was not promiſed that he ſhould be delivered, but as the Queen anſwered my Ambaſſadors, when I deſired Mr.* Archibald Douglas *to be rendered, who is known to be guilty of my Father's Murther. I ſaid that the man was charged with certain ſuſpicious practices in my Kingdom, which I believed firſt to try; and if the Queen had been pleaſed to have delivered my ſubject to me, whom I had more then reaſon to remand, I would have made no delay in the rendering of* Holt. *But for his dimiſſion, or my connivence at his eſcape, there is no ſuch thing; and if you know or can learn that any indirect means have been uſed for letting him go, the trial and puniſhment of the doers ſhall clear my part.* This ſaid, the Ambaſſador (who was a moſt worthy and diſcreet Gentleman) declaring that he was ſatisfied, fell to ſpeak of the preſervation of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, and of a new League to be made with the Queen; whereof the King did ſhew a good liking, and in theſe terms they left for that time.

The Ambaſſador complains of a Jeſuits eſcape.

His Majeſtie's anſwer.

In *October* next the Church Aſſembly convened at *Edinburgh*, where great regrates were made and preſented in certain Articles to the King. "Firſt, they "complained that the benefit of Pacification was extended to Mr. *David Chal-* "*mers*, a profeſſed enemy to Religion, and ſuſpected of the Murther of his Ma- "ſtie's Father. Next, that Papiſts were grown too familiar in Court, and name- "ly the Laird of *Fintry*, who had made defection from the true Religion, in which "he was educated. 3. That *Holt*, a wicked Papiſt, ſent to the Countrey to traf- "fique againſt Religion and the State, was ſuffered to eſcape, and no trial taken "of the workers thereof. 4. That his Majeſty ſeemed to favor too much the ene- "mies of the Truth both in *France* and at home. 5. That he had received in his "ſervice men of diſſolute life, and who had never given any teſtimony of their good "meaning either to Religion or the ſtate of the Countrey; and put others from his "ſervice that were known to be zealous of God's cauſe, and faithful to his Maje- "ſtie's ſelf from his very tender age. 6. That ſince his acceptation of the Govern- "ment, the Church had received many fair promiſes without any performance; "and that, to the contrary, the Liberties and Privileges thereof were daily infring- "ed. 7. That the Thirds were ſet in taks or leaſes, in defraud of the Church. 8. That "Abbacies were diſponed againſt the Acts of Parliament, and no care taken for "proviſion of the Miniſters that ſerved at the Churches annexed. 9. That Spiri- "tual livings were conferred to children, and erected in Temporal Lordſhips. "10. That there were no puniſhment for Inceſt, Adultery, Witchcraft, and the "like abominations. 11. That there was an univerſal murmur, that no man "could be aſſured of his lands and life, the Laws of the Countrey being wholly per- "verted. 12. That his Majeſty did interpone his authority to ſtay the execution "of the Churche's Acts in matters properly Eccleſiaſtical. Laſtly, they regrated "the diviſion of the Nobility, one part ſeeking the ruine and overthrow of ano- "ther: for which they did intreat his Majeſty to call unto himſelf the moſt wiſe and "indifferent amongſt them, and by their advice to take ſome moderate courſe for "uniting the hearts of all good ſubjects, to the maintenance of God's Truth, the "preſervation of his Highneſs Perſon and eſtate, and the comfort of all that were "grieved at the preſent Diviſion.

An Aſſembly of the Church.

Grievances preſented to his Majeſty by the Church.

An. 1583. The King, deſiring to give the Church ſatisfaction, made Anſwer the next day to all theſe particulars. And firſt, concerning Mr. *David Chalmers*, he ſaid, *that he was only forfeited for the common action for being at* Landſide *field, for which pardon had been given to many; ſo as it ſhould not be thought ſtrange to give him the like benefit, eſpecially at their requeſt who had moved him therein; and that he no ways intended to grant overſight to him or any others that ſhould be found culpable of his Father's Murther, or yet profeſſed themſelves adverſaries to the Religion.* Touching *Fintry* he ſaid, *that he had not impeded the proceedings of the Church againſt him or any other Popiſhly affected, nor had he been countenanced at Court, if the Miniſters of* Edinburgh *had not teſtified that he was willing to conform.* That for *Holt*'s eſcape *he had ſatisfied the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador, and that it was no uncouth thing to ſee a priſoner deceive his keepers.* Concerning the *intelligence he kept with forein Princes*, for the entertaining of civil Peace; *that he did not think the Aſſembly would diſallow it, ſeeing diverſity of Religion made not Leagues of friendſhip unlawful.* And that they ſhould meddle with the *choice of his ſervants*, he held *it ſtrange; This he hoped they would remit to himſelf, and not to be too curious in examining the occaſions of their placing or diſplacing.* And where they complained, that ſince his accepting of the Government, *the Liberties of the Church had been refringed*; he ſaid, *that ſince that time more good and profitable Laws had been made for the advancement of true Religion, then ever before; and if any thing lacked in the execution, the fault was not his.* For that which concerned *the Church Rents*, he anſwered, *that thoſe things muſt be helped in Parliament, and that he ſhould aſſiſt the reformation thereof at his power.* As for the puniſhment of the abominations mentioned, *that the fault could not be imputed to him, ſith he was willing to give Commiſſion to ſuch as the Miniſters ſhould judge moſt fit for the execution of Laws.* And for *Eccleſiaſtical Acts* which his authority was ſaid to impede, *he knew none of late, only he had ſtayed the remove of Mr.* Alexander Arbuthnet *from the College of* Aberdene *to be Miniſter of S.* Andrews; *which, being rightly conſidered, would not be found prejudicial to the Church, nor impertinent for him to deal in.* Laſtly, for the *murmur of people, perverting of Laws and difference amongſt the Nobility*, his Majeſty ſaid, *that he was ready to hearken to any good advice for reformation of that which ſhould be found amiſs.*

The King his Anſwer to the Grievances.

The anſwer did not ſatisfie the Church.

The Anſwers all moſt reaſonable, and proceeding from the King, ought to have been well taken; but the diſcontent they had received for the late change in Court made every thing diſtaſteful, and ſtill the diſpleaſure betwixt the King and Church did grow as we ſhall hear.

Lodowick ſon and heir to the late deceaſed Duke of *Lennox* cometh into *Scotland, Novemb.* 13.

In the beginning of *November*, *Lodowick* (eldeſt ſon to the late Duke of *Lennox*) arrived at *Leith*, and was conveyed by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Montroſs* to the King, who lay then at *Kinneill*. Soon after the advertiſement of the Nobleman's death, the King had ſent the Maſter of *Gray* into *France*, to bring home all his children: But *Lodowick* excepted, (who then was 13 years of age) the reſt were young, and not able to indure ſo long a journey. The King receiving him with great expreſſions of love, did preſently inveſt him in his Father's lands and honors, committing the truſt of his affairs to the Earl of *Montroſs*, till he ſhould grow up to maturity. For his education in Letters, Mr. *Gilbert Moncreef*, the King his principal Phyſician, was appointed to attend him, a man wiſe and of good learning. Some years after two of his Siſters were brought into the Countrey: *Henrietta* the eldeſt was married to *George* Earl of *Huntley*, *Mary* the younger of the two to *John* Earl of *Marre*. To the third the King had provided an honorable match, but ſhe having vowed her ſelf to God, would not be won from the Cloyſter by any perſuaſion. A younger Son came to the King, after he went into *England*, and was by him advanced to great honors. Thus the untimely loſs of their Father did turn to the childrens benefit, by the conſtant and unmatchable kindneſs of a loving King.

The King his kindneſs to the Duke his children.

In the Countrey matters grew daily more and more troubled. Thoſe that diſobeyed the charges given them for entering in Ward, pretended the time aſſigned for their entry to have been ſo ſhort, and the diſtance of the place ſo great, as there was no poſſibility in them to obey; yet under-hand they were ſtill ſeeking to ſtrenthen themſelves, and aſſociate others to be of their Faction. To take from them this

this pretext, the first of *December* was allowed them for their entring in Ward, and so many as should find surety to obey, had favor promised them. The Laird of *Braid*, *Colluthy*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, and Mr. *Andrew Hay*, were licenced also to confer with them, and with all that had any part in the attempt of *Ruthven*, for informing them of his Majestie's gracious inclination towards all of that number who should acknowledge their offence, and live obedient and peaceably from thenceforth. But little or nothing was wrought this way; whereupon the King took purpose to convene the Estates the 17 of *December*: and having exponed his whole proceeding in that business, an Act was passed by an universal consent, of this tenor. *An.* 1583.

A Convention of Estates.

"Albeit the late Surprise and Restraint of Our Person, perpetrated in *August* by-gone a year, was a crime of *læsæ Majestatis*, hainous in it self, of dangerous sequel, and most pernicious example, meriting the more severe punishment, because the committers thereof for the most part, besides the allegiance and common duty of subjects, were specially bound to Us by particular favors and benefits bestowed on them: yet, out of Our natural disposition to clemency, We resolved to reduce them by all gentle means to their duties; and not only forbare to use them with rigor, but made offer of pardon and mercy to such as would acknowledge their offence, and continue thereafter in a dutiful obedience; satisfying Our selves with that moderate declaration which tended not in any sort to their detriment, and prorogating days and moneths, to see what they could perform. Hereof We gave our promise to the Queen of *England*, which was certified to them by divers, and of late by certain Ministers and well-disposed Gentlemen, whom We licenced to confer with them, for persuading them of Our sincere meaning: behaving Our selves in all this as a kind Father that seeketh to recover his children, and not as a Prince that respected his estate. But Our Lenity not having produced the effects which were wished, We took counsel to assemble Our Estates, and make them witnesses of Our Clemency, whatsoever might happen to their persons hereafter: and now by their advice We have determined to prosecute with all rigor such of that number as shall continue in their disobedience, and shall not embrace the offers of Pardon made unto them. In the execution whereof, Our Nobility and Estates convened have solemnly promised their assistence, and for the greater authority both We and our said Estates have subscribed this Act with our hands. Farther, by their advice We have ordained, and ordain the Act of Council past in *October* 1582, touching the attempt at *Ruthven*, to be delete forth of the Books, inhibiting all and sundry of whatsoever estate, quality and degree, to allow by word, writing, or otherwise, the foresaid fact, which We (being now at Liberty) and our Estates have so publickly condemned.

Prorogation granted to those that were charged to enter in Ward.

An offer of pardon to those who will acknowledge their offence at *Ruthven*.

This Act made, the Earl of *Rothes* protested, that his Subscription to the Act in *October* 1582, approving the Attempt of *Ruthven* for good service, should not be laid to his charge, seeing he did the same unwillingly, and by his Majestie's special command and direction, like as soon after the committing of the fact he had testified his dislike thereof. The King, acknowledging the same to be of truth, made his Protestation to be admitted. Then began all the Faction to fall asunder, every man suing his pardon; which was granted, upon condition they should depart forth of the Realm, and not return without his Majestie's licence. The Earl of *Marre*, the Master of *Glamis*, with the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, went into *Ireland*; the Lord *Boyd*, *Lochlevin* and *Easter Weymis* unto *France*; others of the meaner sort were confined within certain bounds. The Earl of *Gowry*, notwithstanding he was reconciled to *Arran*, fearing to be troubled, obtained licence to go into *France*; but whilest he delays to go, and putteth off his journey from day to day, he falleth into new practices, which brought him unto his end.

The Earl of *Rothes* his Protestation.

The rest of the Winter was quiet, but now and then the Court was kept in exercises by the Sermons of some Preachers, who were therefore called in question. *John Dury*, Minister at *Edinburgh*, had in one of his Sermons justified publickly the fact of *Ruthven*: for which being cited before the Council, he stood to the defence of that he had spoken; yet, after advice taken with Mr. *James Lawson* his Collegue, he was moved to submit himself to the King, who continued the declaration of his

John Dury questioned for allowing the attempt of *Ruthven*.

An. 1584. pleaſure, till he had proof of his better behavior. The buſineſs with Mr. *Andrew Melvil* was greater; for he being cited to anſwer for certain ſpeeches uttered by him in a Sermon preached at S. *Andrews*, declining the judgement of the King and Council, affirming, *That what was ſpoken in Pulpit ought firſt to be tried and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Council might*, in prima inſtantia, *meddle therewith, though the ſpeeches were treaſonable.* When by no perſuaſion he could be induced to ſubmit himſelf, and that the King and Council, finding themſelves Judges, did proceed to examine the witneſſes; he burſt forth in undutiful ſpeeches againſt the King, ſaying, *He perverted the Laws both of God and man.* Which unreverent words proceeding from a Divine, in whom moderation and humility ſhould chiefly have appeared, did greatly offend the Council. Thereupon was he charged to enter his perſon in *Blackneſs* within the ſpace of ten hours; but in ſtead of obeying, he turned his back, and fled that night to *Berwick*. Then did all the Pulpits ſound, and every day were the Miniſters exclaiming, that *the Light of the Countrey for Learning, and he that was only moſt fit to reſiſt the adverſaries of Religion, was exiled, and compelled for ſafety of his life to quit the Kingdom.*

Mr. *Andrew Melvil* fleeth into *England*.

Pity it is to think how the King was then uſed: for though he cleared himſelf by Proclamations, ſhewing that the mans flight was voluntary, and that he meant not to have uſed him with any rigor; yet nothing was believed, and every-where people began to ſtir. Hereupon charges were directed, commanding thoſe who had obtained leave to depart out of the Realm, to uſe the benefit of their licences, and inhibiting all intelligence by Letters or otherwiſe with thoſe that are already gone. This wrought not much, only made thoſe that travelled to and fro with advertiſements the more wary and circumſpect. The Earl of *Gowry*, to liberate himſelf of ſuſpicion, came to *Dundy*, and conducing a Ship, gave out that he would forthwith depart; yet ſtill he lingred, attending the return of the Earl of *Marre* and the Maſter of *Glamis* from *Ireland*, at which time he and others of that Faction were to joyn and take Arms for reformation of abuſes, the ſecuring of Religion, and preſervation of the King his Perſon and Eſtate; for that was made the pretext.

The King his Proclamations miſregarded.

The Earl of *Gowry*, having obtained licence to go into *France*, delayeth to uſe it.

An. 1584. Being at *Dundy*, he is apprehended by Colonel *Stewart*, *April* 16.

The King, having notice given him of theſe practices, ſent Colonel *Stewart*, Captain of the guard, to apprehend the Earl of *Gowry*, who was ſuſpected becauſe of his lingring. The Colonel coming upon him unexpected as he lay in the houſe of *William Drummond*, Burgeſs of *Dundy*, he made to defend the lodging, and ſtood to it ſome ſpace; but the Town concurring with the Captain, he was forced to yield, and the next day conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and committed to the cuſtody of *Arran*. A night or two after the Earls of *Angus* and *Marre*, with ſome of their friends and followers, ſurpriſed the Town and Caſtle of *Striveling*, intending there to fortifie themſelves. But the ſudden expedition which the King made compelled them to fly into *England*, and leave the Caſtle victualled for ſome days, and in it a few Gentlemen whom they promiſed to relieve. Such a readineſs the King found in his ſubjects at this time, as upon a ſhort warning a greater Army and better appointed was in no mans memory known to have been aſſembled. The Town of *Edinburgh* ſhewed a great forwardneſs; for both they advanced moneys to levy ſoldiers, and put divers of their own inhabitants in Arms to attend the King. It was the 19 of *April* when knowledge was given firſt of the taking of *Striveling*, and before 24 all the Army was in readineſs to march. The ſame day advertiſement came of the Rebels flight; Whereupon the Wardens and Keepers of the Marches were directed to purſue them. The King himſelf with the Army marching towards *Striveling*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Levingſton* was ſent to incloſe the Caſtle, which yielded upon the hearing of his Majeſtie's approach, and was delivered in keeping to the Earl of *Arran*.

The Caſtle of *Striveling* ſurpriſed *April* 18.

The King prepareth to go towards *Striveling*.

The Rebels flee into *England*.

The Caſtle rendred *April* 27.

The Earl of *Gowry*, after he had been kept ſome days in *Kinneil*, was brought to *Striveling*. Before his tranſporting from *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Montroſs*, the Lord *Down* and Mr. *Robert Melvil* were directed to examine him, and hopes given that he ſhould find favor if he would diſcover the Conſpiracy, and what the Rebels had intended to do. He, upon promiſe that what he declared ſhould not be made

Gowry examined touching the Conſpiracy.

made an endictment againſt himſelf, diſcloſed all the Plot, ſetting down the ſame with his own hand as followeth. *An.* 1584.

His Confeſſion ſet down by himſelf in writing.

"Perceiving his Majeſtie's favor altered towards me, by miſreport of my un-
"friends, and my life and my living aimed at, I was of neceſſity forced to ſeek my re-
"lief by concurring with others of the Nobility who labored to ſecure themſelves
"and their eſtates. And hearing that there was ſome trafficking betwixt the No-
"blemen in *Ireland* and others at home, I uſed all means, though I was ſuſpected
"by them, to know what their courſes and hopes were: after ſome diligence I made
"that way, I met with Mr. *James Areskin*, who travelled to and fro betwixt them.
"And he at firſt obſcured himſelf from me, and would not be plain, till I promiſed
"my aſſiſtence: Then he ſhewed me that he had been with the Earl of *Angus*,
"whom he found cold, and in ſome hope to make addreſs for himſelf, and ſo
"leſs careful of their relief who were abſent. Yet he believed, if the Nobleman ſaw
"any good concurrence of others, he would give his aſſiſtence: but refuſed to deal
"in theſe matters, till they ſhould return, and things be determined with a com-
"mon conſent. This I thought likewiſe fitteſt; but in the mean time I prepared
"to depart, and would have been gone, if contrary winds had not ſtayed me. The
"ſame Gentleman came afterwards unto me, and ſhewed that they were re-
"turned, and would ſhortly be ſeen at *Striveling*. This moved me to remain,
"albeit doubting of a ſufficient concurrence of Noblemen, I was not reſolved what
"courſe to take, and lay in a careleſs ſecurity at *Dundy*, more inclined to go then
"to ſtay. I proteſt always before God, that I never heard nor was in counſel of
"any plot againſt his Majeſtie's Perſon, Crown or Eſtate, but only ſtudied to keep
"my ſelf from ruine by the aſſiſtence of others. At our meeting together, unto
"which time all was deferred, it was thought that a courſe ſhould be taken by com-
"mon advice for ſecuring our ſelves in his Majeſtie's favor. And whereas I am
"asked what Noblemen were privy to the enterpriſe, and what was looked for
"from *England*, I will truly declare all, upon the firm aſſurance of his Majeſtie's
"clemency. At home it was expected, that all thoſe who ſubſcribed the Bond in
"that firſt alteration would joyn themſelves with us, and beſides thoſe divers
"others; namely, the Earl of *Marſhal* and *Bothwell*, with the Lord *Lindeſay*, and
"ſome of the Weſt parts. So it was affirmed to me, but how truly I cannot ſay.
"From *England* we expected a ſupply, but no certain time was appointed; and it
"was ſaid, that the Queen minded to intercede for reſtitution of the *Hamiltons*,
"if ſhe found the King tractable. This is all I know, and if there be any other par-
"ticular tending to his Majeſtie's well or hurt which I do not at the preſent re-
"member, I ſhall plainly reveal the ſame, whoſoever be offended therewith.

A Letter from *Gowry* to his Majeſty.

At his coming to *Striveling* he ſent to the King a Letter penned in this form.
"Pleaſe your Majeſty, it is neither diffidence nor deſpair in your Highneſs favor
"and clemency towards me, nor any deſire I have to live in this world, that moves
"me to require ſome ſhort audience of your Majeſty. But there is a purpoſe of ſo
"weighty importance, which I deſire to impart unto your Highneſs, which might
"have endangered the life and eſtate of your Mother and your ſelf, if I had not
"ſtayed and impeded the ſame, the revealing whereof may avail your Majeſty
"more then the lives and livings of 500 ſuch as my ſelf. Moſt humbly therefore I
"beſeech your Highneſs that my Petition may be granted. I aſſure my ſelf of your
"Majeſtie's gracious anſwer. *Striveling* the laſt of *April*, 1584. In a Poſtſcript
this was added. "The matter I have to ſpeak is not the concealing of Treaſon, but
"the revealing of a Benefit.

He is denied audience, and put to the trial of a Jury.

The points of his Indictment.

This Petition was denied, and the ſame made a part of his Indictment: for being brought to his Trial the fourth of *May*, Mr. *John Grahame* ſitting as Juſtice, & aſſiſted by Sir *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Levingſton*, *Alexander Bruce* of *Airth*, and *James Edminſton* of *Duntraith*, he was indicted of four points. Firſt, that in the beginning of *February* Mr. *David Home*, ſervant to the Earl of *Marre*, came to him privately in the town of *Perth*, under ſilence of night, and communicated to him the treaſonable device of ſurpriſing the Burghs of *Perth* and *Striveling*, at leaſt of one or other of them; and that he agreed to the taking and fortifying

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An. 1584. ing of the ſaid Towns; whereby he had incurred the crime of Treaſon, as well in concealing, as conſenting to that wicked purpoſe. 2. That underſtanding Mr. *James Areskin* to be a trafficker betwixt *Marre*, *Angus* and others, he did belay the ways, to the end he might ſpeak with him, and after meeting kept conference with him touching the ſurpriſe of the Caſtle of *Striveling*, and the furniſhing thereof with men and ammunition. 3. That being charged in *Dundy* by his Majeſtie's Letters to render himſelf to the Lord *Pettenweyme*, his Majeſtie's Chancellor, and Captain of his Highneſs Guard, he did enter into the houſe of *William Drummond* Burgeſs of *Dundy*, and with his Complices defended the ſame by the ſpace of 6 hours, making exclamations to the people, that he was purſued for Religion, and deſiring them to aid & aſſiſt him. 4. That he being obliged to maintain his Majeſtie's Perſon, Life, Honor and Crown, and having intelligence of a moſt weighty purpoſe that concerned the life and eſtate of the King & the Queen his Mother, he had treaſonably concealed the ſame, and did as yet keep up the ſpecialties thereof; albeit he profeſſed he knew it ſo perfectly, that in his Letter written to the King he ſaith, that it had not failed to have taken effect, if he had not ſtayed and impeded the ſame.

His Exceptions repelled. The Indictment read, he firſt excepted againſt *Lochinvar*, that he could not be aſſeſſor to the Juſtice in his Trial in regard of the deadly enmity betwixt *Gartland* (who had married his Ladie's ſiſter) and him. This Exception was repelled, becauſe the propinquity alleged was only *affinitas affinitatis*. Then he complained that the Noblemen who were ſent to examine him had not kept their word, having promiſed, that whatſoever he had confeſſed ſhould not be laid to his charge. It was anſwered, that the Noblemens word could not warrant him. Thirdly, he ſaid, that being indicted for Treaſon, he ought to have been cited upon 40 days, and a delation made by ſome accuſer, which was not obſerved. The Advocate replied, that in matters of Treaſon the King might arreſt any perſon upon the ſpace it pleaſed him. Fourthly, he alleged the licence granted him to depart the Countrey. This was found nought, except he did therewith produce a reſpit or remiſſion. To the laſt point of the Indictment he ſaid, that what he offered to reveal tended to his benefit if he had vouchſafed him hearing, and was no matter of Treaſon. It was anſwered, that the concealing of that might tend to the hurt of the Kings Life and Mother's, was Treaſon.

The names of the Aſſiſers. So the Indictment was found relevant, and the perſons of the Jury called. Theſe were, *Colin* Earl of *Argile*, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *John* Earl of *Montroſs*, *James* Earl of *Glencarn*, *Hugh* Earl of *Eglinton*, *James* Earl of *Arran*, *George* Earl of *Marſhal*, *Alexander* Lord *Seaton*, *Hugh* Lord *Sommervil*, *James* Lord *Down*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Patrick* Lord *Drummond*, *James* Lord *Ogilvy*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Oliphant*, and *John* *Murray* of *Tullibardin*. They retiring themſelves, as the cuſtom is, and returning within a ſhort ſpace, pronounced him guilty: whereupon Sentence was given, that he ſhould be taken to the Market-Croſs, have his Head cut off, and he diſmembred as a Traitor. The laſt part thereof was diſpenſed, and he in the evening beheaded. His ſervants were permitted to take the head with the body, and bury it. This was the end of that Nobleman, who in his life was much honored, and imployed in the chief offices of Court: a man wiſe, but ſaid to have been too curious, and to have conſulted with Wizards touching the ſtate of things in future times; yet was he not charged with this, nor ſeemed he to be touched therewith in his death, which to the judgement of the beholders was very peaceable and quiet. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have done in ſuch misfortunes, *That if he had ſerved God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that end*: but otherwiſe died patiently, with a contempt of the world, and aſſurance of mercy at the hands of God.

Gowry found guilty, and ſentence pronounced.

His Execution and manner of death.

Archibald Douglas and another executed. The ſame day *Archibald Douglas* (called *the Conſtable*,) and Mr. *John Forbes* ſervant to the Earl of *Marre*, were executed. The reſt who were taken in the Caſtle had their lives ſpared, and were baniſhed the Countrey; and *David Home* of *Argaty*, and one *John Shaw*, were pardoned.

The houſes of the Rebels charged. The King after this returned to *Edinburgh*, where he gave order for charging the houſes of the fugitive Lords and their friends; and upon information made

that

that certain of the Miniſtery had dealing with the Rebels, ſummons were directed to charge Mr. *Andrew Hay* Parſon of *Ranfrew*, Mr. *Andrew Polwart* Subdean of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway* and Mr. *James Carmichael* Miniſters, to compeir before the Council. Mr. *Andrew Hay* compeired, and nothing being qualified againſt him, was upon ſuſpicion confined in the North. The other three not compeiring were denounced Rebels, and fled into *England*. *An.* 1584. Miniſters called in queſtion for the Conſpiracy.

The Parliament declared current at the time, for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of buſineſs, convened the 22 of *May*. In it His Majeſtie's Declaration concerning the attempt of *Ruthven* was ratified; The King his Authority over all perſons in all cauſes confirmed; The declining of his Majeſtie's judgement and the Council's in whatſoever matter declared to be Treaſon; The impugning of the Authority of the three Eſtates, or procuring the innovation or diminution of the power of any of them, inhibited under the ſame pain; All Juriſdictions and Judicatures, ſpiritual or temporal, not approved of by his Highneſs and the three Eſtates, diſcharged; and an Ordinance made, *That none, of whatſoever function, quality or degree, ſhould preſume privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations or familiar conferences, to utter any falſe, untrue or ſlanderous ſpeeches, to the reproach of his Majeſty, his Council and proceedings, or to the diſhonor, hurt or prejudice of his Highneſs, his Parents and Progenitors, or to meddle with the affairs of his Highneſs and Eſtate, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliaments made againſt the makers and reporters of Lies.*

Whileſt theſe Statutes were in framing, the Miniſters who were informed thereof, to work at leaſt a delay, ſent Mr. *David Lindeſay* to intreat the King that nothing ſhould paſs in Act concerning the Church, till they were firſt heard. *Arran* getting intelligence of this, cauſed arreſt him, as one that kept intelligence with *England*; ſo as he was not permitted to come towards the King. The firſt night he was kept in *Halirudhouſe*, and the next morning ſent priſoner to *Blackneſs*, where he was detained 47 weeks. Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, hearing that he was committed, forſook their Charge, and fled into *England*, leaving a ſhort writing behind them, to ſhew the reaſons of their departing. Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith* committed. The Miniſters at *Edinburgh* flee to *England*.

John Dury ſome weeks before was removed and confined in the Town of *Montroſs*, ſo as *Edinburgh* was left without any Preacher. Mr. *Robert Pont*, Miniſter of S. *Cuthbert*'s, and one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, becauſe of the miſregard of the Church, as he pretended, in concluding theſe Acts, (as the Heraulds were proclaiming them according to the Cuſtom) took inſtruments in the hands of a Notary of the Churche's diſaſſenting, and that they were not obliged to give their obedience thereto; which done, he likewiſe fleeing was denounced Rebel, and put from the place in Seſſion. Mr. *Robert Pont* proteſteth againſt the Acts.

Rumors hereupon being diſperſed that the King was declined to Popery, had made divers Acts to hinder the free paſſage of the Goſpel, and aboliſh all order and policy in the Church, command was given to form a brief Declaration of his Majeſtie's intention in thoſe Acts that concerned the Church, and to publiſh the ſame for detecting the falſhood of thoſe rumors. In this Declaration the occaſions that enforced the King to the making of theſe Statutes were particularly ſet down, and the equity thereof maintained by divers reaſons. Amongſt the occaſions "were reckoned the allowance of the fact of *Ruthven* by the aſſembly of the "Church; Mr. *Andrew Melvil* his declining of the King and Council; the Faſt kept "at the Feaſting of the *French* Ambaſſadors; general Faſts indicted through the "Realm without the King his knowledge; the uſurping of the Eccleſiaſtical juriſ-"diction by a number of Miniſters and Gentlemen; the alteration of the Laws "at their pleaſure, and a number of like abuſes. And for ſatisfying good people, ſtrangers as well as ſubjects, touching his Majeſtie's good affection towards the maintenance of Religion; certain Articles were drawn up and ſubjoyned to the ſaid Declaration, to make it appear that his Majeſty had intended nothing but to have a ſetled form of Policy eſtabliſhed in the Church.

But theſe things gave not much ſatisfaction, (ſo great was the diſcontent) and were replied unto in Pamphlets, defamatory Libels and ſcurril Poems, which daily Libels and Pamphlets againſt the Rulers of the Court.

came

An. 1584. came forth againſt the Court, and the Rulers of it. To furniſh the vacant places of *Edinburgh*, till ſome were moved to undertake the charge, the King did appoint his own Miniſters, Mr. *John Craig* and Mr. *John Duncanſon*, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſupplying the ordinary preaching at Court. Soon after there came a Letter from the Miniſters, directed to the Seſſion of the Church at *Edinburgh*, and to the Council of the Town, of this tenor.

A Letter from the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to the Seſſion of the Church and Council of the Town.

"That ſeeing they were aſſured many calumnies would be forged againſt them "for abſenting themſelves from their Flock, they thought good to write unto them "the true cauſes thereof; which were as they ſaid, The great indignation conceived "againſt them by the Rulers of the Court, for reſiſting the dangerous courſes then "in hand; the Acts made in the late Parliament repugnant to the Word of God "and Doctrine oftentimes by them preached; the iniquity committed in the paſ- "ſing the ſaid Acts, and violence wherein they were defended; the Articles penned "and preſented to ſome Miniſters for ſubmitting themſelves to the tyrannical Re- "giment of Biſhops, whom they called *groſs Libertines, Belly-gods, and infamous*; the "charge given to the Provoſt and Bayliffs of *Edinburgh*, to take and apprehend all "Miniſters that ſhould convene to the Elderſhip, and thoſe that in Sermon ſhould "utter any thing againſt the Acts and preſent unhappy courſe; with the inſolent "words caſt forth againſt them, That if they followed the ſame courſe they were in, "though their heads were as hayſtacks, they ſhould be laid at their heels. Theſe "things they ſaid did caſt them in a grievous temptation: for to go from their good "courſe they could not, unleſs they ſhould be Traitors to God; to continue in it "and ſtay would be counted Treaſon againſt the King, and be hazardous of their "Flock that was charged to apprehend them, in caſe of condemning theſe Acts; "which they could not do: and that after a long wreſtling they had reſolved to de- "part, and reſerve themſelves to better times; which they were aſſured was the "pleaſure of God, and that he would make the world underſtand that he had his "own work in it. In end beſeeching them to ſtand to theſe things which they had "heard from them, and imbraced as the Truth of God, they forewarned them of "wolves that ſhould intrude themſelves, Teachers that ſought themſelves and not "Chriſt *Jeſus*; which often they had foretold the contempt of the Truth would "work: And concluded with an hope that they ſhould ſuſtain the preſent Croſs pa- "tiently, and be united to them again in God his good time.

By the King's direction an anſwer is returned in this form.

The King hearing of this Letter ſent for the ſame, and offending greatly thereat, would have the Seſſion and Council to anſwer them in this form.

We have received and read your Letter, for the which offence we have humbly craved his Majeſtie's pardon, and not only obtained the ſame, but have likewiſe purchaſed liberty to write unto you this preſent, wherein we uſe you more charitably then ye have uſed us, remitting to learned men and your own Conſciences to ſhew you, ſeeing you are not blinded with ignorance nor lack learning, (at the leaſt ſome of you) how far ye have ſtrayed from the right way in your Letter lately ſent to us, unreverently affirming his Highneſs Acts of Parliament to be repugnant to the Word of God: we tell you that the ſame do fully content and ſatisfie us, ſeeing we can find no part of Scripture that is contrary thereto. And ſith we ſee by the firſt Act, the liberty of Preaching the Word, as the ſame is preſently profeſſed, and miniſtration of the Sacraments ratified and allowed, and that we know there are wiſe men and fearing God amongſt the Eſtates who concluded theſe Acts; we are reſolved to follow the Apoſtles counſel in Rom. 13. *whereunto you did ſeldom exhort us. And now in reſpect you have ſo contemptuouſly ſlandered theſe good and neceſſary Laws eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty and the Eſtates, and laboured ſo far as you can to draw men unto diſlike thereof, fled out of the Realm unchallenged and unpurſued, and thereby have not only declared your ſelves guilty, but alſo misbehaved your ſelves to us your late Flock, firſt, in leaving us without our knowledge, againſt your duty, and the conditions made unto us, next, in drawing upon us his Majeſtie's ſuſpicion, that we foreknew your departure, which of new ye have confirmed by ſending a Letter to us, you being his Majeſtie's Rebels and fugitives; In reſpect, we ſay, of all the foreſaid cauſes, we by theſe preſents diſcharge our ſelves unto you, eſteeming our ſelves no longer your Flock, nor you any more our Paſtors; and thanking God, the revealer of ſecrets, that he hath made you manifeſt to your ſhame, and*

relieved

relieved us of Wolves in ſtead of Paſtors. Thus hoping his Majeſty will provide us of good and quieter-ſpirited Miniſters, we commit you to God's mercy, who may give you to repent of your foreſaid offences. An. 1584.

This Letter ſent to the Council and Seſſion of the Church to be ſubſcribed made a great buſineſs: the Town fearing to diſpleaſe the King; and to diſcharge with their Miniſters in ſuch a form, laying upon them the reproaches of *Fugitives*, *Rebels*, *Wolves*, and the reſt, they thought would be ill taken of all good men: yet after much ado, ſixteen of the principals put their hands unto it, and ſo was it diſpatch'd. The Miniſters having received and read the Letter were mightily grieved, eſpecially Mr. *James Lawſon*, who had taken greatly to heart the Troubles of the Church, and the advertiſements which were given him of the ſucceſs of matters at home; and now perceiving by this Letter that ſome, who profeſſed themſelves very forward in the cauſe, had turned their backs upon it, he fell in a great ſorrow, and thereby contracted a ſickneſs, whereof he died at *London* in *October* following. A man he was of good learning and judgment, of a pious and peaceable diſpoſition, but carried too much with the idle rumors of the people. After his courſe of ſtudies paſſed in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, he was imployed by the Counteſs of *Crawford*, a Noble Lady, to attend her three Sons, whom ſhe ſent to *France*; and upon their return, to ſhew his gratitude unto the School wherein he was educated, gave himſelf to read the *Hebrew* tongue to ſome youths in the ſame Univerſity. From thence he was called to be Principal in the old College of *Aberdene*; and after three years profitably ſpent in that place, was brought, as we ſhewed before, to *Edinburgh*, where he continued Preacher the ſpace of 12 years, in great eſteem and reputation, until theſe unhappy times, which bereft his Church and Countrey of him and his labours. He died in the 46 year of his age, and was buried in the new Church-yard of *London*, at the ſide of Mr. *Dearing*, a famous Preacher in that Church.

The Letter grieveth the Miniſters exceedingly.

Mr. *James Lawſon* died at *London*.

His death bringeth to mind other two learned men in this Church, Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet*, and Mr. *Thomas Smeton*, the one Principal of *Aberdene*, and the other of *Glaſgow* College, who in the end of the laſt year nigh about the ſame time departed this life, to the great loſs both of the Countrey and Church. The firſt a Gentleman born, of the Houſe of *Arbuthnet* in *Mernis*, being trained up in the ſtudy of Letters, and having the courſe of Philoſophy in the ſame College with Mr. *Lawſon*, went to *France* at the age of twenty three years; there applying himſelf to the Laws, he lived five years an Auditor of that great Doctor *Cujacius*, and being made Licentiate, returned to *Scotland* in the year one thouſand five hundred threeſcore and ſix, of purpoſe to follow that calling; but God otherwiſe diſpoſing, in the year 1569 he was made Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, where, by his diligent teaching & dexterous government, he not only revived the ſtudy of good Letters, but gained many from the Superſtitions whereunto they were given. He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in ſuch account for his moderation with the chief men of theſe parts, that without his advice they could almoſt do nothing: which put him in a great faſherce, whereof he did often complain. Pleaſant and jocund in converſation, & in all Sciences expert; a good Poet, Mathematician, Philoſopher, Theologue, Lawyer, and in Medicine skilful; ſo as in every ſubject he could promptly diſcourſe, and to good purpoſe. He died in the 45 year of his age much lamented, and was buried in the College-Church at *Aberdene* the 20 of *October*, 1583.

Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet* his death.

Within ſome few days he was followed by Mr. *Thomas Smeton*. This man, born in *Gaske*, a little Village not far from *Perth*, ſtudied Philoſophy in S. *Salvator's* College at S. *Andrews*, under Mr. *William Cranſton* at that time Provoſt of the Houſe, by whoſe perſuaſion he went beyond Sea; and after he had remained a while at *Paris*, took journey to *Rome*, where entering the Society of the *Jeſuits* he abode three years. Thereafter coming home for ſome private buſineſs, when he had ſetled the ſame, he returned to *Paris*, and kept ſtill in that Society. In the year 1571, *Thomas Metellan*, travelling through *France* into *Italy*, did requeſt his company in that journey; whereunto he yielded, and went with him to *Italy*: but the Gentleman contracting ſickneſs by the way and dying, he returned by *Geneva*;

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* his death.

An. 1584. *Geneva*, and was there confirmed in the Religion to which a little before he was inclining when he went to *Paris*. After he had revealed himſelf to ſome Principals of the Society, he forſook their Profeſſion, and was in danger to have been killed at the Maſſacre which fell out at the ſame time; but by the favor of Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, he was ſaved, and came in his company to *England*. Five years he remained at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, teaching ſome youths of the countrey, and in the year 1578 returned into *Scotland*. In the year 1580, upon the remove of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* to the new College of S. *Andrews*, he was choſen Principal of the College of *Glaſgow*, and taught the Controverſies there ſome three years with great profit. He was a man learned in the Languages, and well ſeen in ancient Fathers, the reading of whoſe Works he did ever ſeriouſly recommend to the youth. The Anſwer he penned in defence of this Church againſt Mr. *Archibald Hamilton*, and other Dictates which are yet in the hands of his diſciples, do ſhew his worth, and the loſs this Church received by his death. He deceaſed at *Glaſgow* the 6 of *December*, 1583, in the 47 year of his age, and was buried in the Cathedral Church.

The Miniſters charged with the Subſcription of certain Articles.

Theſe deaths falling ſo quick one after another were taken to be a preſage of great Troubles in the Church, nor was it long before theſe ſtirs happened of which we have ſpoken. All this Summer the ſame continued, the Miniſters being daily called before the Council, and a great buſineſs made of their Subſcription to certain Articles which concerned their obedience to the Biſhops: they who refuſed had their Stipends ſequeſtrated, which cauſed a great outcrying amongſt the people, and made the Rebels to be more favored. The King, to rid himſelf of theſe vexations, did call the principal Miniſters, and having ſhewed that all his deſire was to have the Church peaceably governed, and a decent Policy eſtabliſhed, he willed them to ſet down in writing the Reaſons which moved them to refuſe Subſcription, that he might conſider the ſame, and ſatisfie their doubts. They chuſing rather to propound the ſame by word of mouth, were after ſome Conference induced to ſet their hands to the Articles; this clauſe being added *(agreeing with the Word of God.)*

Mr. *Nicol Dalgleiſh* condemned.

Yet new occaſions of trouble were ſtill breaking forth. Upon information that Mr. *Nicol Dalgleiſh*, Miniſter at S. *Cuthbert*'s, did in his publick prayers remember the exiled brethren, he was called before the Council, and accuſed for praying for the King's Rebels, as alſo for keeping intelligence with them by Letters. The Miniſter confeſſed his praying for the brethren, maintaining the ſame to be lawful, but the intelligence he denied; only granted that he had ſeen a Letter written by Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* to his wife, wherein he was kindly remembred. The King offended with his anſwers, commanded the Advocate to purſue him criminally; which was done the next day. At his appearing before the Juſtice, when he heard the Indictment, he ſaid, *That he ought not to be queſtioned for one and the ſame fact before two Judicatories; and that having anſwered theſe points before the Council, he ſhould not be put again to it.* The Advocate replying that the Council's proceeding could not ſtay the criminal Judge; he was commanded to anſwer, and to do it adviſedly, ſeeing it concerned his Life. *If I muſt anſwer*, ſaid he, *I do not think that I have offended in praying for my brethren, who are in trouble; and for the Letter I ſaw, if the concealing thereof be a fault, I ſubmit my ſelf to his Majeſtie's will.* The Jury proceeding declared him guilty of Treaſon: yet the Sentence was continued, & he ſent to the *Tolbuith*, where he remained ſome moneths, and in end upon his Supplication was pardoned & put to liberty.

David Home and his brother executed.

In the ſame Court *David Home* of *Argathy*, with *Patrick Home* his brother, were condemned to die for keeping intelligence with the Commendatory of *Driburgh*, and in the afternoon executed. Yet was it no matter of State, but ſome private Accounts that reſted undiſcharged at his parting forth of the Countrey, wherein they had interchanged one or two Letters. This ſeverity was univerſally diſliked, but that which ſhortly after enſued was much more hateful. To breed a terror in people, and cauſe them abſtain from communicating in any ſort with the exiled Lords, a Proclamation was made, *That whoſoever ſhould diſcover any perſon offending in that kind, ſhould beſides his own pardon receive a ſpecial reward.* Hereupon did one *Robert Hamilton* of *Egliſmachan* delate *Malcolm Douglas* of *Mains* and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhaſill* for having conſpired to intercept the King at hunting, and detain

Robert Hamilton of *Egliſmachan* delateth the Lairds of *Drumwhaſill* and *Mains*.

detain him in ſome ſtrong Hold, till the Lords might come and receive him. A mere Forgery, yet gladly hearkened unto by thoſe that deſired to be rid of them; for they were both Gentlemen of good reſpect, and miſtruſted of the Court, *Mains* eſpecially, becauſe of his valor and manhood. To make out the Accuſation, it was deviſed, that Sir *James Edmonſton* of *Duntraith*, who had lived in great familiarity with them, ſhould be charged with the ſaid crime, and upon his confeſſion to be pardoned; which by the policy of the Accuſer, to his own perpetual diſcredit, he was menaced to yield unto. *An.* 1584.

Matters thus dreſſed, Colonel *William Stewart* was ſent to apprehend them, who finding them in their own houſes, did without any reſiſtence bring them priſoners to *Edinburgh*. The ninth of *February* they were preſented before the Juſtice, Mr. *John Ghrame* ſitting as Deputy, and Mr. *Edward Bruce* as Aſſeſſor. Beginning made with *Duntraith*, he was indicted for conſpiring with *Mains* and *Drumwhaſill*, (the accuſer *Hamilton*) and others, for taking and detaining the King in the manner aforeſaid, which was ſaid to be plotted by the Earl of *Angus*, and imparted to him and the reſt on pannel by *John Home*, commonly called *Black John*. He, without making any defence, confeſſed all, betaking him to the King's mercy. *Drumwhaſill* accuſed of the ſame conſpiracy, and of conſulting with *Duntraith* thereupon at the Churches of *Strablen* and *Killern*, was farther charged with the treaſonable attempt of *Ruthven*, whereof he had been partaker. What he anſwered, I find not in the Proceſs: but when *Mains* his Indictment was read, he denied all, and ſo cleared himſelf by the unlikelihood, and their impoſſibility to compaſs a buſineſs of that importance, to all that were preſent, as in their hearts they did pronounce him innocent. Notwithſtanding they all three were convicted, and declared guilty of Treaſon. Doom was only pronounced againſt *Drumwhaſill* and *Mains*, and they the ſame day hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh*. The Gentlemens caſe was much pitied, *Mains* his caſe eſpecially. *Hamilton*, who made the delation, lived after this in a continual fear, and abhorred of all men: he kept ſtill in the company of *Arran*, unto the alteration of Court at *Striveling*; at which time *James Johnſton* of *Weſtraw*, pretending a vow that he had made to revenge *Mains* his death, did kill him as he was flying through the Park on the South ſide of the Town.

Drumwhaſill and *Mains* put to a Trial.

They are found guilty and executed.

The unhappy end of *Hamilton* the delator.

Theſe cruel and rigorous proceedings cauſed ſuch a general fear, as all familiar ſociety and intercourſe of humanity was in a manner left, no man knowing to whom he might ſafely ſpeak or open his mind. *Arran* in the mean time went on, drawing into his own hands the whole managing of affairs, for he would be ſole and ſupreme over all. The Earl of *Argile* having departed this life the year preceding, he was created Chancellor. The office of Secretary he gave to Mr. *John Metellan*, *Lethington*'s ſon, having baniſhed the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who formerly poſſeſſed the ſame. The Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling* he had himſelf in cuſtody, then made himſelf be choſen Provoſt of the Town; and as if all this had not been enough, he was declared General Lieutenant over the whole Kingdom. In a word, whatſoever he was pleaſed was done, and without him nothing could be done. This ſtirred up great emulation againſt him in Court. The Maſter of *Gray*, a great favorite at that time, did take it diſdainfully that every thing ſhould be governed by him; Sir *Lewis Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk, a man of brave ſpirit, did alſo hardly endure it; and Mr. *John Metellan*, though he had followed him ſtill from *Morton*'s Execution to that time, began to fall away and work his own credit: thoſe things were cunningly diſſembled as among Courtiers, and all outward reſpect given him by thoſe that were plotting his ruine.

Arran his power and credit at Court.

To his felicity nothing, as he thought, was wanting but the friendſhip of *England*; this he was adviſed by the Maſter of *Gray* to ſeek by the Lord *Hunſdon*'s means, who lay then Governor of *Berwick*: a meeting whereupon wrought betwixt them, and at *Foulden* ſome three miles from *Berwick* (whither *Arran* went) matters ſo dreſſed, as upon the aſſurance of his ſervice to the Queen of *England*, it was promiſed that the exiled Lords, who lay near the Borders waiting to raiſe ſome ſtirs, ſhould be called to *London*, and upon verification of the Conſpiracy wherewith *Mains* and the reſt were charged, put forth of *England*. In this hope the Maſter of *Gray* is

Arran laboreth to gain the Queen of *England*.

12. *Auguſti.*

An. 1585. ſent into *England*, and Commiſſion given him for remanding the fugitive Rebels; or, if that could not be obtained, for removing them farther off from the Borders of *Scotland*: more privately he was deſired to uſe all means for winning the Queen's favor to the Earl of *Arran*. And for peparing the way to his Legation, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* was ſent ſome weeks before to inform the Queen of the King his ſincerity in Religion, becauſe of the rumor which the Miniſters who fled thither had diſperſed to the contrary. The Queen, profeſſing to have received great content by his information, recommended to the King above all things conſtancy in his Profeſſion, aſſuring him in that caſe of her unchangeable friendſhip.

The Maſter of *Gray* ſent into *England* the beginning of *October*.

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſent into *England*.

The Maſter of *Gray* at his coming had favorable acceptance, though he was known to be a Catholick *Romane*; and for the point of remanding was anſwered, that ſhe did not think thoſe Gentlemen whom the King called Rebels intended any harm to his Perſon, but if the contrary was made to appear, they ſhould not be ſuffered to remain in her Kingdoms: And for that the King required touching their farther remove from the Borders, the ſame was promiſed, and the Lords accordingly called from thence, and commanded to ſtay at *Norwich*. This anſwer reported to the King by the Maſter of *Gray* at his return, drew another Legation, wherein Sir *Lewis Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk was imployed. The thing committed to him was the Accuſation of the baniſhed Lords, and verifying againſt them the Conſpiracy for which *Mains* and *Drumwhaſill* had ſuffered.

The Queen's anſwer to the Maſter of *Gray*.

The Juſtice Clerk directed into *England*, *April* 1585.

The Lords upon this were brought from *Norwich* to *London*, and there challenged by the Ambaſſador, who, as appeared, inſiſted with great fervor againſt them. But the Maſter of *Glamis*, anſwering for the reſt, made their innocency in that particular to be clearly ſeen, which was heard no leſs willingly by the Judges then delivered by the ſpeaker. Neither was the Accuſer any worſe minded towards them, for all the ſhew he made; and at the ſame time were grounds laid both for their reſtitution, and *Arran* his ſubverſion; the Queen and Council of *England* being privy to all, and ſecretly advancing their enterpriſe. *Arran* in the mean time had aſſurance given him of the Queen's friendſhip, and ſuppoſing all things to be right, went on in his accuſtomed manner, not caring what enmity he drew upon himſelf. The Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Home* and Maſter of *Caſſils* were committed to priſon. The firſt, becauſe he refuſed to divorce from his Wife (a Daughter of the Earl of *Gowry*) and intail his lands to him; the next, for that he denied him his part of the lands of *Dirleton*; and the third, for denying him a loan of ſome moneys, which it was thought he might ſpare.

The baniſhed Lords challenged by the Juſtice Clerk.

Arran draweth much envy upon himſelf.

His laſt falling out in that kind was with the Lord *Maxwel*, for an excambion of the Barony of *Mernis* and the lands of *Maxwel-heugh* with the Barony of *Kinneil*, which he poſſeſſed by the forfeiture of the *Hamiltons*. *Maxwel*, not liking to change his old inheritance with ſuch a new and uncertain purchaſe, excuſed himſelf, and would not hearken to the change: but he thinking to force him thereto by ſome indirect means, travelleth with the Lady *Johnſton*, who gave attendance at Court, to cauſe her Husband to accept of the Provoſtry of *Dumfreis*, and moveth the King to write unto the Town to elect *Johnſton* their Provoſt, for that he, being Warden of the Weſt Marches, would thereby be made more able to keep good order in theſe parts. *Maxwel* interpreting this to be done, as it was, to his diſgrace, at the time of Election convocated his friends, and debarring *Johnſton* from entring the Town, procured himſelf to be continued in the Office. Hereupon informations were made to the King, that there could no quietneſs be expected in theſe parts unleſs *Maxwel* his power was curbed. Charges were alſo directed to cauſe him preſent certain of the name of *Armeſtrong*, for whom he was obliged; which he not performing was denounced Rebel, and Commiſſion given to the Laird *Johnſton* to purſue him; for whoſe better enabling he had two companies of hired ſoldiers allowed him, under the charge of two Captains, *Lamby* and *Cranſton*. *Maxwel* hearing of theſe preparations gathered his forces, and with a part thereof ſent his natural brother *Robert* *Maxwel* to intercept the two Captains ere they ſhould joyn with *Johnſton*. They encountering in the Moor of *Crawford*,

His falling out with the Lord *Maxwel*.

Crawford, after a ſharp Conflict the Captains were defeated, *Lamby* and moſt of his company killed, and *Cranſton* with divers others taken priſoners. *An.* 1585.

Johnſton, leſt he ſhould be thought to do nothing, did then make Incurſions upon *Maxwel*'s lands, raiſing fire, and carrying away great ſpoil: which *Maxwel* repayed with the burning of the houſe of *Lockwood*, and the ſlaughter of ſome of the *Johnſtons* in *Annandale*. And thus did they make war one againſt another, till it happened that *Johnſton* in a certain Conflict was taken by *Maxwel*, and made priſoner. The grief of this overthrow gave *Johnſton* ſhortly after he was liberated his death: but the wrath of the Court ſtill continuing, a Convention of the Eſtates was called to ſuppreſs *Maxwel*, and a Subſidy granted of 20000 pounds for levying of ſoldiers to purſue him. Thereafter all that could bear Arms, dwelling on the South of *Forth*, were commanded to be in readineſs for attending the King in an Expedition that he intended towards theſe parts. But the Plague breaking out in *Edinburgh* did rage ſo vehemently all that Summer as nothing could be done; ſo the Expedition was put off for certain moneths.

Troubles betwixt the *Maxwels* and *Johnſtons*.

Johnſton taken priſoner, and ſhortly after dieth.

Meanwhile there fell out an accident which did quite alienate the Queen of *England*'s favor from *Arran*. Sir *John Forreſter* and *Thomas Kar* of *Farnherſt*, Wardens of the middle Marches, being met for reſtoring ſome goods taken from the *Engliſh*, a Tumult fell out, wherein Sir *Francis Ruſſel* Son to the Earl of *Bedford* was killed: this was laid upon *Farnherſt*, and he ſaid to have done it by *Arran*'s inſtigation; for they two were at that time in great friendſhip. And when the Queen did require *Farnherſt* to be delivered, *Arran* did ſtrongly oppoſe it: yet the King for her ſatisfaction did confine them both, the one in S. *Andrews*, and the other in *Aberdene*. *Arran* after a little time was relieved to his houſe at *Kinneil*; the other contracting ſickneſs kept bed a long ſpace, and as was thought died of diſpleaſure at *Aberdene*. A man he was of an haughty ſpirit, and had endured much trouble in the ſervice of the King's Mother, which he eſteemed ſhould have made him better reſpected then as he conceived he was.

Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, killed at a meeting in the Borders.

Arran and *Farnherſt* confined.

Farnherſt dieth at *Aberdene*.

Shortly after this accident Sir *Edward Wotton* was imployed in an Ambaſſage from *England*, for contracting a League offenſive & defenſive with the King in the cauſe of Religion. For then came that *Holy League*, as they called it, to be diſcovered; which the Pope, the *Spaniſh* King, the *Guiſes* and others had made to extirpate the Reformed Religion. The Queen of *England* underſtanding her ſelf to be principally aimed at, found nothing better then to make a counter-League with the Princes Reformed: and to that effect ſent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to treat with the King of *Denmark* and the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, and at the ſame time imployed Sir *Edward Wotton* towards the King. The motion did ſo pleaſe him, as preſently he called the Eſtates at S. *Andrews*, and having in a long and pithy ſpeech expreſſed the dangers threatned to Religion, with the neceſſity that the Reformed Princes had to unite themſelves ſtrongly together, procured the Act following to be concluded.

Sir *Edward Wotton* Ambaſſador to *Scotland* about the beginning of *June*, 1585.

A Convention of the Eſtates at S. *Andrews*.

We the Nobility and Eſtates preſently convened, underſtanding that divers Princes and Potentates, who term themſelves Catholicks, have joyned under the Pope's authority in a moſt unchriſtian Confederacy againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors thereof, with full intent to proſecute their wicked reſolution not only within their own Eſtates and Dominions, but likewiſe in other Kingdoms, where they can pretend no lawful Power nor Authority; a purpoſe long ſince projected, and hitherto cunningly carried, but now openly manifeſted, and in divers parts begun to be executed with hard and cruel effects: and conſidering withal how it hath pleaſed God to bleſs this Realm with the ſincerity of the Goſpel, (the defence whereof is the moſt juſt and lawful cauſe that Chriſtians can maintain:) We have thought it requiſite not only to unite our ſelves, and joyn the whole forces which God hath granted us under our moſt Religious and Chriſtian Sovereign, for the better aſſurance of our own eſtates, and the more peaceable enjoying of ſo great a benefit; but alſo, for withſtanding the dangerous courſe intended againſt all the Profeſſors of the Truth, we have judged it needful that a general League and Chriſtian Confederacy of Princes and States, profeſſing the true Religion, ſhould be oppoſed to the ungodly Confederacy of the enemies thereof; eſpecially that the two Crowns of Scotland *and* England, *which nature, blood, habitation, and the profeſſion of one Religion hath joyned, may be unſeparably united by a*

A League continued with the Queen of *England*.

An. 1585. *more firm and ſtrict League then hath been betwixt any Princes their Progenitors in times paſt. For which effect we under ſubſcribing, for our ſelves, and in name and behalf of the whole Eſtates of this Realm, whoſe body in this Convention we repreſent, have given and granted, like as we by the tenor hereof do give and grant, to our Sovereign Lord King* James *the Sixth, his Council or ſuch of them as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to nominate, our full power, privilege, aſſent and authority whatſoever, competent to us and to the three Eſtates of this Realm, to treat or cauſe to treat, confer, tranſact, and conclude a Chriſtian League betwixt his Majeſty and his Highneſs deareſt Siſter and Couſen, the Queen of* England, *and to nominate and appoint Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who ſhall meet at ſuch time and place as his Highneſs ſhall agree upon with the Commiſſioners to be directed from his ſaid deareſt Siſter, the nomination and election of whom we have remitted and do humbly remit to our dread Sovereign Lord, faithfully promiſing for us, and in behalf foreſaid, to ratifie, approve and confirm, in the firſt Parliament, whatſoever thing his Majeſty ſhall agree unto, or his Highneſs Commiſſioners in his name ſhall contract, indent, ſubſcribe or ſeal concerning the ſaid League, with all Heads, Clauſes and Articles thereof: which we do and have the more willingly done, becauſe of the truſt we repoſe in his Majeſtie's wiſdom, circumſpection, and earneſt zeal to maintain the Truth of God againſt all that ſhall happen to attempt any thing to the contrary. Providing always that the League do not infringe or prejudge in any ſort any former Alliances and Leagues betwixt this Realm and any other ancient Friends and Confederates thereof, except only in matter of Religion, concerning which we do fully conſent that the ſaid League be made offenſive and defenſive, avowing, and by our ſolemn oaths ſwearing, neither to ſpare life, lands, houſes, goods, nor whatſoever it hath pleaſed God to grant unto us, in defence and maintainenance thereof.*

This Act was paſt on the laſt of *July* with a great conſent, and was ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, the Commendators of *Gulroſs*, *Balmerinoch*, *Driburgh*, *Kinloſs*, *Lindors*, *Blanire*, and *Pettinweyme*, repreſenting the Spiritual Eſtate; by the Earls of *Arran*, *March*, *Athol*, *Montroſs*, *Marſhal*, and *Rothes*, the Lords *Oliphant*, *Thirlſtane*, *Gray*, *Sinclare*, *Down* and *Fleming* for the Nobility; and by the Commiſſioners of Burghs, and all the Officers of Eſtate, amongſt the reſt by the Maſter of *Gray*, who, though he did profeſs himſelf a *Romane* Catholick, would in nothing that the King affected be thought refractary.

It was thought that the Ambaſſador did reſt well ſatisfied with the King's forwardneſs towards the League, and that he ſhould have preſently returned; but he had ſome other buſineſs in truſt, which was carried more cloſely. This was to make friends to the exiled Lords, and labor their reſtitution, as had been concluded in *England*. To this effect he kept divers private meetings with the Maſter of *Gray*, the Secretary and Juſtice Clerk; giving the Lords intelligence from time to time of his proceedings. Among other means he thought expedient that they ſhould reconcile their private quarrels with the Lord *Hamilton* and his brother *Claud*, who were likewiſe exiled and living then in *England*. He wrought ſo as they were brought, as it ſeemed, to a perfect Accord, promiſing to take one courſe, and joyn all in the ſame cauſe. But *Claud* fearing either the event of the enterpriſe, or not having buried his former grudges, did afterwards ſeparate, and by diſcovering their purpoſe procured to himſelf liberty to return; yet did he not find that acceptance which he expected, being ſhortly after his coming confined in *Aberdene*, and within a little while commanded to leave the Countrey, and go into *France*.

Lord *Claud* after his Agreement with the baniſhed Lords taketh a courſe by himſelf.

There came this Summer from *Denmark* certain Ambaſſadors to redeem as they pretended, the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, alienated of old from that Crown; yet the true Errand was to propone that Marriage unto the King which was ſome four years after happily perfected. The King receiving them kindly, and excuſing himſelf for the matter of *Orkney*, becauſe of the Peſtilence which raged as then in *Edinburgh*, (where the Regiſters of the Kingdom were kept) promiſed, how ſoon commodity ſerved, to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, and to ſend ſome in Commiſſion to treat of thoſe matters.

Ambaſſadors from *Denmark*, *July* 12.

The King advertiſed of the Enterpriſe of the baniſhed Lords.

How ſoon they were dimitted, the King went into *Striveling*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, to recreate himſelf as he was accuſtomed, where he received advertiſement

ment that the baniſhed Lords were come down to the Borders, and that *Maxwel* was to joyn his forces with them. Hereupon he returneth to *Striveling*, and ſending for *Arran*, made Proclamations to go through the Countrey, commanding all the ſubjects to meet him at the Caſtle of *Cranford* the 22 of *October*, for reſiſting the attempts of the Rebels. But things were ſo prepared at Court by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, as the Lords did prevent the King in his Expedition. They had appointed their Rendezvous at *Linton* in *Tweddale*, and meeting there did ſolemnly ſwear, not to ſeparate nor give over the proſecution of their enterpriſe till the King ſhould be moved to accept them in favor, and put *Arran* forth of his company. *Maxwel* brought with him 300 ſoldiers that had ſerved againſt *Johnſton*, and about 700 horſemen: all the others did ſcarce equal that number, though *Bothwell*, *Home*, *Yeſter*, *Cesford* and *Drumlanrig* had joyned with them. To juſtifie their proceedings, they gave forth a Proclamation in all the places they came unto, declaring the cauſes of their enterpriſe to be, *The defence of the Truth, the deliverance of the King from corrupt Counſellors, and the preſerving of Amity with* England. In this Proclamation nothing was left unſaid that might make *Arran* odious and hateful; amongſt other things he was charged to have bragged of his deſcent from *Duck Mordock*, (who was beheaded in the time of King *James* the Firſt) and to lay claim to the Crown by that Title, calling himſelf *King James the Seventh*. It is true, that in the Parliament held the year preceding he took proteſtation in open Court, that he renounced any Title that he might pretend to the Crown that way; which I ſuppoſe he did to purge himſelf of that aſperſion: but the Proteſtation was laughed at in the time by the wiſer ſort, and gave them to think that ſuch a folly had once poſſeſſed his mind.

An. 1585.

A Proclamation to meet the King at the Caſtle of *Cranford*.

A Proclamation given out by the baniſhed Lords.

The Proclamation did often mention him and Col. *Stewart* as abuſers of the King. Of the reſt of the Counſellors there was no ſpeech, which increaſed *Arran*'s jealouſie of them. Now how ſoon the Ambaſſador heard that the Lords were entred in the Countrey, fearing that ſome notice ſhould be taken of his dealing, he left *Striveling*, and went in haſte to *Berwick*, without ſaluting any man. They ſent a Poſt after him with a Letter, deſiring to know the cauſe of his ſudden departure, and whether he was directed by the Queen his Sovereign to go away in ſuch ſort. Being overtaken at *Alnwick*, he anſwered, that he had no ſuch direction from the Queen when he was firſt imployed, but that of late he had received a command to retire, becauſe ſhe ſaw no hope of the delivery of that wretched *Farnherſt*. This he made the pretext of his departure; yet in reaſon he could not allege it, *Farnherſt* lying bedfaſt at the time in *Aberdene*, where he was committed, which was notified to him, and he knew to be a truth. In the concluſion of his Letter he ſaid, *That he could not grant that he had departed* inſalutato hoſpite, *ſeeing he performed that office both with his heart and hand, and that he ſhould by all poſſible means endeavour that his departure ſhould rather help to maintain then diſſolve the Amity betwixt his Sovereign and him.* That which he ſpeaketh of his hand was a Letter that he left to be given to the King the day after he was gone, in which he laid the cauſe upon *Arran*'s credit, without whom he ſaw nothing could be obtained. *Arran* ſeeing the Letter that he left to be given to the King, began to think that all was not ſound, and accuſed the Maſter of *Gray* as being privy to the Ambaſſador's departure, which he denied; yet all that time nothing was done that was fitting either for the King's ſafety or reputation, and not ſo much as the Caſtle furniſhed with victuals, which might have eaſily been provided.

The Ambaſſador went, not ſaluting the King.

A Poſt is ſent after him, & his excuſe.

Neither were the Lords ignorant of this, which made them uſe the greater ſpeed, marching directly to *Falkirk*, and the next day, which was the laſt of *October*, to *Striveling*. At the Church called Saint *Ninians*, (a half mile or leſs from the Town) they put themſelves in order of battel, and ſtood ſo till night fell; at which time, upon warning given them by their friends within the Town, they advanced, and knowing all the paſſages, entred by a certain back way without any reſiſtence.

The Lords make haſte to *Striveling*.

Arran had taken upon him to watch that night, and was keeping the Towngate, when a cry was raiſed that the Town was taken. The Earl of *Cranford*, who watched with him, fled to the Caſtle; but he eſcaped by the Bridge, of which he

The Town of *Striveling* taken.

An. 1585. kept the keys. Some weak reſiſtence was made by Colonel *Stewart* at the head of the Market ſtreet, but he was ſoon put back with the ſlaughter of one or two of his company. The Borderers, according to their cuſtom, fell upon the ſtables, and made prey of all the Gentlemens horſes, whereof they found good ſtore. The ſpoil otherwiſe was not great, as of a Town not very rich in merchandiſe.

Two of the Council directed to the Lords.

In the morning betimes the Caſtle was incloſed, which they knew could not long hold out, for it was unfurniſhed, and ſcarce provided with victuals of one day. In this extremity the King was adviſed to employ two of his Council towards the Lords, to ask what they intended. Choice was made of the Secretary and Juſtice Clerk, as men whom they would willingly hear. At the firſt meeting the Secretary was rough enough with them, ſaying, *That ſuch violent forms were not to be approved, and to deal in that manner with their King they would find it unſure; for what was extorted from him by force or fear he would ſoon find means to undo, and never want men to ſerve him in that whereunto his will was bent: That humble Petitions became ſubjects, and had been more fitting then to come in the manner they did.* The Lords anſwered, "That "it grieved them ſore to be reduced to that neceſſity, nothing being more dear to "them then the King's honor and ſafety. But what could they have done? they "were baniſhed from their Countrey, put from their livings, their friends uſed "with cruelty, the King not permitted to hear them in their juſt defence, and al- "ways ſhut up from preſenting their Petitions. That their coming in that man- "ner was not to diſhonor nor force the King, to whom they would be moſt humble "Supplicants, and upon their knees, if they ſhould find acceſs, beg mercy at his "hands. All they did was to ſave themſelves from ruine, and to be ſecured from "their adverſaries, who had wronged them and the whole States of the Kingdom. "Wherefore they beſought them, as their countreymen and friends, to intercede "with his Majeſty, that they might be accepted in favor, and all things compo- "ſed in the moſt quiet and honorable manner for the King and State that could be "deviſed.

The Lords Anſwer.

This reported to the King did mitigate his mind a little. *For my ſelf,* ſaid he, *I did never like that mans violence, (meaning* Arran*) and howbeit I cannot but offend with their doings, yet for the Countrey's ſake, and preſervation of publick Quietneſs, I can pardon and overpaſs all: but one thing I deſire you that have been in conference with them to look to, that none in my company recieve any harm. I know there are quarrels betwixt the Earl of* Crawford *and the Maſter of* Glammis; *that the Earl of* Angus *doth not like* Montroſs; *and I believe that Colonel* Stewart *is not well beloved for things done in my ſervice. Theſe I cannot ſee with mine honor hurt; provide for that, and that they may be in ſafety, and I ſhall willingly admit them.*

The King's care of thoſe that attended him.

When this was ſhewed the Lords, they ſaid, "That they had not taken up Arms "for any private quarrel, nor would they mixe their particulars with the publick; "but it ſhould be good, for eſchewing ſuch inconveniences as might happen, that "the Noblemen (whom the King had named) were put in cuſtody with ſome ſpe- "cial perſons, and that the Colonel ſhould be diſcharged from his office of the "Guard, and the ſame conferred to another. This being declared to the King, he "gave his conſent to receive them.

The King is pleaſed to admit the Lords in his preſence.

Being brought unto his preſence, they fell all upon their knees, and the Lord *Hamilton* (who had the precedency in regard of blood) taking the ſpeech, ſaid, "that they were come in moſt humble manner to beg mercy, and his Majeſtie's love "and favor. The King anſwered, *My Lord, I did never ſee you before, and muſt confeſs that of all this company you have been moſt wronged: you were a faithful ſervant to the Queen my mother in my Minority, and when I underſtood not, as I do, the eſtate of things, hardly uſed. The reſt of you that have ſince that time been exiled, and put from your livings, cannot ſay but it was your own fault, and that your misbehavior procured the ſame. But* (turning himſelf to *Bothwell*) *what ſhould have moved thee,* Francis, ſaid he, *to take this courſe, and come in Arms againſt me? Did I ever thee any wrong? or what cauſe hadſt thou to offend? I wiſh thee a more quiet ſpirit, and that thou mayeſt learn to live as a Subject, otherwiſe thou wilt fall in trouble. To you all who, as I truly think, have not meant any harm to any Perſon, I am pleaſed to give both my hand and*

The Lord *Hamilton* in name of the reſt ſupplicates mercy.

The King's Anſwer.

The King's ſpeech to *Bothwell.*

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my heart, and will remember nothing that is paſt, providing you carry your ſelves from henceforth as becomes men of your places, and behave your ſelves as dutiful ſubjects. So they aroſe one by one, and kiſſed his Majeſtie's hands. It was obſerved that he received the Lord *Hamilton* with greateſt kindneſs, and gave him more reſpect then any others. This was the day after their entering into *Striveling*. *An.* 1585.

Two days after in Council the King, renewing his promiſe, did by publick Act confirm the Pardon granted to them and their Aſſiſters, which was by ſound of trumpet proclaimed. The Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs* were commended to the Lord *Hamilton*, who uſed them honorably, and Colonel *Stewart* ſuffered quietly to depart. *Arran* after his flight went unto *Coile*, and lived private amongſt his friends, deprived of all his Honors. The charge of the Guard was given to the Maſter of *Glammis*, the Caſtle of *Dumbritton* put in the Lord *Hamilton*'s cuſtody, *Striveling* reſtored to the Earl of *Marre*, and the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to Sir *James Home* of *Coldinknows*. In this manner did the baniſhed Lords recover his Majeſtie's favor, and return to their places; albeit *Thuan*, deceived by ſome information, hath otherwiſe related the ſame.

The King his Pardon proclaimed.

The Maſter of *Glammis* made Captain of the Guard.

Thuan. hiſt. l. 43.

How ſoon the Noblemens peace was proclaimed, *Duntraith*, who had touched them in his depoſition againſt *Mains*, (ſaying that he was told by one *John Home*, the Lords had hired every one of them two men to kill the King) compeired before the Council undeſired, (ſo the Act of Council beareth) and confeſſed that he was ſuborned by Captain *James* (who is henceforth to be ſo named, the title of *Arran* being returned to the right owner) to make that Depoſition, which in it ſelf was falſe and untrue, out of fear and to ſave his life. For verifying whereof, and to ſhew that he did not confeſs this to pleaſe the Noblemen whom he had wronged by ſuch a Confeſſion, he declared that for the ſpace of eight weeks before their return he had revealed the ſame to the Maſter of *Gray*, and to the Provoſt of *Linclouden*; both which upon oath teſtified no leſs to the King. The Council, for clearing the Noblemen, ordained his Confeſſion to be publiſhed; which was not very needful, (for no man did believe the delation) only it ſerved to diſcover the falſhood of the ſuborner.

Duntraith confeſſeth the Depoſition he made againſt the Lords to be falſe.

In *December* following a Parliament was held at *Linlithgow* for ratifying the Peace, and aboliſhing the memory of things paſt. In this meeting the Miniſters who returned in company of the Lords did earneſtly urge the repealing of the Acts concluded the year preceding againſt their Diſcipline: which the King did utterly refuſe, ordaining *that none ſhould either publickly declare, or privately ſpeak or write, in reproach of his Majeſtie's Perſon, Eſtate, or Government*, as is to be ſeen in the firſt Act of the Parliament. The Miniſters offending greatly therewith, eſpecially with the Lords, who had promiſed to ſee theſe Statutes repealed, ſtirred up one Mr. *William Watſon*, in his Preaching before the King, to complain of the neglect that was made of the Church, and condemn the Acts above mentioned.

A Parliament at *Linlithgow*.

The Miniſters offend with the reconciled Lords.

This young man the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* had placed in *Edinburgh*, after the departing of the Miniſters to *England*, and he to this time had carried himſelf very orderly: but now either fearing that his admiſſion by the Biſhop ſhould be queſtioned, or to inſinuate himſelf this way in the favors of the Miniſters, who he thought would rule all matters of Church as they pleaſed, he took the boldneſs to reprove the King to his face. This his unſeaſonable and inſolent doing was by all wiſe men condemned, and he therefore committed to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. Nottheleſs another of the ſame humor, called *James Gibſon*, Miniſter at that time at *Pencaitland*, uſurping the Pulpit at *Edinburgh*, where the Sickneſs was ſomewhat relented, fell out in the like impertinent Railing, ſaying, *That Captain* James, *with his Lady* Jeſabel, *and* William Stewart, (meaning the Colonel) *were taken to be the perſecutors of the Church; but that now it was ſeen to be the King himſelf, againſt whom he denounced the Curſe that fell on* Jeroboam, *That he ſhould die childleſs, and be the laſt of his Race.* This man called before the Council confeſſed the ſpeeches, and proudly maintained the ſame; for which he was likewiſe committed. *Watſon*, upon promiſe to amend and behave himſelf more dutifully, was ſuffered to return to his Charge; but the buſineſs with the other laſted to a longer time, as we will afterwards hear.

Mr. *William Watſon* Miniſter committed.

James Gibſon committed for the like inſolence.

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An. 1585. The Superintendent of *Lothian* his death, with a ſhort deſcription of his life.

A few days before this Parliament deceaſed Mr. *John Spottiſwood*, Superintendent of *Lothian*, a ſon of the Houſe of *Spottiſwood* in the *Mers*, within the Barony of *Gordon*, of which Surname it ſeems his firſt progenitors were by the Arms they have common with the *Gordons*. His Father was killed at *Floudon*, in the unfortunate Battel wherein King *James* the Fourth died, and he left an Orphan of four years old. When he was come to ſome years, his friends put him to ſchool in *Glaſgow*, where he took the Degree of a Maſter of Arts; and having a purpoſe to ſtudy Divinity, which he moſt affected, was wholly diverted from following the ſame by the Perſecutions he ſaw uſed againſt thoſe they called Hereticks. So leaving the Countrey he went into *England*, and there falling in familiarity with Archbiſhop *Cranmar*, was by his means brought to the knowledge of the Truth. Soon after the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned to *Scotland*, and ſtayed a long time with *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, who was known to be affected that way. In his company he came to be acquainted with *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, & was by him imployed towards *Henry* the Eighth, at the time that *France* did caſt him off by the Cardinal's dealing, as we touched before. Matters ſucceeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, and he ſetled in *England*, he remained with him ſome moneths; after which, longing to viſit his friends, he returned; and being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, a man of great authority in thoſe times, he was by him allowed to accept the Parſonage of *Calder*, which fell then void. And living ſometimes with him, ſometimes with the Prior of S. *Andrews*, in whoſe company he went to *France* at the time of the Queen's Marriage, he made no great ſtay in any one place, till the work of Reformation began; at which time he took himſelf to reſide in *Calder*, and was how ſoon thoſe Troubles ended choſen Superintendent of the Churches of *Lothian*, *Mers* and *Teviotdale*, which by the ſpace of 20 years he governed moſt wiſely. His care in Teaching, planting of Churches, reducing people and perſons of all ſorts into the right way, was great, and ſo ſucceſful, as within the bounds of his Charge none was found refractary from the Religion profeſſed. In his laſt days, when he ſaw the Miniſters take ſuch liberty as they did, and heard of the diſorders raiſed in the Church through that confuſed Parity which men labored to introduce, as likewiſe the irritations the King received by a ſort of fooliſh Preachers; he lamented extremely the caſe of the Church to thoſe that came to viſit him, (who were not a few, and of the better ſort.) He continually foretold, *That the Miniſters by their follies would bring Religion in hazard, and, as he feared, provoke the King to forſake the Truth; therefore wiſhed ſome to be placed in authority over them to keep them in awe:* for, *the Doctrine*, ſaid he, *we profeſs is good, but the old Policy was undoubtedly the better; God is my witneſs, I lie not.* And that theſe were his ordinary ſpeeches ſome two years before his death, many then alive could witneſs. He was a man well eſteemed for his piety and wiſdom, loving, and beloved of all perſons, charitable to the poor, and careful above all things to give no man offence. His happy life was crowned with a bleſſed death, which happened the 5 of *December*, 1585, in the 76 year of his age.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

But to turn to the Hiſtory. The King having ſetled with the Noblemen, was very deſirous to be at reſt with the Church, and for that effect called ſome of the principal Miniſters to a Conference, wherein certain Articles were agreed for the better ordering of the Eccleſiaſtical affairs; the full determination thereof being remitted to the general Aſſembly of the Church, which was appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *May* following. In the mean time *Maxwel*, puffed up with the Victory at *Striveling*, the praiſe whereof he aſcrived wholly to himſelf, grew ſo inſolent, as that the next *Chriſtmas*, taking with him a company of leud and diſſolute perſons, he went in proceſſion from *Drumfreis* to the College-Church of *Lincluden*, and cauſed a Maſs to be ſaid. Complaint being made to the King, he was brought before the Council, and committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained ſome moneths. This gave occaſion to the Proclamations which followed againſt Prieſts, Jeſuits, and trafficking Papiſts, who were all commanded to leave the Countrey before a certain day, under pain of death.

The Lord *Maxwel* goeth to Maſs, and is committed.

Whileſt

Whileſt theſe things were a-doing, Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, to be revenged of S. *Andrews*, who had deviſed, as he imagined, the Acts made in the Parliament 1584, and penned the Declararion thereafter publiſhed, did in a Synod holden at S. *Andrews* raiſe a new ſtir, calling a number of Barons, Gentlemen and Miniſters together, as to a Synod. Mr. *James Melvil* his Couſen made the Exhortation, in which, after a bitter Invective againſt the deviſers of the foreſaid Acts, he admoniſhed the Aſſembly to cenſure him that was known to have had a chief hand therein, meaning the Biſhop. The Exhortation ended, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in S. *Leonards*, was choſen Moderator; and their Doctrine, as their manner was, being approved, it was proponed that, according to the admonition given them, they ſhould proceed in cenſuring the Biſhop. The opinions were divers: ſome holding it dangerous, and doubting what might be the conſequence of it; others inquiring if he was cited to the Diet: a third ſort, more zealous then the reſt, cried out that it was the cauſe of God, in which no man ought to forecaſt or fear any danger, and that a Citation needed not where the iniquity was ſo manifeſt; or if that was thought neceſſary, that he might be warned to the next Seſſion, being then in the City. This courſe was held moſt formal, and ſo was he ordained to be cited.

An. 1586.

A Synod at S. *Andrews* called againſt the Biſhop, *April* 1586.

In the afternoon he compeired, and *proteſting that he did not acknowledge that Judicatory*, deſired to underſtand what they could charge him with, that he might juſtifie himſelf. They, miſregarding the Proteſtation, did accuſe him of deviſing the Statutes made in the year 1584, of penning the Declaration publiſhed thereafter by his Majeſty, of traducing the brethren that fled into *England* in the time of his Ambaſſage, and a number the like. To this the Biſhop, repeating his Proteſtation, anſwered, *That the Statutes were not of his deviſing, but when they were proponed, he gave his opinion that they were good and lawful Acts, and therein had ſerved his Conſcience, the very ſecond Act of that Parliament being an expreſs confirmation of Popery, in ſo far as by it the dignity and authority of the three Eſtates was ordained to ſtand unaltered according to the ancient cuſtom of the Realm.* This, ſaid they, is a ratifying of the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, according as it was in time of Popery. The Biſhop replied, *That the Biſhops were not by themſelves an Eſtate, but they repreſented in a part the Eſtate of the Church, which was ever reputed the firſt Eſtate of the Realm ſince the Kingdom became Chriſtian; and that in the Act alleged no Juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed: howbeit for the Epiſcopal power there was enough to be ſaid, if the time and place were fitting. But if they had no farther to ſay, he would leave them, putting them again in mind that they were not his Judges, and that theſe were matters too high for ſubjects to meddle in.* At laſt, perceiving they would proceed with their Cenſures, he appealed to his Majeſty, the Council and three Eſtates of the Realm, or any other lawful Aſſembly convened by his Majeſty, and ſo departed.

The Biſhop being cited compeireth, and proteſteth againſt the Judicatory.

His Accuſation.

He appealeth to the King and Eſtates.

When he was gone, they entered into conſultation what to do: many were of the judgment, that after Appellation there could be no proceeding; others thought that the Appellation was not to be regarded. The matter being put to voices, it was concluded only by two voices more that he ſhould preſently be excommunicated. The Moderator by his place was to pronounce the Sentence, but he refuſed, albeit he was no friend to the Biſhop at that time; nor would any other of the Aſſembly take on them to do it. In end when all were diſſolving, and a great part gone forth out of the Schools, (for the Aſſembly was kept in S. *Leonards*) a young fellow named Mr. *Andrew Hunter* willed them to ſtay, profeſſed that he was warned by the Spirit to pronounce the Sentence, and ſo aſcending the chair he read the ſame out of the Book, a few only remaining as witneſſes.

The Biſhop excommunicated by the Synod.

This ſcornful and diſorderly proceeding was the next day requited in a form nothing better. Two of the Biſhops ſervants going to the Church at the time of Prayer, cauſed one Mr. *Samuel Cunningham*, Couſen to the Biſhop, go unto the Reader's ſeat, and pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvil*, and ſome others of the Miniſters of *Fife*, who had been moſt eager and forward againſt the Biſhop.

Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvil* excommunicated by a ſervant and Couſen of the Biſhop.

The Appellation was ſent by the Biſhop to the King, wherein firſt he excepted againſt

An. 1586. againſt the Synod as being unlawfully convened; next, againſt their unjuſt proceedings. The firſt he proved, ſaying, "That Convention was expreſs againſt the "Statutes of Parliament, and neither convocated by his Majeſtie's Letters, nor by "the Biſhop of the Dioces; moderated by a Laick perſon, that had no impoſition "of hands; made up of a company of Barons, Gentlemen, Maſters of Schools and "Colleges, who bare no Function in the Church, and ought not to have any ſuf-"frage in Eccleſiaſtick Aſſemblies, and no ſufficient number of Miniſters aſſiſt-"ing; who, though they had been preſent, by the Apoſtle's rule were ſubject to the "Biſhop's cenſure, and he not to theirs. The Injuſtice of their proceeding he qua-"lified, firſt, by their Citation, which neither contained a lawful cauſe, nor did al-"low him a reaſonable time for his appearing. 2. That at his compeiring (which "was under Proteſtation that he did in no ſort acknowledge that Judicatory) they "accuſed him for defending his Majeſtie's Authority in matters Eccleſiaſtick, and "for his conſent given to the Statutes made in Parliament 1584, which were the "Laws of the King & three Eſtates, which they ought not to take on them to con-"demn. 3. That they tranſgreſſed the order ſet down in their own Aſſemblies, which "appoints Admonitions and Prayers to be uſed for perſons before the Sentence be "pronounced. 4. That the concluſion they took to Excommunicate paſſed not "with conſent of thoſe who were preſent, and was carried only by the voices of two "ignorant Miniſters. 5. That the Moderator of the pretended Synod refuſing "to pronounce the Sentence, one *Hunter* ſervant to Mr. *Andrew Melvil* had taken "on him to do the ſame, alleging he was moved thereto by the Spirit of God: "which was a conceipt of the Anabaptiſts, and ought to be ſeverely puniſhed. "And, 6. That Miniſters in their Synods, were they never ſo lawfully conve-"ned, may not excommunicate any perſon without conſent of the Church where-"of he is a member. Saint *Paul* (on whoſe example they grounded their Excom-"munications) not preſuming by himſelf to caſt forth the inceſtuous man, but "writing to the Church of *Corinth*, that when they were convened together they "ſhould do the ſame. In end he intreated his Majeſty, whom it ſpecially concerned, "to take cognition of their unruly and tumultuous proceeding, & to conſider how "dangerous a thing it was to put the Spiritual ſword in the hands of ſuch men, who "might poſſibly attempt the like againſt his Majeſtie's ſelf & others of the Council.

The Appellation with the reaſons ſent to the King.

When the King heard of this buſineſs, he was greatly commoved; yet, becauſe the Diet of the Aſſembly was approaching, he thought beſt to continue the matter to that time; where, inſtead of examining the Proceſs, or diſcuſſing the Biſhop's Appellation, a Tranſaction was made in this ſort. That the Biſhop, by his hand-writing or perſonal appearance in the Aſſembly, ſhould deny "that ever he publickly "profeſſed or meaned to claim any Supremacy, or to be Judge over other Paſtors "and Miniſters, or yet avowed the ſame to have a ground in God's Word; and if "ſo he had done, it had been an error againſt his Conſcience & knowledge. That he "ſhould alſo deny, that in the laſt Synodal Aſſembly he did claim to be Judge of "the ſame; and if he had done it, that he erred therein, and in his imperious beha-"vior and contempt of the ſaid Synod. That, thirdly, he ſhould promiſe to be-"have himſelf better in time coming, and crave pardon for any overſight by him "committed, claiming no farther then juſtly he might by God's Word: and in all "other things carry himſelf as a moderate Paſtor ought, laboring to be the Biſhop "deſcribed by S. *Paul*, ſubmitting his life and doctrine to the judgement and cen-"ſure of the general Aſſembly, without any reclamation, provocation, or appel-"lation from the ſame in any time coming. That the Aſſembly on the other part, for his Majeſtie's ſatisfaction, and to give teſtimony of their willing minds to obey his Highneſs ſo far as they could, and in conſcience they might, and for the good hope they had of his Majeſtie's favorable concurrence in building up the houſe of God, "ſhould hold the ſaid Proceſs and Sentence as undeduced, and not pronounced, and "reſtore the Biſhop, in ſo far as concerned the ſaid Proceſs and Sentence, to the "eſtate wherein he was before the pronouncing of the ſame; eſpecially becauſe the "ſaid Proceſs was led and deduced during the time of the Conference, where-"upon his Majeſty had conceived offence: with this proviſo, Always that the Biſhop

A Tranſaction betwixt the Biſhop and the Aſſembly

"Biſhop ſhould obſerve what he promiſed in the premiſſes, and carry himſelf duti- *An.* 1586.
"fully in his Vocation in all times thereafter.

What ſhould have moved the King to hearken to a mediation ſo prejudicial both to his own Authority, and the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction which he labored to eſtabliſh, cannot well be conjectured; except we will think, that by yielding to the Churche's advice in this particular, he hoped to win them in end to thoſe things which ſerved for his peace and their own quietneſs; or, which I rather believe, that he did only temporize not ſeeing another way how to come by his ends, and was content to keep them in any tolerable terms, till he ſhould find himſelf of power ſufficient to redreſs theſe Confuſions. Whatſoever the reaſon was, the Biſhop did ſet his hand to the conditions propoſed by the Aſſembly, and received that declarator for an Abſolution. Yet did not this ſatisfie the adverſe party, who peremptorily urged the juſtifying of their Proceſs, with the confirmation of the Sentence they had pronounced; which when they could not obtain, the ſame *Hunter* that pronounced the Sentence proteſted publickly againſt the Aſſemblie's proceeding, and that, notwithſtanding the Abſolution granted, the Biſhop ſhould ſtill be eſteemed as one juſtly delivered to Satan, till his Converſion were ſeen to be true and effectual: unto which Proteſtation Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* did adhere.

The reaſons moving the King to give way to this Tranſaction.

A motion was made in the ſame Aſſembly for cenſuring the Miniſters that had allowed the Acts concluded in the Parliament 1584 by their Subſcriptions; but they were found to be ſo many, as it was feared the urging thereof would breed a Schiſm and diviſion in the Church: wherefore after ſome altercation the matter was left, and all the Miniſters exhorted to judge charitably one of another, notwithſtanding their diverſity of opinions.

The Miniſters exhorted to judge charitably one of another.

The Articles agreed upon in the Conference with certain Miniſters, whereof the determination was remitted to this Aſſembly, made more ado; for they having condeſcended to accept Biſhops, and to give them a chief hand in the Government of Church-affairs, they always being ſubject to the Cenſure of the general Aſſembly, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, and after a long diſpute concluded; *That in reſpect the Biſhop was a Paſtor, as other ordinary Paſtors are, he ſhould for matters of Life and Doctrine be tried by the Presbytery and Synod, and for his Commiſſion otherwiſe in Church-affairs be ſubject to the general Aſſembly.* The Secretary, Juſtice Clerk, with the Lord Privy Seal and other Commiſſioners for the King, diſaſſented, and made Proteſtation, *That ſeeing the Aſſembly had gone from the Articles agreed upon in the Conference, nothing either then or at the preſent concluded ſhould ſtand in force.* And thus were they like to diſſolve, but that Mr. *Robert Pont*, *James Martin* and *Patrick Galloway*, being directed to inform his Majeſty of the difference, things were drawn to this middeſt; *That the Biſhops and others having Commiſſion to viſit Churches ſhould be only ſubject to the trial of the general Aſſembly, and ſuch as had power from them, till farther order was taken. And that where Biſhops and Commiſſioners were reſident, they ſhould preſide in the meetings of Presbyteries and Synods,* Fife *only excepted, where Mr.* Robert Wilkie *was appointed to moderate the Presbytery of S.* Andrews *until the next Synod.* In the mean time was the order of the Presbyteries ſet down, and their power defined, the King taking no notice of their doings in that kind.

Acts concluded in the Aſſembly.

The Secretary, who then ſupplied the place of Chancellor, perceiving the King ſo vexed with the affairs of the Church, and the Miniſters ſo refractary and unwilling to be ruled, did adviſe him to leave them to their own courſes, ſaying, "That "in a ſhort time they would become ſo intolerable, as the people would chaſe them "forth of the Countrey. *True*, anſwered the King, *if I were purpoſed to undo the Church and Religion, I ſhould think your counſel not ill; but my mind is to maintain both, therefore can I not ſuffer them run into theſe Diſorders that will make Religion to be deſpiſed.* This anſwer did ſhew the King's love to the Church, and his care of the good eſtate thereof, which in this place I thought was not to be paſſed.

His Maieſtie's Anſwer to the advice given him by the Chancellor.

In the Eſtate matters went not much better at this time, and amongſt others nothing gave more offence then the acquitting of Mr. *Archibald Douglas* by form of Aſſiſe. This man was known to be guilty of the Murther of the King his Father,

and

An. 1586. and had fled into *England* ſix years before. The Earl of *Morton* at his death, and one *Binny*, Mr. *Archibald*'s own ſervant, who was executed about the ſame time, did both declare that he was preſent at the doing of that wicked fact, for which the King had often by his Letters and Ambaſſages intreated the Queen of *England* to have him delivered, yet could not obtain it. At this time a remiſſion being purchaſed to him for the concealing of that Murther, with a Letter of rehabilitation, whereby he might ſtand in judgement and plead againſt his Forfeiture, he was in a Jury held the 26 of *May* declared innocent, and abſolved of the Crime.

This was done by the procurement of the Prior of *Blantire*, who had intruded himſelf in the Parſonage of *Glaſgow*, whereof Mr. *Archibald* had been titular, and otherwiſe then by his reſtoring could have no right in Law to retain it. Many were grieved to ſee Juſtice in that ſort abuſed for maintaining a Sacrilegious poſſeſſion; but to have ſent him back to *England*, with a Commiſſion to reſide there as Ambaſſador for the King, which likewiſe was done, was an error inexcuſable: and how he and the Maſter of *Gray*, who was chief man in that led Aſſiſe, carried themſelves in the Queen of *Scotland*'s buſineſs, wherewith they were truſted, we will hear in the end of this year.

In the Iſles this Summer there aroſe great trouble betwixt *Mackoneil* and *Macklain*, two principal men in thoſe parts. *Macklain*, by his education in the Continent, had learned civility and good manners, and living accordingly was in great reſpect both with his own people, and all his neighbors about. *Mackoneil* out of an emulation made many quarrels to the other, and in end laid a plot to murther him, (though he had married his Siſter;) which he went about in this manner. He ſent a meſſage to *Macklain*, offering to viſit him at his houſe, and to ſtay ſome days, providing he would come back, and make merry with him in his Countrey, that the world might ſee all injuries were forgotten, and that they loved one another as brethren and good neighbors ought to do. *Macklain* anſwered, that he ſhould be welcome, but for his going back with him they ſhould talk at meeting. *Mackoneil* receiving this anſwer, came the next day, and was received very kindly by *Macklain*. Some four or five days he ſtayed, uſing the faireſt ſhews of amity that could be wiſhed, and being to part homewards, intreated *Macklain* to go with him, ſaying, that he would leave his eldeſt Son and a Brother-german pledges for his ſafety. *Macklain* upon his importunity yielded to go, but refuſed the pledges, leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt him, and ſo went, taking with him of the truſtieſt of his kindred and ſervants ſome 45.

A Trouble in the *Iſles* betwixt *Mackoneil* and *Macklain*.

They arrived in *Kintire* early in the morning, and all that day were welcomed with liberal feaſting, according to that peoples cuſtom. At night when they were gone to reſt, *Mackoneil* beſet the houſe wherein *Macklain* and his people lay, with a number of men, and called him to come forth and drink; he anſwered, that of drink they had too much, and that it was then time to reſt. Yet it is my will, ſaid *Mackoneil*, that ye ariſe and come forth. *Macklain* hearing this began to ſuſpect ſome bad dealing, and dreſſing himſelf and his men, did open the door; where perceiving a company in Arms, and *Mackoneil* with his Sword drawn, he asked what the matter was, and if he meant to break his faith. No faith, ſaid he, I gave none, and muſt now have an account of you and your friends for the wrong I have received. *Macklain* had taken that night his Nephew a little child to bed with him, and being put to his defence, kept the Child upon his left ſhoulder in manner of a targe. The Child cried for mercy to his Uncle: wherewith *Mackoneil* moved did promiſe to ſpare his life, providing he would render his weapons, and become his priſoner. *Macklain* ſeeing no better was content, and thereupon was conveighed with ſome keepers to another Houſe: All the reſt (two excepted) upon the like promiſe rendred themſelves. The two whom he refuſed to ſpare defended the door ſo deſperately as neither he nor his men durſt enter: whereupon fire was put to the Houſe, and they burnt within the ſame. The others that rendred, notwithſtanding the promiſe given them, were all beheaded in *Macklain*'s ſight, ſome of them the next morning, and the reſt the days following. *Macklain* himſelf had gone the ſame way, but that it happened *Mackoneil* by a fall from his horſe to break

break his leg, by which accident his Execution was prolonged. In the mean time, upon notice given to the King of that barbarous fact, an Herald was sent with a charge to deliver *Macklain* to the Earl of *Argile*: but this availed not, but ſtill he was detained and compelled to yield unto moſt unreaſonable conditions before he got his liberty; which was no ſooner obtained then *Macklain*, to revenge himſelf, fell upon *Mackoneil*'s bounds, burning and killing man, wife and child without mercy, and ſo took a cruel revenge of the others treachery. *An.* 1586.

A little before this Trouble in the Iſles, *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglinton*, a young Nobleman of good expectation, was likewiſe treacherouſly killed by certain *Cunninghams*, who envying the Nobleman's worth (otherwiſe they could pretend no juſt quarrel) did conſpire his death. The chief Actors were, *David Cunningham* of *Robert-land*, *Alexander Cunningham* of *Aiket*, and *John Cunningham* of *Corſell*, who were ſet on work by the Earl of *Glencarn*, upon promiſe that he ſhould maintain them; which afterwards he diſclaimed. This unhappy fact did coſt much blood, and was afterwards honorably revenged by *Robert* Maſter of *Eglinton*, the Nobleman's Brother. The Earl of *Eglinton* treacherouſly murthered.

In the moneth of *June* was the League with *England* concluded, which the year preceding had been carefully labored, and by Commiſſioners ſent from both Princes in a meeting at *Bernick* accorded in this form. A League with *England* concluded.

1. That both their Majeſtie's, finding by the courſe of the preſent proceedings in forein parts, that divers Princes, terming themſelves Catholicks, and acknowledging the Pope's Authority, were joyned in Confederacy for extirpating true Religion, not only within their own States and Dominions, but alſo in other Kingdoms, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be leſs ſolicitous for the defence thereof, then were their enemies who thought to overthrow the ſame, have thought it neceſſary, as well for the preſervation of their own Perſons, on whoſe ſafety doth the Well of their ſubjects depend, as for the better maintenance of the true ancient Chriſtian Religion which they now profeſs, to joyn and unite themſelves in a more ſtrict League then hath been between any Princes their Progenitors. The Articles of the League.

2. That they ſhould labor and procure by their beſt endeavors to draw the Princes profeſſing the ſame Religion to joyn and concur with them in the like defence thereof.

3. That this League ſhould be offenſive and defenſive againſt all that ſhould attempt to diſturb the exerciſe of true Religion within their Kingdoms, notwithſtanding of any former Leagues of Friendſhip or Amity contracted with the ſaid attemptors.

4. That if any Prince or State whatſoever ſhould invade the Realms and Dominions of either of their Majeſties, or attempt any injury againſt their Perſons or ſubjects, upon notice thereof given or received, neither of them ſhould yield aid, counſel, advice or ſupport, directly or indirectly, to the ſaid invader, notwithſtanding any Conſanguinity, Affinity, League or Treaty made or to be made.

5. That in caſe of Invaſion they ſhould aid and aſſiſt each other in manner & form following. That is to ſay, if the Realm of *England* ſhould be invaded by any forein forces in parts remote from the Realm of *Scotland*, the King, upon ſignification made unto him by the Queen of *England*, ſhould furniſh 2000 horſemen and 5000 footmen, or a leſſer number, as it ſhall pleaſe the ſaid Queen to require, and ſhould cauſe them to be conducted from the Borders of *Scotland* into any part of the Kingdom of *England*, upon the charges of the ſaid Queen. And in caſe the ſaid Realm of *Scotland* be invaded in any part remote from the Borders of *England* by any forein force, the Queen of *England*, upon requiſition made to her by the King, ſhould furniſh 3000 horſemen and 6000 footmen, or a leſſer number, at the option of the ſaid King, and ſhall cauſe them to be conducted to any part of the Realm of *Scotland*, upon the King's charges.

6. That in caſe the Invaſion ſhould be upon the North parts of the Realm of *England*, within 60 miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, the King, being required by the Queen, ſhould gather all the forces he could make, and joyn with the *Engliſh*

An. 1586. power for purſuing the ſaid Invaders, and keep them together for the ſpace of thirty days, or ſo much longer (if it be required) as the ſubjects of *Scotland* are uſually accuſtomed to ſtay in the fields for the defence of their own Kingdom.

7. That upon any Invaſion or Trouble ariſing in the Realm of *Ireland*, the King, upon notice given to him thereof, ſhould not only inhibit the repair thither of any of the inhabitants of *Argile*, Iſles and places adjacent, or any other parts of his Dominions; but alſo, if it ſhall happen them or any of them to go into *Ireland* with a number extraordinary, and in hoſtile manner, the King, upon ſignification of the ſame, ſhould denounce them his Rebels, and purſue them as Traitors.

8. That neither of their Majeſties ſhould hereafter aid, ſupply, aſſiſt or entertain the Rebels or adverſaries of the other, nor permit them to reſide either privately or publickly in any part of their Dominions, but upon the firſt requiſition of the Prince to whom they are Rebels they ſhould undelayedly be delivered according to the old Leagues and Treaties, or then expulſed forth of their Dominions, and redreſs made for any injuries they ſhould happen to commit during their abode in the ſame.

9. That all controverſies about matters of Borders or wrongs committed in the Marches ſince the time of the King's accepting the Government in his own perſon, and by the ſpace of four years preceding, ſhould be friendly determined and ſatisfied at the ſight of Commiſſioners to be appointed on both ſides, who ſhould meet at the within ſix moneths, after the date of the preſents, and decide thereupon.

10. That neither of their Majeſties ſhould enter into any League or Treaty (without the conſent of the other, by Letters ſigned with their hands under their privy Signet) with any other Prince or State whatſoever, to the prejudice of the preſent Treaty.

11. That all former Treaties betwixt their Majeſties Progenitors and both Realms, notwithſtanding any diſcontinuance thereof, ſhould ſtand in full force, ſo far as they ſhould not be found derogatory to the preſent Treaty: and that this Treaty ſhould not infringe any League made by either of their Majeſties or their Progenitors with other their Friends and Confederates in any time by-gone, the cauſe of Religion only excepted, wherein the preſent League is declared to be offenſive and defenſive.

12. That both their Majeſties ſhould confirm the League by their Oaths and great Seals, which ſhould be interchanged, and mutually delivered to others.

13. Laſtly, that the King, at his coming to the perfect age of 25 years, ſhould cauſe the preſent League to be ratified by the States of the Kingdom; like as the Queen at the ſame time ſhould cauſe it to be confirmed in her Parliament of *England*.

The names of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

Theſe were the Articles of the League concluded at *Berwick*, and ſigned by *Francis* Earl *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and Sir *James Home* of *Goldinknowes*, Commiſſioners for the King; as likewiſe by *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Commiſſioners for the Queen of *England*.

A new Breach between the King and Queen of *England*.

It was believed that this Amity contracted with ſuch deliberation ſhould have continued firm; (for beſides the publick League) the Queen had ſent to the King a Letter under her own hand, wherein ſhe did faithfully promiſe to ſuffer nothing to be done that might derogate or prejudge his right and Title to the Crown of *England*; and, for a farther demonſtration of her kindneſs, had preſented him with a gift of annuity anſwerable to the lands poſſeſſed by the Lady *Lennox* in her time, which the King by divers Ambaſſadors had formerly required as due to him. Yet a few moneths after brake out a buſineſs that put them in worſe terms then before, and was with no ſmall difficulty pacified; the Story whereof ſhall next be related.

The proceedings againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

The Queen of *Scots* being touched in the trial of *Babington*'s Conſpiracy, as having interchanged divers Letters with him, a conſultation was kept concerning her, and what was fitteſt to be done; for they conſidered that all the Conſpiracies made againſt

againſt the Queen of *England*, being chiefly intended in hope of the *Scottiſh* Queen her Succeſſion, ſo long as ſhe lived their Sovereign ſhould never be ſecured, and that therefore the ſureſt courſe was to put her out of the way: but how this ſhould be done, the opinions were different. The Earl of *Leiceſter* adviſing to diſpatch her ſecretly by Poiſon, Secretary *Walſingham* did mightily oppoſe it, as that which would draw upon the Queen both danger and diſhonor, and beſides in it ſelf was a thing injuſt, and no better then a cruel Murther. Wherefore his opinion was, that the courſe of Law ſhould be kept, and Commiſſion given for making her Proceſs, and as the Trial ſhould prove for giving ſentence and judgement. This opinion prevailing, certain Noblemen Counſellors and Judges were choſen for the buſineſs, who meeting at the Caſtle of *Fotheringhay* (where the Queen of *Scots* was kept) the eleventh of *October*, and calling her before them, did charge her with the ſaid Conſpiracy, and entercourſe of Letters. She refuſing to anſwer and be tried as a Subject, being her ſelf an abſolute Queen; they nottheleſs went on, and finding her guilty, pronounced the Sentence of Death: which was ſhortly thereafter confirmed by the Eſtates of Parliament, and a Supplication therewith delivered to the Queen for putting their Decree in execution. *An.* 1586.

Sentence of Death pronounced againſt her.

How ſoon the King was advertiſed hereof, he ſent *William Keith* Gentleman of his chamber to the Queen, with a Letter to this effect. *That howbeit it ſeemed ſtrange to him that the Nobility and Counſellors of* England *ſhould take upon them to give Sentence upon a Queen of* Scotland, *and one deſcended of the Royal blood of* England; *yet he would think it much more ſtrange, if ſhe ſhould ſtain her hands with the blood of his Mother, who was of the ſame Royal condition with her ſelf, and of the ſame ſex: which as he could not believe would enter into her heart to do; ſo if it ſhould be, he deſired her to conſider how much it touched him in honor, that was both a King and a Son, to ſuffer his Mother an abſolute Prince to be put to an infamous death.*

William Keith ſent into *England* about the midſt of *November.*

No anſwer being returned to this, upon new advertiſement that the Queen was like to be drawn by the importunity of her Eſtates to give way to the Execution, he wrote to *William Keith* more ſharply, "requiring him to ſhew the Queen how "unjuſt he held that proceeding againſt his Mother, and that it did neither agree "with the will of God, who prohibiteth to touch his Annointed ones, nor with the "Law of Nations, that an abſolute Prince ſhould be ſentenced and judged by Sub-"jects: and if ſhe would be the firſt to give that pernicious example of profaning "her own and other Princes Diadems, to remember her, that both in reſpect of "nature and honor it concerned him to be revenged of ſo great an indignity; "which if he ſhould not do, he ſhould peril his credit both at home and abroad: "and therefore willed him for to labor for a delay, untill he ſhould ſend an Ambaſ-"ſador with overtures that might content and ſatisfie her Majeſty. For by a Letter ſent from Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, that ſtayed as Lieger in *England*, he found him not well diſpoſed in the buſineſs, and thereupon reſolved to employ a more honorable perſon, and one of greater truſt.

A Letter to *William Keith* from the King.

William Keith having intreated the Queen for a delay, when as he could not obtain the ſame, did ſhew her the direction he had received from the King: at which ſhe grew into ſuch a paſſion, that if *Leiceſter* and others of the Council, who ſtood by, had not pacified her, (ſaying that the King did only requeſt that his Mother might be well uſed, which was a thing natural, and in him an honorable part; and that ſome ill-affected perſons poſſibly had ſtirred him up to write ſo ſharply) ſhe had ſimply refuſed him any more hearing. But after ſhe had calmed a little ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe would give no anſwer in anger, and would think of it to the next morning.* At which time calling him again, ſhe ſaid, *That no precipitation ſhould be uſed, and if any did come from the King within a few days, ſhe would ſtay all proceeding to that time, and be glad to hear ſuch overtures as might ſave the Queen of* Scots *life, and aſſure her own.*

The Queen in paſſion at the ſight of the Letter.

The King advertiſed of this, and conceiving ſome hope that matters would draw to an agreement, wrote of new to the Queen, and ſhewed, "he was ſorry to "underſtand that his Letter ſent to *William Keith* had been conſtrued as if he did "threaten her and her Eſtates, whereas his purpoſe was only to inform her of the

The King excuſeth the ſharpneſs of his Letter.

An. 1586. "rumors going in the Countrey, and how much his ſubjects were moved at theſe "forms of proceeding with their Queen. That for himſelf, he knew well enough how "hardly ſhe was preſſed, by objecting unto her the peril of her own life; and that "he never blamed her directly for any thing that was done. Therefore prayed her "to accompt him her moſt honeſt and ſtedfaſt friend, ſince he never had nor ſhould "deſerve any other at her hand, and that for his ſake ſhe would continue any pro-"ceeding againſt his Mother till his Overtures ſhould be heard, which the Maſter "of *Gray* ſhould bring with him, who was to take journey on the Saturday follow-"ing.

The Maſter of *Gray* and Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent into *England.*

This Letter was ſpeedily carried to the Queen, which gave her ſome content; for thereby ſhe perceived the rumors to be vain which were diſperſed, that he was minded to break the League, and denounce War. The King in the mean time having convocated the Eſtates, and imparted to them the caſe wherein his Mother ſtood, had very liberal promiſes given him, and a preſent ſupply of money granted for diſpatch of his Ambaſſador. And being adviſed by the Eſtates to joyn Sir *Robert Melvil* in Commiſſion with the Maſter of *Gray*, as one that had ſerved his Mother long and was truly affected unto her, the Commiſſion was given to them both, and they put in equal truſt. So parting from *Halirudhouſe* the 20 of *December*, they came to *London* the penult of the moneth.

The firſt Audience.

The next day Maſter *Archibald Douglas* being ſent to deſire Audience, the ſame was refuſed, upon information that they had been with Monſieur *Bellieur* the *French* Ambaſſador, who was imployed in the ſame errand, and had parted from the Queen in wrath; yet the contrary being ſhewed, and that they refuſed to make any viſit till they had preſence of her Majeſty, they had acceſs granted the firſt of *January*. At her firſt meeting ſhe quarrelled the Letter ſent to *William Keith*, asking if they were ſent with the like threats. They anſwering that his Majeſtie's Letter might receive a good conſtruction, and that he had interpreted himſelf by another directed ſince that time to her Majeſties ſelf, ſhe brake forth into theſe ſpeeches; *I am unmeaſurably ſorry that there can be no means found to ſave the life of your King's Mother and aſſure mine own: I have labored to conſerve the life of us both, but now I ſee it cannot be done.* The Ambaſſador replied, that the caſe was nothing ſo deſperate, and that means would be found to put her Majeſty in aſſurance: yet becauſe they perceived her to be ſomewhat commoved, they did not think meet to enter at that time more deeply in the buſineſs.

The ſecond Audience and effect thereof.

At their ſecond Audience, which was on the tenth day, the Queen begun with them in this ſort: *A thing long looked for ſhould be good when it cometh; I would now hear what are your King's offers.* The Maſter (as having the firſt place) anſwered, No man makes offer, but for ſome cauſe. If it like your Majeſty, we deſire to know if the perſon be extant for whom we offer, (for the rumor went conſtantly that the Execution was paſt.) As yet, ſaid the Queen, I think ſhe be; but will not promiſe an hour. Nay, ſaid the Maſter, we come not to ſhift, but to offer from our Sovereign whatſoever in reaſon can be required; ſpecially that he ſhall interpoſe his credit in behalf of his Mother, and give the chief of his Nobility for pledges, that no Plot nor practice ſhould be contrived againſt your Majeſty with her knowledge or privity: or if that be not ſufficient, and that it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to ſet her at liberty, and ſend her into *Scotland*, a courſe ſhall be taken for ſecuring your Majeſty from all ſuch attempts by her occaſion.

The Queen calling the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Lords Admiral and Chamberlain, who were nigh by, repeated in their hearing theſe offers, ſetting them all at nought: whereupon the Maſter took occaſion to ask, What ſhould move any man to attempt againſt her Majeſty for the Queen of *Scots? Becauſe*, ſaid the Queen, *they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed to me, and that ſhe is a Papiſt.* And if theſe means ſhall be taken away, ſaid the Maſter, apparently the danger will ceaſe. *This*, ſays the Queen, *I would be glad to underſtand.* If her right Succeſſion to *England* ſhall be made over in our Sovereign's perſon, (ſaid he) Papiſts will have no more hope; and this I think the Queen his Mother will dimit and reſign to him. *But ſhe hath no right*, ſaid the Queen, *for ſhe is declared incapable of Succeſſion.* And if ſhe have no right, ſaid the Maſter,

ſter, the hope of Papiſts ceaſeth, and it is not to be feared that they will enterpriſe for her. *But the Papiſts*, ſaid the Queen, *do not allow our Declaration.* Then let it fall, ſaid he, in the King's perſon by her Reſignation. *An.* 1586.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* objecting that ſhe was a Priſoner, and could not dimit; the Maſter anſwered, *That the Dimiſſion being made to her Son, with the advice of all the friends in* Europe, *in caſe (as God forbid) the Queen by any attempt ſhould be cut off, ſhe would have none to partake with her againſt her Son, all the Princes her friends ſtanding obliged for her Reſignation, that it ſhould be valid and effectual to her Son.* The Queen making as though ſhe did not underſtand him, the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſaid, that the Ambaſſador's meaning was, that the King ſhould be in his Mother's place. *Is it ſo?* ſays the Queen, *then I put my ſelf in worſe caſe then before. By God's Paſſion,* (this was her Oath) *that were to cut mine own throat: he ſhall never come in that place, and be party to me.* The Maſter anſwered, that *he would be more party, if he ſhould come in his Mother's place through her death. Well,* ſaid the Queen, *tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head ſince he was born, and that for my part I mind to keep the League that ſtands betwixt us; which if he break, it ſhall be a double fault.* And with theſe words ſhe made away. Sir *Robert Melvil* following her, requeſted for ſome eight days continuance of the Execution; whereunto ſhe anſwered, *Not an hour.*

A Letter from the King to the Maſter of *Gray.*

The King advertiſed of this Conference, and that nothing but extremity was to be expected, wrote with his own hand to the Maſter of *Gray* as followeth. *Reſerve your ſelf no longer in your dealing for my Mother, for you have done it too long, and think not that any thing will do good if her Life be loſt, for then adieu with farther dealing with that State. Therefore if you look for the continuance of my favor, ſpare no pains nor plainneſs in this caſe, but read my Letter written to* William Keith, *and conform your ſelf wholly to the contents thereof; and in this let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell.*

The Maſter of *Gray* drawn upon another courſe.

But before this Letter came unto the Maſter, he was drawn upon another courſe, and made more cold in the buſineſs, and (as the fame went) had taken upon him to pacifie the King, though the Execution proceeded. Meanwhile the Earl of *Leiceſter* wrote to the King a Letter, wherein not obſcurely ſhewing what was reſolved, he adviſed him to deal more moderately in that matter of his Mother, her cauſe not being worth the loſing of ſuch a friend as the Queen his Sovereign was. *For albeit no man,* ſaid he, *can blame your Majeſty to ſpeak for the ſafety of your Mother's Life; yet, under your favor, your Majeſty being a Prince and a King, you ought to weigh without partiality the caſe of other Kings and Princes, as if it might be your own. Juſtice ſhould in the boſome of all Princes have ſuch place, that how ſoever Affection may draw them, if the thing which any of them doth for the preſervation of their own life and eſtate be warranted, it ought to be born withal by others.* And proceeding in this manner, he ſaid, *Let the caſe of the Queen my Sovereign be made your Majeſtie's, and that any King or Prince being in your hands, claiming Title to your Crown, would raiſe War within your Realm againſt you, or conſpire with Traitors within your Court or Countrey to kill you; in that caſe I would fain know what would be thought fit by any faithful or good ſubject of yours, that you ſhould do to ſuch a one. Nay, give me leave, I humbly beſeech you, to ask even of your ſelf, what you would think fit in ſuch a caſe. There is no other difference, but that this offence is done to the Queen's Majeſty by your Mother.* And after that a little, (for the Letter is long) *If my plain ſpeech may be without offence to your Majeſty, I would wiſh you to think well of this caſe: remember how near it is to you, and how much nearer it may be to you: it is ſeen to all the world wherefore the Life of our Miſtris is ſought, whoſe death may be as far out of your way, as your Mother's Liberty hath heretofore been dangerous to your Eſtate. And if it be true which I have heard, your Majeſties ſelf, by her will, had as well been diſpoſſeſſed of the poſſeſſion of that you have, as defeated of any remainder you thought to have intereſt in. And therefore as Kings be and ought to be jealous of their own eſtate, ſo I doubt not but your Majeſty will deeply conſider of this caſe of your Mother's, wherein you may perform both the office of a Son and of a King. And as I have always adviſed you, ſo do I ſtill, except for a juſt cauſe, (which I am perſuaded you ſhall never have) give not her Majeſty any cauſe to conceive a breach of love and friendſhip on your*

An. 1586. *part. She is the perſon and Prince in the world that may do you moſt good or moſt harm; let no perſuaſion or device make you think otherwiſe: the world is full of practice, and the worſt heads moſt buſie,* &c.

Secretary *Walſingham* writeth to the Lord *Thirlſtan.*

At the ſame time Secretary *Walſingham* writing to the Lord *Thirlſtan* the King's Secretary, with whom he kept intelligence, declared, "that it was wondred by all "wiſe and religious men in *England*, that the King ſhould be ſo earneſt in the cauſe "of his Mother, ſeeing all the Papiſts in *Europe* that affected the change of Reli- "gion in both Realms did build their hopes altogether upon her; and that ſhe had "ſhewed her ſelf ſo paſſionate in point of Religion, as ſhe had transferred her pre- "tended Right to both the Crowns unto the King of *Spain*, in caſe the King her "Son ſhould perſiſt in his Profeſſion.

It is true that ſuch Informations were given out amongſt the Papiſts, to divert the King from conſtancy in his Profeſſion; but that any ſuch Tranſlation was made by her it is not probable, and a thing not to be believed; her Declaration at the time of her death being far other, as we ſhall hear: Albeit a Popiſh Abbot, deſcriving the life of *Laurens* the Cardinal, who was at that time Protector of the *Scottiſh* Nation, affirmeth the foreſaid Tranſlation to have been in his hands, and to have been delivered to him by Count *Olivarez* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*. But that doth merit little credit: ſuch forged Titles would perhaps have ſerved, if the enterpriſe of 88 had ſucceeded; but they are now of little purpoſe.

The King commandeth the Miniſters to remember his Mother in their prayers.

The King perceiving by all theſe Letters that the death of his Mother was determined, called back his Ambaſſadors, and at home gave order to the Miniſters to remember her in their publick prayers: which they denied to do, though the Form preſcrived was moſt Chriſtian and lawful; which was, *that it might pleaſe God to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and ſave her from the apparent danger wherein ſhe was caſt.* Upon their denial charges were directed to command all Biſhops, Miniſters and other Office-bearers in the Church, to make mention of her diſtreſs in their publick Prayers, and commend her to God in the Form appointed. But of all the number, Mr. *David Lindeſay* at *Leith* and the King's own Miniſters gave obedience. At *Edinburgh*, where the diſobedience was moſt publick, the King purpoſing to have their fault amended, did appoint the third of *February* for ſolemn Prayers to be made in her behalf, commanding the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* to prepare himſelf for that day; which when the Miniſters underſtood, they ſtirred up Mr. *John Cowper*, a young man not entered as yet in the Function, to take the Pulpit before the time, and exclude the Biſhop. The King coming at the hour appointed, and ſeeing him in the place, called to him from his ſeat, and ſaid, Mr. *John*, that place was deſtinate for another; yet ſince you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my Mother in your Prayers, you ſhall go on. He replying, *he would do as the ſpirit of God ſhould direct him*, was commanded to leave the place: and making as though he would ſtay, the Captain of the Guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burſt forth in theſe ſpeeches, *This day ſhall be a witneſs againſt the King in the great day of the Lord:* and then denouncing a woe to the inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, he went down, and the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* entering the Pulpit did perform the duty required. The noiſe was great for a while amongſt the people; but after they were quieted, and had heard the Biſhop (as he was a moſt powerful Preacher) out of that Text to *Timothy* diſcourſe of the duty of Chriſtians in *praying for all men*, they grieved ſore to ſee their Teachers ſo far overtaken, and condemned their obſtinacy in that point. In the afternoon *Cowper* was called before the Council, where Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* and Mr. *William Watſon* Miniſters, accompanying him, for ſome idle ſpeeches that eſcaped them, were both diſcharged from preaching in *Edinburgh* during his Majeſtie's pleaſure, and *Cowper* ſent priſoner to *Blackneſs*.

The third of *February* appointed for ſolemn Prayers in her behalf.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* appointed to preach, Mr. *John Cowper* uſurpeth the place.

The Miniſters at *Edinburgh* diſcharged.

The Queen of *Scots* her requeſt to the Queen of *England.*

The Queen of *Scots* ſome moneths before having notice given her of the Sentence pronounced againſt her, and being willed to prepare her ſelf for death, was nothing thereby dejected, but thanking God for that her ſorrowful life was now to end, intreated the Queen of *England* by her Letters for three things. "Firſt, that "her Body might be carried by her ſervants into *France*, to be buried beſides her Mother.

"Mother. Next, that ſhe ſhould not be put to death ſecretly, but in the preſence "of her ſervants and others, who might bear witneſs of her dying in Chriſt, "againſt the falſe rumors which her adverſaries might diſperſe of her. Thirldly, "that her ſervants might have leave to go whither they would, and enjoy the mean "Legacies ſhe had bequeathed unto them in her Teſtament. Which things ſhe requeſted *in the name of* Jeſus *Chriſt, by the Soul and memory of* Henry *the* VII, *Progenitor to them both, and by the Royal Honor and Title which ſhe had carried.* In the ſame Letters ſhe complained of the indignity done unto her in the taking away of her Royal Furniture, and that her keepers did uſe her without that reſpect which was due to her eſtate and birth. But to none of theſe deſires was any anſwer given, the Queen of *England* diſſembling that ſhe had received any ſuch Letter. *An.* 1586.

Yet was ſhe much perplexed and doubtful what to do, whether to take her out of the way or not. If ſhe ſhould be ſpared, ſhe doubted the Noblemen who had given ſentence againſt her would take it ill, and perhaps run other courſes to free themſelves from her malice; and to take her away, ſhe knew it would be interpreted a great Cruelty on her part, as likewiſe that the King her Son would be ſore diſpleaſed: for albeit that the Maſter of *Gray* at his parting from her had in private given hopes that the King's Title being reſerved, and no prejudice made thereto by the Sentence given againſt his Mother, her Death would be forgotten; yet Sir *Robert Melvil*, who was joyned in Commiſſion with him, had aſſured her, if rigor were uſed, that friendſhip would no longer be kept. Debating thus with her ſelf ſome days upon the moſt expedient, ſhe ſigned a Warrant for the Execution, and gave it to *Daviſon* one of her Secretaries to be paſſed the great Seal: which was no ſooner done then, repenting the direction, ſhe told him that ſhe would take another way. But having before communicated the Warrant with the Council, they preſently ſent *Beal* their Clerk with the Mandate and Letters to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby* and *Cumberland*, to ſee the ſame performed. The Queen of *England*, is doubtful which way to take.

The Earls, accompanied with the Sheriff of the Shire and Juſtices of Peace, came to *Fotheringhay* on Tueſday the 7 of *February*, and having ſignified the cauſe of their coming, willed the Queen to prepare her ſelf to die, for that ſhe was to ſuffer the next morning. She was no way moved, as it ſeemed, and ſaid, *I did not think that Queen* Elizabeth *my Siſter would have conſented to my Death; but ſince it is ſo, Death is to me moſt welcome. That Soul is not worthy of the Heaven's Joys, whoſe Body cannot endure one blow of the Hangman. Only I will requeſt*, ſaid ſhe, *that I may ſpeak with my Confeſſor, and* Melvil *my Steward.* It was anſwered that her Confeſſor would not be permitted to come unto her, but ſhe ſhould have the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborough*, who were nigh by, to give her comfort. She replied, *They are of another Profeſſion, and cannot be fit comforters to me: but ſince you will not allow my Confeſſor to come at me, I will comfort my ſelf in God.* The Queen of *Scots* willed to prepare her ſelf for Death.

Some other ſpeeches paſſed amongſt them touching *Babington*, and her Secretaries *Nu* and *Curle*, who had both confeſſed the enterchange of Letters with *Babington*; after which the Earls departed. She, calling for Supper, commanded her ſervants to make haſte, that ſhe might have leiſure to ſet things in order. Having ſupped ſparingly, (as her cuſtom was) ſhe made an Inventory of her goods and movables, ſetting down the names of thoſe for whom ſhe appointed them; and unto ſome ſhe gave money with her own hand. This done, ſhe wrote unto her Confeſſor, intreating him to pray unto God for her; and a few lines to the *French* King and Duke of *Guiſe* in behalf of her ſervants. At the ordinary hour ſhe went to bed, and ſlept ſome hours quietly; after which having awaked, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the night in Prayer. Her behavior and preparation.

The day beginning to break, ſhe apparelled her ſelf as ſhe was wont to do on the Feſtival-days, and calling together her ſervants, ſhewed unto them her Will, deſiring them to take in good part the Legacies ſhe had bequeathed unto them, ſince her means were at the time no better; and then gave her ſelf wholly to Devotion. About eight of the clock the Sheriff of the Shire, named *Thomas Andrews*, entered the Chappel, where ſhe was praying on her knees, and told her that all was ready: And I am likewiſe, ſaid ſhe. Thus ariſing, ſhe came forth to her Chamber

of

An. 1586. of Preſence, where ſhe made a ſhort ſpeech to her ſervants, willing them to fear God and live vertuouſly: and ſo kiſſing her Women, and giving the men-ſervants her hand to kiſs, ſhe bad them farewel.

She biddeth her ſervants farewel.

The Earls and other Gentlemen meeting her, ſhe ſhewed a moſt chearful countenance, nothing dejected, but looking grave and devout, with a Crucifix of Ivory in her hands. As ſhe was going towards the Hall, where ſhe was to ſuffer, when *Andrew Melvil* her Steward did bewail his mishap, in that he ſhould be the carrier of the news of his Ladie's Death into *Scotland*, ſhe ſaid, *Do not lament, but rather be glad, for thou ſhalt ſtraightway ſee* Mary Stewart *delivered from all her cares: you may tell them that I die conſtant in my Religion, and firm in affection towards* Scotland *and* France. *Hitherto thou haſt ſerved me faithfully; and howbeit I take thee to be in Religion a Proteſtant, and I my ſelf am Catholick, yet ſeeing there is but one* Chriſt, *I charge thee, upon thine accompt to him, that thou carry theſe my laſt words to my Son, and ſhew that I pray him to ſerve God, to defend the Catholick Church, and govern his Kingdom in peace, and never to put himſelf in the power of another, as I have done. Certifie him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of* Scotland, *and will him to keep Friendſhip with the Queen of* England; *and ſerve thou him faithfully.* With theſe words ſome tears falling from her eyes, ſhe bade him farewel.

Her directions to *Andrew Melvil* her Steward.

After this ſhe was brought to the Hall, in the midſt whereof, over againſt the Chimney, (where was a great fire) a Scaffold was erected of two foot high and twelve foot broad, having two ſteps to aſcend: the Scaffold was railed about almoſt a yard high, and all covered with black cloth, as were the Chair, Stools, and Block, and Cuſhions to kneel upon. Before ſhe went up, turning to the Earls, ſhe requeſted that her ſervants might ſtand by at her death. They anſwered, that their paſſionate weeping would diſquiet her, and do no good elſe. *Nay,* ſaid ſhe, *I will promiſe for them, they ſhall not do ſo: it is but a ſmall favor, and ſuch as Queen* Elizabeth *would not deny me, to have my Maids preſent.* She named *Melvil* her Steward, *Burgoin* her Phyſician, her Apothecary and Chirurgion, with two Maids.

She is brought to the place of Execution.

Being on the Scaffold, and ſilence made, the Clerk of the Council did read the Commiſſion, which ſhe liſtened to, as it had been ſome other matter. That ended, the Dean of *Peterborough* began to remember her of her preſent condition, and to comfort her in the beſt way he could. She, interrupting his ſpeech, willed him to hold his peace, for that ſhe would not hear him. And when, excuſing himſelf that what he did was by command of her Majeſtie's Council, he began again to ſpeak; *Peace, Mr. Dean,* ſaid ſhe, *I have nothing to do with you, nor you with me.* The Noblemen deſiring him not to trouble her farther, ſhe ſaid, *That is beſt, for I am ſetled in the ancient Catholick Religion wherein I was born and bred, and now will die in the ſame.* The Earl of *Kent* ſaying, that as yet they would not ceaſe to pray unto God for her, that he would vouchſafe to open her eyes, and enlighten her mind with the knowledge of his Truth, that ſhe might die therein: ſhe anſwered, *That you may do at your pleaſure, but I will pray by my ſelf.* So the Dean conceiving a Prayer, and all the company following him, ſhe likewiſe prayed aloud in the *Latin* Tongue: and when the Dean had finiſhed, ſhe in the *Engliſh* Language commended unto God the eſtate of the afflicted Church; prayed for her Son, that he might proſper and live happily, and for Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might live long, and govern her ſubjects peaceably; adding, that ſhe *hoped only to be ſaved by the blood of Chriſt, at the feet of whoſe Picture preſented on the Crucifix ſhe would willingly ſhed her blood.* Then lifting up the Crucifix and kiſſing it, ſhe ſaid, *As thy arms, O Chriſt, were ſpread abroad on the Croſs; ſo with the outſtretched Arms of thy Mercy receive me, and forgive me my ſins.*

The Dean of *Peterborough* offereth to comfort her.

She prayeth by her ſelf.

This ſaid ſhe roſe up, and was by two of her Women diſrobed of her upper Garments. The Executioners offering their help, and putting to their hands, ſhe put them back, ſaying, *She was not accuſtomed to be ſerved with ſuch Grooms, nor dreſſed before ſuch a multitude.* Her upper Robe taken off, ſhe did quickly loſe her Doublet, which was laced on the back, and putting on her Arms a pair of ſilken Sleeves, her body covered with a Smock only, ſhe kiſſed her Maids again, and bad them farewel. They burſting forth in tears, ſhe ſaid, *I promiſed for you that you ſhould be quiet; get you hence, and remember me.* After which kneeling down moſt reſolutely, and

The manner of the Execution.

and with the leaſt token of fear that might be, having her eyes covered with a hand-kerchief, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In te, Domine, confido; ne confundar in æternum.* Then ſtretching forth her body with great quietneſs, and laying her neck over the Block, ſhe cried aloud, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo ſpiritum meum.* One of the Executioners holding down her hands, the other at two blows cut off her Head, which falling out of her attire ſeemed to be ſomewhat gray. All things about her were taken from the Executioners, and they not ſuffered to carry their Aprons, or any thing elſe with them that her Blood had touched; the Clothes and Block were alſo burnt, her Body embalmed, and in ſolemn manner buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; and after many years taken up by the King her Son, and interred at *Weſtminſter* amongſt the reſt of the Kings. *An.* 1586.

This was the end of Queen *Marie*'s Life; a Princeſs of many rare Vertues, but croſſed with all the croſſes of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater courage and magnanimity to the laſt. Upon her return from *France*, for the firſt two or three years, ſhe carried her ſelf moſt worthily; but then giving ear to ſome wicked perſons, and tranſported with the paſſion of revenge, for the indignity done unto her in the Murther of *David Rizio* her Secretary, ſhe fell into a Labyrinth of Troubles, which forced her to flee into *England*, where after 19 years Captivity ſhe was put to death in the manner you have heard. Nigh unto her Sepulchre at *Peterborough* was affixed at the time, by ſome friend that bewailed her Death, this Inſcription. A brief deſcription of her Fortune.

MARIA Scotorum *Regina, Regis filia, Regis* Gallorum *vidua, Reginæ* Angliæ *agnata & hæres proxima, Virtutibus Regiis & animo Regio ornata, Jure Regio fruſtra ſæpius implorato, barbara & tyrannica Credulitate, Ornamentum noſtri ſeculi, & Lumen vere Regium extinguitur; eodemque nefario judicio, &* MARIA Scotorum *Regina morte naturali, & omnes ſuperſtites Reges plebeii facti morte mulctantur, * hic extat. Cum ſacris enim vivæ* MARIÆ *cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principum violatam atque proſtratam Majeſtatem hic jacere ſcito. Et quia tacitum Regale ſatis ſuperque Reges ſui officii monet, plura non addo, Viator.* The Inſcription ſecretly affixed on her Sepulchre.

[* *Videtur aliquid deeſſe.*]

That is,

"MARY Queen of *Scotland*, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of "*France*, Kinſwoman and next Heir to the Queen of *England*, adorned with "Royal Vertues and a Princely ſpirit, having often, but in vain, implored to have "the Right due to a Prince done unto her, the Ornament of our Age, and Mirror of "Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; and by one and the "ſame infamous judgement, both *MARY* Queen of *Scotland* is puniſhed with "death, and all Kings living are made liable to the ſame. A ſtrange and uncouth "kind of Grave this is, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the "Aſhes of this bleſſed *MARY*, thou ſhalt know that the Majeſty of all Kings "and Princes lies here depreſſed and violated. But becauſe the Regal ſecret doth "admoniſh all Kings of their duty, Travellor, I will ſay no more. The ſame Engliſhed.

The Author was not known, nor could be found out, ſo it was taken away. But as ſoon as it was told the Queen that the Execution was done, ſhe grieved exceedingly, and put on a mourning habit, laying all the fault upon Secretary *Davi-ſon*, to whom ſhe had ſaid that ſhe would take another way. Mean while ſhe ſent Mr. *Robert Cary*, one of the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Sons, to the King, with this Letter of her own hand-writing.

MY dear Brother, I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miſerable accident which far contrary to my meaning hath befaln. I have ſent this Kinſman of mine, whom ere now it hath pleaſed you to favor, to inſtruct you truly of that which is too irkſome for my pen to tell you. I beſeech you that as God and many mo know how innocent I am in this caſe, ſo you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not ſo baſe minded, that the fear of any living creature ſhould make me afraid to do what is juſt, or done to deny the ſame; The Queen of *England* writeth to the King by Mr. *Robert Cary*.

An. 1586. *ſame; I am not ſo degenerate, nor carry ſo vile a mind; but as not to diſguiſe fits moſt a King, ſo will I never diſſemble my actions, but cauſe them ſhew as I mean them. This aſſure your ſelf for me, that as I know it was deſerved, if I had meant it, I would never lay it on anothers ſhoulders; and to impute to my ſelf that which I did not ſo much as think of, I will not. The circumſtances you will be pleaſed to hear of this bearer: And for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving Kinſwoman and more dear Friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preſerve you and your State. And if any would otherwiſe perſuade you, think they bear more good will to others then to you. Thus, in haſte, I leave to trouble you, beſeeching God to ſend you a long Reign.*

Your moſt aſſured loving Siſter and Couſen,
ELIZABETH R.

The King denieth him acceſs.

The King denying him preſence, and refuſing to receive his Letters, he adverтiſed the Queen, who willed him, if he could not find acceſs to his Majeſty, to deliver his Meſſage and Letters to ſome of the Council, if it ſhould be the King's pleaſure to take information from them. This after the delay of a few days was yielded unto, and with the Letters a Writing delivered to be ſhewed his Majeſty of this Tenor.

Mr. *Carie's* Declaration in writing.

WHereas the Queen's Majeſty, my Miſtris, deſiring to have your Majeſty certified aright of the Death of the Queen your Mother, and in what ſort the ſame was done, hath commanded me, ſince I am denied your preſence, to declare my Meſſage to certain of your Council; I have thought beſt to put it in Writing, becauſe words may be miſtaken, and my charge this way better performed. Firſt, She commanded me to aſſure your Majeſty, that it never entered in her thought to put the Queen your Mother to death, notwithſtanding the daily perſuaſions of her Council, the ſupplications of the Nobility, Knights and Gentlemen, and the hourly outcries of her poor people and Commonalty, wherewith ſhe was wearied, and out of meaſure grieved to ſee their determination fixed that way. And that upon advertiſements coming every day unto her, of the preparation of Ships and men both in France *and* Spain *to invade her Realm, and reports of the breaking open of* Fotheringhay *Caſtle, and the Queen your Mother's eſcape; leſt ſhe ſhould in any ſuch extremity be unprovided, ſhe had ſigned a Warrant to her Council for doing what they thought beſt with your Mother; which Warrant ſhe delivered to her Secretary Mr.* Daviſon *to be kept, not intending it ſhould be given out of his hands, except ſome Invaſion from abroad or Inſurrection of Rebels at home were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secretary, otherwiſe then ſhe had purpoſed, having ſhewed the Warrant to two or three of the Council, they called the whole number together, and preſently ſent a Mandate for her Execution; which was done, ſhe proteſts to God, before ſhe knew of it. Hereupon the Secretary is committed, and will not eſcape her high diſpleaſure. This is the effect of my Meſſage; which if I could expreſs ſo lively as I did hear her utter it with a heavy heart and ſorrowful countenance, I think your Majeſty would rather pity the grief which ſhe endureth, then in any ſort blame her for the fact whereunto ſhe never gave conſent.*

The Declaration giveth no content to the King.

This Declaration gave the King no content, for he could not think that her Council would have preſumed without her own knowledge to take the Life of his Mother; and for the cenſure of the Secretary, he did eſteem it but a mockery, and not a repairing of the wrong he had received. Neither wanted he perſons about him to ſharpen him to take revenge; ſome out of a deſire to have all things troubled, others out of the hatred they bare to Religion, and ſome truly reſenting the injury as done to the whole Nation. Which when the Queen underſtood, and that her Meſſenger was returned without audience, ſhe labored by her Miniſters, of whom ſhe was ever well furniſhed, to pacifie his mind, and divert him from the War he had intended. Theſe working privately with the King's chief Counſellors, and ſuch of his Chamber as he was known to affect, dealt ſo as they kept off things from breaking forth unto open Hoſtility, which was every day expected. Secretary *Walſingham* firſt by a long Letter directed to the Lord *Thirlſtan*, who

The Queen laboreth to divert the King from War.

was

was then in moſt credit, and had the chief adminiſtration of affairs, proponed di- *An.* 1586.
vers weighty and important conſiderations, that ſhould keep the King from taking any ſuch reſolution. Becauſe the Letter contained the very true reaſons that in end moved his Majeſty to forbear violence and take a more calm courſe, I thought meet to ſet it down word by word, as it ſtandeth in the Original.

A Letter of *Walſingham* to the Lord *Thirlſtan.*

"SIr, being abſent from Court when the late Execution of the Queen your So-
"verign's Mother happened, I did forthwith upon my return impart to Mr.
"*Douglas* ſome things concerning the courſe was conceived here, by your ſaid So-
"vereign's beſt friends, fit to be holden in this remedileſs accident for continu-
"ance of Peace and Amity between the two Crowns, as a thing for the weal of both
"Nations to be deſired. But finding him unwilling to meddle therewith, I have
"thought good to write to the ſame effect unto your ſelf. The rather for that I
"preſently underſtand, by ſome advertiſements out of that Country, that the death
"of the Queen is likely to breed ſo ſtrange an alienation of his Majeſtie's mind to-
"wards this Realm, tending (as is reported) wholly to violence, and to revenge of
"that which hath been ſo neceſſarily done by the whole Body of the ſame; where-
"of as for my own part I ſhould be right ſorry, ſo it is generally hoped that his Ma-
"jeſty, being of that ſingular judgement himſelf, by the good help and advice of
"ſuch as you are in credit and authority about him, men of wiſdom and experi-
"ence, whom he will hear, this miſchief will notwithſtanding be carefully and pru-
"dently prevented, conſidering how every way, all things being rightly weighed,
"this courſe will be found prejudicial as well to your ſaid Sovereign's Eſtate as to
"his Reputation, if he reſolve to perſiſt therein.

"For, firſt, the enterpriſe will undoubtedly be condemned in the ſight of all ſuch
"as ſhall not be tranſported with ſome particular paſſion: for that they ſhall ſee
"that he takes Arms for revenge of an Action, beſides the neceſſity wherein it is
"grounded, full of ſo honorable and juſt proceedings, as howſoever the effect was
"contrary to their liking, the manner thereof by the late Queen's great favorers
"could not but be approved and allowed. And as on the one ſide, the King your
"Sovereign oppugning the courſe of Juſtice; of ſo unlawful, unjuſt and deſperate
"a Quarrel cannot be expected any other thing then a moſt unhappy and miſe-
"rable iſſue: ſo we, being aſſured that in the defence of Juſtice the aſſiſtence of
"his mighty arm will not fail us whoſe judgement this was, need not to fear what-
"ſoever man ſhall attempt to the contrary againſt this Realm.

"But not to ſtand upon the juſtneſs of the Quarrel, which every man perhaps
"will not ſo much regard; it would be conſidered what means your Sovereign ſhall
"have to go through with ſuch an enterpriſe, if he take it in hand. For the forces
"of his own Realm being ſo far inferior to theſe in *England*, no man is ſo ſimple
"but ſeeth it were no way ſafe for his Majeſty, truſting only thereto, to make head
"againſt the power of this Land; neither is it thought that any man will be found
"ſo unadviſed as to wiſh him ſo to do.

"But as it may be that a great number for lack of underſtanding are carried
"away with ſuch vain diſcourſes, as ſome without ſolid ground imagine of what
"might be done in this caſe by a King of *Scotland* backed and aſſiſted (as they con-
"ceive in the air) with the *French* and *Spaniſh* aid; ſo it is likely enough there ſhall
"not want thoſe that either for ſatisfaction of their private paſſions, or ſupply of
"their neceſſities, or better affectionating ſome other their private deſigns, would
"be content to ſerve themſelves of this preſent publick occaſion and opportunity;
"who will propound, and promiſe alſo, more to his Majeſty of ſuch forein aſſiſtence,
"then they know in their conſciences can be performed, if he would declare him-
"ſelf enemy to this Realm; which that he ſhould, (though to his own ruine) the
"enemies of both Realms will do what they can to procure.

"But men of wiſdom and underſtanding, laying before their eyes as well the ac-
"cuſtomed delays, and after long ſolicitation and purſuit the ſimple ſupplies and
"ſupport commonly found at theſe forein Potentates hands; as alſo, how doubt-
"ful and uncertain the ſucceſs of War may prove, *England* (God be thanked)

"being

An. 1586. "being ſo prepared, and in caſe to defend it ſelf, both otherwiſe, and by the con-
"junction of *Holland* and *Zeland*'s forces by Sea, in reſpect whereof this Realm
"need not fear what all the Potentates of *Europe* being bended againſt us can do for
"to annoy the ſame; Due conſideration, I ſay, being taken hereof, you will eaſi-
"ly judge and find, how vain it were for your Sovereign upon ſo uncertain hopes
"to embark Himſelf and Eſtate in an unneceſſary War. But much more if you
"ſhall conſider what a ſequel and train of dangers and hazards this War draweth
"therewith, the conſequence whereof reacheth to whatſoever your Sovereign
"poſſeſſeth or hopeth for in this life. For eſcaping to be ſlain in field, if he ſhould
"happen to be taken priſoner, or be conſtrained to retire himſelf out of the Realm,
"(things that have fallen out oft in experience) and then, having incenſed this
"whole Realm againſt him, he ſhould be diſabled from any Right in the Succeſſion
"of this Crown, (as authority is given to do it by the ſame Statute whereby they
"proceeded againſt the Mother) for attempting the Invaſion of this Land, what
"extremity ſhould he be reduced unto?

"And truly it could not otherwiſe be, the ancient Enmity between the two Na-
"tions, now forgotten, being by drawing blood one of another again likely to be in
"ſuch ſort revived, as it would be impoſſible to make them like of a Prince of that
"Nation, and ſpecially him who had been upon ſo unjuſt a ground the author of
"that unfortunate Breach.

"Beſides that the greateſt part of the ancient Nobility, by whoſe Judgement
"the late Queen was condemned, and the reſt of the principal Gentlemen of the
"Realm, who confirmed the ſame in Parliament, ſhould have juſt cauſe to adven-
"ture any thing, even to the marching over their bellies, rather then to yield to
"his Government, who, carrying ſuch a vindictive mind, they might doubt would
"one day call their lives and honors in queſtion.

"And as for the remedy and relief which he might attend (ſtanding in theſe
"terms) of forein Princes, there are many examples of the former Ages, and within
"freſh memory. As the King of *Navarr*'s Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, and
"*Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, both were allied to *Francis* the Firſt and *Charles* the
"Fifth, two of the mightieſt Potentates that reigned in long time. And that this
"preſent *Don Antonio* may ſuffice for enſample, to teach all Princes, if they can
"avoid it, to beware how they fall into that ſtate whereby they ſhall be inforced to
"ſeek their own by other Potentates means. Princes are not ſo ready in theſe days
"to embrace other mens quarrels, but where they are extraordinarily intereſſed
"in their own fortunes.

"Wherefore I doubt not but it will be ſeen by men of judgement, nor tranſ-
"ported with paſſion or led away with private reſpects, that it ſhould be every way
"the only beſt courſe for your Sovereign, by a good and kind uſage of her Majeſty,
"and by ſhewing that Princely moderation, as well in this grievous accident of
"his Mother's Death, as his whole proceeding with this Ream, (which the excellen-
"cy of his Highneſs Education ſeemeth to promiſe) to ſeek to win the hearty good
"wills of this Realm, as the chief and principal aſſurance he can in any ſort obtain.

"For to truſt or depend either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain*, as
"if by their aſſiſtence he might attain to the preſent Poſſeſſion of this Crown,
"which be indeed the only two Potentates whom he muſt have recourſe unto, if
"he reject the Amity of *England*; whoſoever ſhall ſo counſel your Sovereign, as
"things preſently ſtand, ſhall, in the judgement of men of beſt underſtanding, be-
"wray great want either of fidelity or judgement, drawing his Majeſty unto ſo un-
"toward and deſperate a courſe.

"For it is no way ſafe for any Prince to repoſe his truſt and ſtrength upon their
"favor and aſſiſtence to whoſe deſires and deſigns his Greatneſs may yield any
"impeachment and hinderance: ſo were it clearly againſt common Reaſon to ex-
"pect other ſupport and aſſiſtence from them then might ſtand with their own
"commodities and pretenſions, in reſpect whereof neither of the two foreſaid
"Kings can ſimply and roundly joyn with your Sovereign to his good.

"Firſt, his Religion being odious to them both, and likely to prove moſt pre-
judicial

"judicial to the Catholick cauſe, he growing ſo great as he ſhould be made by the *An.* 1586.
"Union of the two Crowns: the conſideration whereof cauſed his Mother's af-
"fairs to ſtick a long time, and made now in end leave him quite out of the reckon-
"ing, ordaining the King of *Spain* her Heir, if her Son became not Catholick.

"Next, it is merely repugnant to the Policy of *France*, were it but in reſpect of
"the ancient claim *England* maketh to that Crown, to ſuffer the uniting of this
"Iſland under one Prince.

"They have been content in former times, when *England* had a footing in
"*France*, to ſerve themſelves of your Nation, therewith to annoy this Realm, by
"the means of diverting or dividing the forces thereof; and ſo perhaps the Politicks
"of *France* can be content to wiſh at this day, by your Sovereigns quarrel or any
"other ſuch like, to be eaſed of the burthen and miſeries of the preſent War where-
"with they are plagued, by tranſporting the ſame into this Iſland. But as this
"Realm hath good means to prevent that miſchief if it were intended; ſo were
"your Sovereign to look, when all were done, but to be made an inſtrument, as his
"predeceſſors have been, of the effuſion of much *Scottiſh* blood for *French* quarrels,
"and the deſolation of that Realm.

"And as things ſtand preſently in *France*, it is not thought that you ſhould find
"the King ready to hearken to any enterpriſe againſt this Land, the ſaid King be-
"ing moſt deſirous to live in Peace both with his neighbors abroad and his ſubjects
"at home, but that he hath been forced full ſore againſt his will, by the practice of
"them of the houſe of *Guiſe*, to countenance with his authority the Civil War
"raiſed in that Realm; which maketh him, whatſoever ſhew he maketh of the con-
"trary, to hate them in his heart.

"Neither would it be held ſound counſel to be given him by any that depends up-
"on his fortune, to farther the advancement of a King of *Scots*, ſo nearly allied to
"that Family which he hath diſcovered and greatly feareth to level at his own
"Crown, with any intention to depoſe him, which by the greatneſs of a King of
"*Scots* they ſhould be ſo much the ſooner and better able to effect.

"The King of *Spain*'s aſſiſtence, being now in War with this Realm, were more
"likely to be obtained, but far more dangerous to be uſed in reſpect of his inſati-
"able ambition, deep practices and power accompanied in this caſe with a colour
"of right; wherein how far he would ſeek to prevail, any opportunity or advan-
"tage being offered, it may juſtly be doubted by the experience that ſundry States
"have had, which upon ſlender grounds of title have been extorted and wrung
"from the true inheritors, and annexed to his own Kingdom; as *Navarre*, *Por-*
"*tugal*, and all he poſſeſſeth in *Italy* hath been.

"It is believed that the King of *Spain*, conſidering his years and unſetled eſtate
"every way, would willingly incline to Peace, if it were offered with reaſonable
"Conditions, and not over-readily at this preſent embark himſelf in any new en-
"terpriſe.

"But otherwiſe it is well known, that as he had fanſied to himſelf an Empire of
"all this part of *Europe*, ſo he had an eye to this Realm ever ſince he was King in
"right of his Wife. The Conqueſt was intended under colour of Religion, as was
"diſcovered by ſome that were of his own Privy Council at that time. His preten-
"tion to be the Heir of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and, ſince the late Queen's death, the
"firſt Catholick Prince of the blood-Royal of *England*, as alſo the Donation of this
"Crown made him by the Queen of *Scots* in her Letters, with a promiſe to confirm
"it by Teſtament, (things blazed abroad by the ſaid King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*)
"ought to breed jealouſie and ſuſpicion in your Sovereign's head, and give him to
"think how he ſhould be uſed at ſuch an aſſiſtents hand. Auxiliary forces have
"ever been reputed dangerous, if they either in number or policy were ſuperior to
"them that called them in. The aſſiſtence therefore of *Spain* and *France* being of
"this nature, as your Sovereign hath need of neither, ſo he ſhall do well to forbear
"them both, and ſo ſhall it be moſt for his eaſe.

"It may be ſome will pretend, that by change of his Religion your Sovereign
"ſhall better his condition in regard of theſe forein Princes, beſides a great party

An. 1587. "within this Realm that thereby ſhall be drawn wholly to depend upon his for-
"tune. But the poor diſtreſſed eſtate of *Don Antonio*, being a Catholick Prince
"ſpoiled by a Catholick, and receiving ſo little ſuccour at Catholick Princes hands,
"ſhall be a ſufficient bar to all that can be alleged in that behalf.

"As for the Catholick party in *England*, in his Mother's life it was never ſo uni-
"ted as they drew all in one line, much leſs will they be brought ſuddenly to relie
"upon him if he ſhould alter his Religion, (as God defend) which would be his utter
"diſcredit and overthrow both with the one and the other party, neither having
"cauſe to repoſe any confidence in him; the Proteſtants, becauſe he had renoun-
"ced the Religion wherein he was with great care brought up; the Papiſts, be-
"cauſe they could not be aſſured in ſhort ſpace that he was truly turned to their
"Faith. Yea, all men ſhould have reaſon to forſake him who had thus diſſembled
"and forſaken his God.

"And where it was given out, that divers do inſinuate unto your Sovereign,
"that his Honor and Reputation is ſo deeply intereſſed herein, as it muſt neceſ-
"ſarily turn to his perpetual ignominy and reproach, if he give not ſome notable
"teſtimony to the world of the Affection and dutiful Love he bare to his Mother;
"your King, being of that ſingular judgement that he is thought to have, cannot
"be ignorant how far true Honor ought to poſſeſs a Chriſtian Prince; that is,
"not whither Paſſion or Fury uſeth to carry men, but whether Reaſon and Wiſ-
"dom have laid the bounds, that is, within the compaſs of poſſibility, decency
"and juſtice. If the late Queen had been innocent, Revenge had been neceſſa-
"rily juſt and honorable; but being culpable, contrary in all reaſonable mens
"judgements, he hath ſufficiently diſcharged the duty of a Son in mediating for
"his Mother ſo long as ſhe was alive, and ſo far as he was able to prevail. They
"which require more at his Highneſs hands, may be preſumed not to regard what
"beſeemeth his place and dignity, but to ſeek the ſatisfaction of their own parti-
"cular paſſions and deſires.

"And whoſoever perſuadeth his Highneſs, that the Mediation uſed by him for
"his Mother, contrary to the humble purſuit of the whole Parliament, hath already
"given that offence to the Nobility and people of this Land, as it behoveth him
"of force to have recourſe to forein ſupports, doth greatly abuſe both his Highneſs
"and this Realm: for as they were not ignorant what Nature might and ought to
"move his Highneſs unto, ſo long as there was any hope of her Life; ſo they do
"not doubt but that Reaſon will induce him to leave ſorrowing and thinking of her
"in due time.

"Thus have I troubled you with a long diſcourſe, whereunto the deſire I have of
"the continuance of Amity between the two Crowns hath carried me unawares
"farther then I purpoſed; all which I refer to your good conſideration, not doubt-
"ing but you will afford moſt readily and willingly all good offices that ſhall lie
"in your power, to the end that a happy concluſion may enſue hereof, which ſhall
"tend to the common good of the whole Iſland. And ſo I commit you to God.
"From the Court at *Greenwich*, the 4 of *March*, 1586.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured Friend,
FRA. WALSINGHAM.

An. 1587. THis Letter ſhewed to the King ſerved much to allay his anger, as afterwards appeared. In the *May* after, the Eſtates being aſſembled at *Halirudhouſe*, they ſhew a great forwardneſs all of them for aſſiſting the revenge of his Mother's Death, every man offering to ſpend his goods and life in that quarrel: yet the buſineſs was ſo timed out that Summer by the private dealing of certain Counſellors, as hopes were given to the Queen that matters ſhould compoſe, and a more peaceable courſe be taken.

A Convention of the Eſtates.

The King is informed of certain ſpeeches uttered by the Maſter of *Gray*, 20. *Apr.*

It was at this time that Sir *William Stewart*, brother to Captain *James*, returned again to Court, and gave his attendance upon the Maſter of *Gray*. The Maſter then was plotting a change of Court, and had conſpired with the Lord *Maxwel* to kill the

the Lord *Thirlſtan*, Sir *James Home* of *Coldingknowes*, and Mr. *Robert Douglas* Collector, whoſe power with the King he greatly envied. This he reveals to Sir *William*, as one that he believed would take part in the buſineſs; and to make him the more forward tells, *that it was* Thirlſtan, *the Juſtice Clerk*, Blantyre, *and himſelf that brought in the Lords at* Striveling, *and put his Brother from Court; which he repented, and would help ſo far as he could to recall him.* Sir *William* knowing the man's nature, and that he was not to be truſted, gave him ſome hopes of joyning with him, but in the mean time related all to the King. This coming to *Thirlſtane*'s knowledge, he complaineth thereof in Council, and deſireth a trial. The Maſter denied that any ſuch purpoſe had paſſed betwixt them: whereupon Sir *William* was called, and ſtanding to that he had told the King, they two fell a conteſting. After ſome bitter ſpeeches, Sir *William* taking him up roundly, ſaid, *that he deſerved no credit, as having abuſed his Ambaſſage to* England, *and treacherouſly conſented to the death of the King*'s *Mother.* *An.* 1586.

There had a rumor gone of a Letter written by the Maſter to the Queen of *England* after his parting from that Court, adviſing her to put the Queen of *Scots* out of the way; and the words he had uſed, *Mortui non mordent*, Dead folks bite not, were in every man's mouth: and now the challenge being made publick, the Council moved the King to put the Maſter to Trial, and commit both the one and the other. So were they both the ſame night ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Thirlſtan*, and thoſe others that were touched with the enterpriſe of *Striveling*, made great inſtance to be cleared in that point: but the King, not liking to ſearch too deeply in thoſe buſineſſes, ſaid, *That their own Purgation, with the Declaration of the Noblemen that came home at that time, was ſufficient.* There were preſent of that number the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Marre* and *Bothwell*, who upon oath declared, *that they had no aſſurance from any about the King at the time of their coming, till they were received by his Majeſty in favour.* The like Purgation was made by the Lord *Thirlſtan*, the Juſtice Clerk, and the reſt, and ſo that buſineſs ceaſed. The Maſter of *Gray* and Sir *William Stewart* committed.

After ſome two or three days the Maſter of *Gray* and his accuſer were brought again before the Council, where the ſame things that before we heard being repeated by Sir *William Stewart*, he added farther, *That he knew the Maſter to be a trafficker againſt Religion, and that he had written divers Letters to the King of* France *and Duke of* Guiſe, *declaring that the King was to ſeek their aſſiſtence in revenge of his Mother*'s *Death, but intreated them not to grant him any help, unleſs he did grant Toleration to the Catholicks for exerciſe of their Religion.* The Maſter being deſired to anſwer, and, as he look'd for any favour, to deal ingenuouſly, and confeſs the truth, ſaid, *That he could not deny his dealing for Toleration of Catholicks, and that he diſliked ſome of the Officers of State, and could have wiſhed an alteration; but that he never had ſo much as a thought againſt his Majeſtie*'s *Perſon; beſeeching to impute theſe things wherein he had offended to his youth and fooliſh ambition.* Being enquired touching the Letter ſent to the Queen of *England*, he confeſſed, *That when he perceived her inclining to take the Queen of* Scots *Life, he adviſed her rather to take her away in ſome private way, then to do it in form of Juſtice;* and acknowledged the words *Mortui non mordent*, to be his, but not uſed by him to the ſenſe they were detorted. Sir *William Stewart* inſiſts in the challenge of the Maſter of *Gray*.

His Confeſſion did liberate his Accuſer, who was preſently ſet at liberty, and he himſelf ſent to the *Tolbuith* of *Edinburgh* to attend his Arraignment, which was made a few days after. There, having repeated the ſame things in effect, he ſubmitted himſelf to the King's mercy; who thereupon gave order to the Juſtice to baniſh him the Realm, and in caſe he did return without licence to pronounce the ſentence of death. Meanwhile he was prohibited to go either into *England* or *Ireland*, under the like pain. A puniſhment too mild, as many at that time judged, for crimes ſo hateful and odious. But the innated clemency of the King, and his unwillingneſs to uſe rigor towards them whom he had once favoured, did not ſuffer him to inflict the puniſhment which the offence had merited. Sir *William Stewart* liberated, and the Maſter of *Gray* impriſoned.

Captain *James*, who ſince the enterpriſe of *Striveling* had lurked amongſt his friends, did now begin to ſhew himſelf, and importune the King with delations of *Thirlſtan* and ſome other Counſellors, as being acceſſary to his Mother's Death, Captain *James* information againſt the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

An. 1587. and having a purpoſe to deliver him into *England*. Theſe informations he ſent incloſed in a Letter to the King by *Henry Stewart* of *Craigihall*. The King communicating the ſame to the Council, direction was given to charge him to enter his perſon within the Palace of *Linlithgow*, and remain there till the truth of theſe delations ſhould be tried: certifying him, that if he failed to obey, proceſs of Forfeiture ſhould be laid againſt him, as a ſower of diſcord betwixt the King and his Nobility. When at the time prefixed he entered not, the Office of Chancellary, whereof as yet he uſed the title, was declared void, and beſtowed upon the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

Thirlſtane created Chancellor.

The King being now 21 years complete, a Parliament was indicted to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 29 of *July*. For a preparation thereto, and that the King might find the better aſſiſtence, the Noblemen were ſent for, they eſpecially betwixt whom there were known to be any quarrels. At their coming the King did preſs them with a ſubmiſſion of all controverſies, and having obtained their conſents made them all friends. Only *William* Lord *Yeſter*, refuſing to reconcile with *Traquaire*, was committed and ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he was detained ſome moneths, till that variance was alſo compoſed. Such content the King conceived of their agreement, that he did feaſt them all royally at *Halirudhouſe*, thereafter cauſed them walk in hands two and two in form of proceſſion from the Palace to the Mercat-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, where they ſealed their concord by drinking healths one to another, to the exceeding great joy of all the beholders.

A Parliament indicted at *Edinburgh*.

The Noblemen reconciled.

A general Aſſembly was then alſo called by his Majeſtie's Proclamation to the 20 of *June*, where the King did purpoſe to have all matters ſetled betwixt him and the Church: but this meeting had not the like ſucceſs. For the Chancellor and Juſtice Clerk being ſent thither with certain Articles, of which two ſpecials were to deſire ſatisfaction for the offences committed by *James Gibſon* and Mr. *John Cowper* Miniſters, and that Mr. *Robert Montgomery* might be received without any Ceremonies into their fellowſhip; anſwer was made, *That if the Petitions of the Church in the approching Parliament ſhould be granted, they would labour to bring matters to ſuch a middeſt as might beſt agree with the honor of the Miniſtery, ſatisfie the offence of the godly, and the conſcience of their brethren, againſt whom his Majeſty had taken offence.* And for Mr. *Robert Montgomery, they ſhould diſpenſe with ſome Ceremonies uſed in admitting Excommunicants, in caſe the King was willing to remit ſomewhat of the ſatisfaction craved of the other two brethren.* This anſwer did ſo diſpleaſe the King, as refuſing to enter into any ſuch capitulations, he left off all farther treating with them at that time.

A general Aſſembly of the Church.

The King's propoſitions to the Aſſembly by his Commiſſioners.

But *Montgomery* being redacted to great neceſſity, and not knowing what courſe to take, (for the Duke of *Lennox* his agents having poſſeſſed themſelves in the Biſhoprick, he was no more acknowledged) did reſign his title in favour of Mr. *William Areskin* Parſon of *Campſie*, a friend and follower of the Earl of *Marre*. This Gentleman being well beloved of the Miniſtery, and otherwiſe of good parts, obtained the conſent of the Presbytery of *Glaſgow*, and was admitted thereto by them, although he was a Laick, and bare no charge in the Church. They being called to an accompt of this their doing in the next Aſſembly, excuſed themſelves, ſaying, *That ſince Church-men were not permitted to enjoy the Biſhoprick, they eſteemed it better he ſhould be in title of it then any other; and that he had given his bonds to renounce the ſame, in caſe the general Aſſembly did not allow of his Admiſſion.* The excuſe for the time was accepted, yet their doing was diſallowed, and they ordained to purſue him upon his bonds for diſannulling the Admiſſion: but he found means to retain the ſame, till Biſhop *James Beaton* (who lived in *France*) was reſtored. *Montgomery* his Reſignation being then made publick, he was ſhortly after as informally abſolved as he was excommunicated, and placed at a Church in *Cunningham*, where he lived in a poor eſtate to his death.

Montgomery reſigneth the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow* to Mr. *William Areskin*.

The Parliament keeping at the time appointed, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Pont* and ſome others, having Commiſſion from the Church, did preſent themſelves in the Parliament-Houſe at the firſt ſitting, and in name of the Church deſired *the Prelates that were preſented to be removed, as having no authority from the Church, and the moſt of them no Function nor Charge in it at all.* Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Abbot

The Church's Petition to the Parliament againſt the Prelates.

Abbot of *Kinloſſe*, riſing up and directing his ſpeech to the King, made a long diſcourſe of the right they had to ſit and give voice for the Church in theſe meetings; complaining that the Miniſters had moſt diſorderly ſhut them forth of their places in the Church, and now they thought to exclude them from their places in the Eſtate, which they hoped his Majeſty would not ſuffer, and would puniſh as a preſumptuous arrogancy on the part of the Petitioners. Mr. *Robert Pont* replying ſomewhat bitterly, the King willed them to be quiet, and preſent their Petitions orderly to the Lords of the Articles, where they ſhould be anſwered according to Reaſon. When it came to the Articles, this being in the front of their Petitions was ſimply rejected: ſome other Petitions were paſſed as they had deſired, for ratifying all Laws made in the King's Minority in favors of the Church, for trying and cenſuring the adverſaries of true Religion, and for the puniſhment of ſuch as did menace or invade the Miniſters of the Church. *An.* 1587.

The Temporality of Benefices annexed to the Crown.

It was in this Parliament that the Temporality of Benefices was annexed to the Crown, upon a pretext of bettering the Patrimony thereof, & that the King might have means to bear forth the honor of his Eſtate, and not burthen his ſubjects with Taxations for his ſupport. This was the publick pretext, and the King made to believe that the reſervation of the Prelate's Houſes and Precincts, with the Tithes of the Churches annexed to their Benefices, would ſuffice to maintain their dignity and eſtate. But privately to ſuch of the Miniſtery as ſought the ſubverſion of Epiſcopal Government it was whiſpered, *That this was the only way to undo the Prelacy, for there being no Livings to maintain them,* (as in this caſe there would be little or nothing remaining, moſt of the Biſhopricks being founded on Temporal lands, and having but Churches annexed) *none would be found to accept thoſe places:* which alſo proved true. Hopes beſides were given to thoſe Miniſters, that they ſhould have the Tithes to uſe and diſpone at their pleaſure. Yet was it not long ere the King did find himſelf abuſed, the Temporalities formerly diſponed (which were not a few) being all in the ſame Parliament confirmed, and thoſe that remained in a ſhort time begged from him, and given away to the followers of Court, ſo as nothing was left to benefit or reward any well-deſerving ſervant. When as he ſaw this, and that the Spiritual Eſtate was by this mean utterly decayed, the Priors and Abbots being all turned temporal Lords, he did ſore forthink the paſſing of the Act, calling it * *a vile and pernicious Act*, & recommending to the Prince his Son the annulling thereof. The Miniſters that look'd for reſtoring the Tithes, perceiving themſelves likewiſe deluded, began alſo to exclaim and condemn the courſe, howbeit ſomewhat too late.

The King forthinketh the paſſing of the annexation.

* *Baſilicon Doron lib.* 2. *pag.* 43.

The ſmall Barons admitted to give voice in Parliament.

In the ſame Parliament an Act was made in favour of the ſmall Barons, giving them by their Commiſſioners a voice in Parliament and Conventions with the others Eſtates. The Earl of *Crawford* did ſtrongly oppoſe, and in name of the Nobility proteſted againſt their receiving. That which the King intended by this was, to free the Barons of their dependence upon Noblemen, and have the Eſtates more particularly informed at their meeting of the abuſes in the Countrey. But ſo far was he from obtaining theſe ends, as to the contrary they did work him great buſineſs in all the enſuing Parliaments.

The Lord *Hunſdon* hath preſence of the King.

Soon after the Eſtates diſſolved, the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick* ſent to intreat preſence of the King; who yielded the more willingly, becauſe he of all the Nobility of *England* had medled leaſt in the proceedings againſt his Mother. The Nobleman propoſing the ſame Reaſons in effect which *Walſingham* had uſed in his Letter to the Chancellor, and laying before the King the danger wherein he might bring the Title and right of ſucceſſion, (which otherwiſe was undoubted) if he ſhould enter into open War with *England*; did earneſtly beſeech him, "ſeeing that which was done could not be undone, to give place unto neceſſity, pro-"miſing (becauſe it was ſtill beaten into the King's ears that the Execution of his "Mother did bar his Succeſſion) to bring unto him a Declaration under the hands "of all the Judges of *England*, that the Sentence given againſt his Mother was no "hurt to his Right, nor could work any prejudice to his Succeſſion.

A Proclamation againſt Incurſions in *England*.

This Conference did break the King very much from his reſolution; yet the outcries of the Countrey were great, and their deſires ſo vehement for revenge, that he

An. 1587. parted with *Hunſdon* in doubtful terms. But when the Declaration of the Judges, which he had promiſed, was brought unto him, and therewith the Sentence given againſt *Daviſon* in the Star Chamber, (whereby it appeared that the Execution was done without the Queen's knowledge) he became more appeaſed, and ſuffered Proclamations to go out, inhibiting all that dwelt in the Borders to make Incurſions upon *England*, as they were begun to do.

The Ambaſſadors ſent into *Denmark* return.
* 15. *May.*
† Latter end of *Auguſt.*

About the ſame time did *Patrick Vaus* of *Barnbarrough*, and Mr. *Peter Young* his Majeſtie's Elemoſynar, (who had been ſent unto *Denmark* to treat of the Marriage*) return † making report of their agreement: whereupon concluſion was taken, that in the opening of the Spring a Nobleman ſhould be directed to accompliſh the Ceremonies, and bring home the young Queen. But the death of King *Frederick* her Father, who departed this life in the moneth of *April* next, with other occaſions that intervened, made the buſineſs to be delayed certain moneths.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuites and Prieſts.

In the end of the year there came from beyond Sea divers Jeſuites and Prieſts, to deal with the Catholick Noblemen for aſſiſting the *Spaniſh Armada*, which was then preparing to invade *England*, if poſſibly they ſhould take land in *Scotland*: for their hope was to find the King favourable, becauſe of the Queen's proceedings againſt his Mother, and that he ſhould joyn his forces with the *Spaniſh* for revenge of that wrong. But he conſidering his own danger, if Strangers ſhould ſet foot in the Iſle, and not truſting that the *Spaniard* would take the pains to conquer for him the Crown of *England*, (for that alſo was profered) refuſed to give ear unto ſuch motions. Mr. *James Gordon* Jeſuite, and Uncle to the Earl of *Huntley*, had been all the Summer before in the Country, and was overſeen becauſe of his Nephew, whom the King intended to match with the Duke of *Lennox* his eldeſt Siſter; neither was he much feared, as being a ſimple man, and not deeply learned. Mr. *Edmond Hay*, brother to *Peter Hay* of *Meginch*, a Jeſuite alſo, but of greater account and more politick and wiſe, did thereafter arrive, pretending that he came to take his farewel of his friends; and after him came divers others: which made the King give out a Proclamation againſt the reſetters, and for apprehending their perſons.

The Jeſuites find caution to depart.

In this Proclamation, beſides Mr. *James Gordon* and the ſaid Mr. *Edmond Hay*, I find named Mr. *Gilbert Brown* Abbot of *Newabbey*, Mr. *John Dury* ſon natural to *George Dury* ſometimes Abbot of *Dunfermling*, Mr. *Alexander Mackwhirry*, Mr. *James Cheyn*, Mr. *Alexander Meldrum*, Mr. *William Creichton*, Mr. *James Seaton*, and Mr. *John Morton*. Moſt of theſe upon their ſupplications, and ſureties given to depart in the firſt Ships, obtained a protection unto the laſt of *January*: which did ſo offend the Miniſters, as they did call a number of Noblemen, Barons and Commiſſioners of Burghs, to meet at *Edinburgh* the ſixth of *February*, for adviſing upon ſome remedy againſt the preſent dangers. The meeting was frequent, and Mr. *Robert Bruce* by the ſuffrages of all choſen to preſide. He had preached ordinarily at *Edinburgh* a year or ſomewhat more, and was in great reſpect with all ſorts of people, but had not entered as yet into the Miniſterial function.

A general Aſſembly of the Church.

A Propoſition made for the dangers threatned to Religion.

Certain Aſſeſſors choſen according to the cuſtom, the firſt thing propoſed was touching the dangers threatned to Religion, and the readieſt means for quenching the fire of Papiſtry kindled through the whole Countrey, which they were all greatly exhorted to take to heart, and to conſider what courſe was beſt to obviate theſe dangers. And to the end things might be done adviſedly, the Noblemen were adviſed to meet apart, the Barons and Commiſſioners of Burghs likewiſe apart, to ſet down their advice in writing, and preſent the ſame to the whole Aſſembly the next Seſſion.

The advice of the Noblemen and Barons.

The day following all being convened, the advice of the Noblemen and Barons was preſented, containing three Heads. "1. That the Laws of the Countrey "ſhould be proſecuted againſt Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, Idolaters, and the main- "tainers thereof. And for the more ſpeedy effectuating of the ſame, that the "names of all ſuch ſhould be enrolled and delivered to the Theſaurer, with the "names of their reſetters and entertainers, to the end Citations might be directed "againſt them. 2. That in regard of the danger ſo iminent, his Majeſty and "Council ſhould be earneſtly ſolicited to proceed in execution of the Laws againſt "the

"the principal Jeſuites and their maintainers without delay. 3. That the Noble- *An.* 1587.
"men, Barons, Miniſters, and whole Aſſembly ſhould go together to his Maje-
"ſty, and regrate the peril whereunto the Church and Kingdom was brought by
"the practices of Jeſuites, making offer of their lives, lands and friendſhip to be
"imployed at his Majeſtie's direction for preventing their wicked devices.

This advice being approved, command was given to meet at two of the clock in the afternoon, that all might go together from the place of the Aſſembly to the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, where the King then remained. When this was told to the King, and that they were to preſent themſelves in ſuch numbers, he grew into choler, and ſaid, *They meant to boaſt him with their power, and force the execution of their demands.* Therefore refuſing acceſs to the multitude, ſome few of the principals only were called, to whom he uttered his diſlike of thoſe irreverent and tumultuary forms. Yet becauſe he did acknowledge their complaint to be juſt, and that there was need of a remedy to the evils complained of, he promiſed to appoint ſix of the Council to meet with ſuch as the Aſſembly ſhould deſign, for adviſing upon the beſt remedies. The King refuſeth acceſs to the multitude.

This reported to the Aſſembly, they did nominate the Lords of *Wedderburn*, *Colluthie*, *Caprinton*, *Ormſton* and *Whittingham*, *John Johnſton* Commiſſioner for *Edinburgh*, *Oliver Peblis* for *Perth*, and *William Menzeis* for *Aberdene*; Mr. *Robert Pont*, *David Lindeſay*, *Andrew Melvil*, and *Peter Blackburn* to attend. Theſe convening the next day, with the Chancellor and ſome others of the Council, did urge in name of the Church, *That Mr.* James Gordon *and Mr.* William Creichton *Jeſuites, who were known to be in Town, ſhould be apprehended; and that the reſetters of Jeſuites and Prieſts, none excepted, whether they were Noblemen or others of an inferior degree, ſhould be puniſhed according to the Laws.* For the Noblemen, the Chancellor anſwered, that the King did mean to uſe them more calmly, and as he had begun with the Earl of *Huntley*, (of whoſe Converſion there were good hopes) ſo he would proceed with others of that degree. For the two Jeſuites, it was promiſed that order ſhould be taken for their diſpatch forth of the Countrey. A Conference betwixt certain of the Council and the Aſſembly.

The Aſſembly no ways pleaſed with the report of this Conference, reſolved to preſent their Griefs to his Majeſty in writing, and inſiſt for a more direct anſwer to their deſires, as they did, exhibiting therewith the names of Jeſuites, Prieſts, and their reſetters, ſuch as had been delated to the Aſſembly. Among others they complained of the Lord *Hereis*, and the diſorders committed by him at *Dumfreis*, where he had openly erected Maſs, and forced the Miniſters to leave the Town. The King having conſidered the Griefs, made anſwer, *That albeit they had no warrant from him to aſſemble at that time, yet (as he had ſignified before to the Noblemen that were ſent unto him) he was glad to hear that they were convened in ſo frequent a number, the buſineſs being of ſuch importance, and that he ſhould do what became him as a King to do, neither ſhould any of thoſe that he found unreclamable have credit or countenance of him.* For the Lord *Hereis* he ſaid, *that he was more offended with him then any of themſelves, and had reſolved to take journey in the beginning of* March *unto* Dumfreis, *for puniſhing that and all other inſolencies committed by him.* The Grievances of the Church preſented to the King.

This anſwer reported by the Chancellor gave ſome content; thereafter as he was directed he ſhewed the Aſſembly that the King did expect a reparation of the offence committed by the Miniſter *James Gibſon*, for he had obtained his liberty upon promiſe that he ſhould give ſatisfaction at the Churche's ſight. Hereupon the Miniſter was called, who acknowledged his offence, and was enjoyned the next Sermon-day to preach, and publickly acknowledge the ſpeeches complained of to have been unadviſed and raſhly uttered. This he promiſed to do; yet when he came to the place, he made no mention at all of that buſineſs; and being immediately charged for not doing that he had promiſed, he anſwered, *That out of infirmity and weakneſs he had confeſſed a fault, albeit his Conſcience did tell him he had not ſpoken any thing that might give juſt offence.* The Chancellor perceiving the mans inconſtancy, and that he had been diverted by ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons, required the judgement of the Aſſembly, *Whether or not they did eſteem it an offence to call the King a Perſecutor of the Church, and to affirm in Pulpit that he ſhould be the laſt of that race.* The Miniſter *James Gibſon* cenſured for his ſpeeches againſt the King.

The

An. 1588. The queſtion was a while declined; yet in end being put to voices, it was found that the ſpeeches were ſlanderous and offenſive, and that he ought therefore to be cenſured.

It being then 12 of the clock, the defining of the Cenſure was continued to the afternoon, and the Miniſter warned to attend. The hour come, and he not appearing, the buſineſs was greater then before: ſome alleging that Citation muſt be uſed ere any Cenſure was inflicted; others excuſed his abſence upon juſt fear, being purſued by ſo great perſonages. Hereto it was replied, *That there was no fear of any indirect or violent courſe to be taken; the King, who by his own Authority might have puniſhed him, having, for the regard he carried to the Church, chuſed to complain to the Aſſembly, and remit the offender to be cenſured by themſelves.* Next for the Citation required, it was anſwered, *That the warning given him in the face of the Aſſembly was ſufficient, and that by his not appearing he had added contumacy to his offence.* Theſe anſwers being held ſufficient, and the voices ask'd touching his Cenſure; by the greater number he was ordained to be ſuſpended from the Miniſtery during the pleaſure of the Aſſembly. Yet this did not end the buſineſs; for in *Auguſt* thereafter another Aſſembly being convened, the Miniſter appearing declared, *That the reaſon why he withdrew himſelf in the former Aſſembly was not any contempt or ſtubbornneſs on his part, but the care he had of the Churche's peace, the affairs whereof, as he was informed, had been caſt off if he had compeired, and not been puniſhed.* Upon this Declaration, without once acquainting the King, he was purged of Contumacy, and thereby a way made to his reponing. The King, as he had reaſon, being greatly offended with theſe proceedings, and intending to right himſelf otherwiſe, the Miniſter fled to *England*, and remained there a long ſpace, entertained by the Factious brethren in thoſe parts, who were laboring at that time to bring in the *Holy Diſcipline*, as they termed it, into that Church.

Gibſon ſuſpended from his Miniſtery.

The Lord *Hereis* in the mean time, being certified of the King's intended Expedition into the Weſt Marches, prevented him and came to Court, offering himſelf to trial. Nothing being found but certain neglects in the adminiſtration of his office, (for the complaint of erecting Maſs at *Dumfreis*, and compelling the Miniſter to leave the Town, was not verified) upon promiſe to amend, and ſurety given that he ſhould reſort to Sermons, and ſuffer nothing to be done within his Wardenry to the prejudice of Religion, he was ſent back to his Charge.

The Lord *Hereis* cleared of the accuſation made againſt him.

An. 1588. Soon after the Lord *Maxwel*, who had been licenced to go abroad, and had remained ſome moneths in *Spain*, having ſeen the preparation made for invading of *England*, by the advice of ſome *Scottiſh* Catholicks returned into the Countrey, (notwithſtanding the aſſurance he had given not to return without licence) taking land at *Kirkubright* (a part of *Galloway*) about the end of *April*. It was then expected that the Navy ſhould take their courſe to the Weſt parts of *Scotland*, where they might land more ſafely, and with the aſſiſtence of *Maxwel* and others that would joyn with them enter into *England* by the Borders: which if they had done, would doubtleſs have been more to their advantage; but they took their counſels as we ſhall hear.

The Borders begin to ſtir upon the Lord *Maxwels* return.

Upon *Maxwel's* return numbers of broken men and countrey people reſorted unto him, conjecturing there was ſomewhat in hand which would give them work. The Lord *Hereis* not able to command them, and fearing if any diſorder aroſe the ſame ſhould be imputed to him, came and ſhewed the King what appearance there was of Trouble. Charges were incontinent directed for *Maxwel's* appearing before the Council; but he diſobeyed, and fortifying his Houſes and other Strengths that he had in cuſtody, began to levy ſome companies of foot and horſe: which being told to the King, he with ſuch forces as he could have of a ſudden took journey to *Dumfreis*, and came upon him ſo unexpected, as he had almoſt ſurpriſed him in his Houſe at *Dumfreis*. But upon warning given him, an hour before the King's coming he eſcaped, and went to *Galloway*. Some little reſiſtence was made at the Port, which gave him leiſure to eſcape, and was excuſed by the Town's ignorance of the King his being there in perſon.

The King's Expedition to *Dumfreis*.

The next morrow, which was the 28 of *May*, the Houſes of *Lochmaben*, *Langholm*,

holm, Treve and *Carlaverok*, were ſummoned to render; all which obeyed, the Caſtle of *Lochmaben* excepted. This was kept by one Mr. *David Maxwel*, who truſting fooliſhly to the ſtrength refuſed to yield, though the King himſelf going thither did call him by name, (for he knew the man) commanding him to render. Upon his diſobedience the Houſe was incloſed; and becauſe there was no munition at hand whereby to batter it, a Poſt was directed to borrow ſome Ordnance from the *Engliſh* Warden, which was quickly conveighed thither, and a company of ſouldiers ſent to guard the ſame. Theſe began no ſooner to play then the Keepers, terrified with the noiſe, craved a parley. Sir *William Stewart*, brother to Captain *James*, being imployed to confer with them, they yielded, upon promiſe, as was ſaid, that their lives ſhould be ſpared. But the Captain, becauſe he had refuſed the King himſelf at firſt, was hanged; the reſt were pardoned, and ſuffered to depart. *An.* 1588. *Lochmaben* rendred, and the Keeper executed.

The King returning the ſame night to *Dumfreis*, directed Sir *William Stewart* to try what courſe *Maxwel* had taken, and to do as he found occaſion. Having learned that he had taken Sea in a ſmall Bark, he followed in a Ship rigged forth by the town of *Aire*, and overtaking him ſome miles off, brought him back and delivered him priſoner to the King, who was then returned to *Edinburgh*. It was no ſmall piece of ſervice, and by all men ſo eſteemed. But the countenance the King gave him made the man ſo ſwell, as falling in a conteſt for I know not what matter with the Earl of *Bothwell*, he uſed ſome uncivil ſpeeches to the Nobleman, who meeting him a few days after in the high ſtreet of *Edinburgh* did in a ſudden conflict kill him outright. The Lord *Maxwel* taken priſoner at ſea by Sir *William Stewart*, and brought priſoner to *Edinburgh*. Sir *William Stewart* killed by *Bothwell penult. Julii.*

The news of the *Spaniſh* Navy being then divulged, and the King advertiſed of their ſetting forth, he called the Eſtates to a meeting at *Edinburgh*, and imparting to them the advertiſements he had received, did ask their advice how he ſhould carry himſelf in that buſineſs. *For howbeit*, ſaid he, *I have no great occaſion for my ſelf to fear, being under League and Friendſhip with all Chriſtian Princes and Eſtates; yet the caſe of* England *ere it be long may turn to be our own, and we forced to ſhare with them in their Troubles. The intention of* Spain, *I know, is againſt* England; *and conſidering the Right I have to that Crown after the Queen's death that now reigns, I ſee not how it ſhall be ſafe for me to let another poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom; nor will any man make me to think, that the King of* Spain, *if he ſhall chance to prevail, will part with it, and give place to my Right, having once made conqueſt thereof. As now whileſt the event is doubtful, they ſpeak fair and make liberal promiſes; but if matters ſucceed to their minds, we ſhall hear other words. They take Religion for a pretext of their Invaſion, but it is the Kingdom they ſeek: and granting that Religion were the true cauſe, are not we our ſelves in the ſame caſe with* England? *The proſecution of the Holy League will ſtrike no leſs upon us then them. But for my ſelf, I have ever thought mine own ſafety and the ſafety of Religion to be ſo conjoyned, as they cannot well be ſeparated; neither deſire I to live to reign any longer then I may ſerve to maintain the ſame. I am not ignorant what the opinion of many is, and that they think I have now a fair occaſion to revenge the wrong and unkindneſs I received by the Death of my Mother. But whatſoever I think of the excuſes which the Queen hath made to me, I will not be ſo fooliſh as to take the help of one that is mightier then my ſelf; nor will I give ſuch liberty to mine own paſſions, as therefore to neglect Religion, and caſt in hazard both this Kingdom and thoſe others that belong to me after her death. By this you ſee what my mind is, and the reaſons that lead me to it. I have called you that I may have your counſel and aſſiſtence at this time, and therefore deſire to hear of you what is the beſt both for you and me to do.* A meeting of the Eſtates upon the rumor of the *Spaniſh* Navy, beginning of *Auguſt.* His Majeſtie's Speech to the Eſtates. *An.* 1588.

This Speech was ſeconded by the Chancellor, who did out of his reading adduce divers Hiſtories to make good what the King had ſaid; "That it was no way ex- "pedient to ſide with *Spain* in that Invaſion, or ſuffer him to poſſeſs himſelf of "*England*: yet ſince the Queen had not required any aid from him, his opinion "was, that he ſhould ſtrive to aſſure his own Kingdom, and not to permit them to "take land in his bounds. That a general muſter ſhould be taken in the whole "Realm, and ſome Noblemen named unto whom, upon occaſion, the ſubjects "might reſort; Watches appointed at all the Sea-ports, and Beacons erected in the "higheſt places, for advertiſing the Countrey if any Fleet was ſeen at Sea; and that the The Chancellor his Speech ſeconding the King.

An. 1588. "the King and Council ſhould ſtay at *Edinburgh* to attend the ſucceſs of things, "and direct the ſubjects accordingly. His opinion was applauded of all, *Bothwell* excepted, who was earneſt to have the occaſion imbraced of invading *England*, and therein was ſo forward, that upon his own charges he had levied ſoldiers to ſerve under him, if the reſolution which he expected ſhould have been taken. But the King willing him to look unto the Sea, (for he was Admiral by his office) and to take care that the Ships within the Countrey were ready for ſervice, he acquieſced.

Bothwell perſuadeth the Invaſion of *England*.

A little after the Convention diſſolved, Colonel *Semple*, who had betrayed the town of *Lire* to the *Spaniard* ſome ſix years before, and remained for the moſt part with the Prince of *Parma* in *Flanders*, arrived at *Leith*, pretending a Commiſſion from that Prince to the King. But the matters he proponed were of ſo ſmall importance, as the King apprehending the Commiſſion to have been given him rather for a colour of his practices with ſome ill-diſpoſed ſubjects, then for the buſineſs pretended, commanded Sir *John Carmichael*, Captain of the Guard, to have an eye upon him unto his return, (for he was then going to *Falkland*) and if he perceived any Letters brought unto him in the mean time, to take and preſent them to the Council. *Carmichael* getting notice that a Pinnace was arrived in the *Firth*, and a paſſenger landed, went ſtraight to the Colonel's lodging in *Leith*, and finding him unſealing the Letters, ſhewed what he had in charge, and that it concerned him to preſent the ſame to the Lords. The Colonel offering to go himſelf to the Council, the Earl of *Huntley*, who did then reſide in a lodging near the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, with his young Lady whom he had married a few days before, * upon notice of his apprehenſion, did meet *Carmichael* in the way, and forced him to quit his priſoner, ſaying that he would enter him to the Council. Advertiſement going of this to the Chancellor, who was then at the Evening-ſervice in S. *Giles*, (for it was a time of publick Humiliation) he came forth, and, being followed by a great number of people, made towards *Huntley*, and had certainly taken back the Colonel, if the King, who was then come from *Falkland*, had not happened to encounter him as he went down the ſtreet, with whom he returned to the lodging within the City, where at that time and moſt of the Winter the King did keep his reſidence.

Colonel *Semple* his arrive at *Leith*.

The Colonel apprehended, and relieved by the Earl of *Huntley*.

* 21. *July*.

There the Chancellor declared what had fallen out, and whether he was going, intreating his Majeſty to take ſome order with the inſolency committed. *Huntley* being called, after ſome frivolous excuſe did promiſe to preſent the Colonel the next morning; but he eſcaping the ſame night was not any more ſeen. The King did highly offend at his eſcape, yet was loth to uſe the Nobleman with rigor, having matched him ſo lately to his Couſen; only he diſcharged him to come in his preſence, neither was he admitted unto it till the news were brought of the diſſipation of the Navy; and then, as in a time of publick joy, that fault was overſeen and pardoned.

Huntley offers to preſent the Colonel to the Council.

The Queen of *England* in the mean time hearing what courſe the King had taken, how he had committed *Maxwel* to priſon, and was preparing to reſiſt the *Spaniard*, ſent Sir *Robert Sidney* to give him thanks for his good affection, and to make offer of her aſſiſtence if the *Spaniard* ſhould make offer to land in *Scotland*. The King received him graciouſly, & as he was diſcourſing of the ambition of *Spain*, and his purpoſe to take in *England*, ſaid, that the King needed not to expect any greater kindneſs at his hand, if he prevailed. The King merrily anſwered, *That he look'd for no other benefit of the* Spaniard *in that caſe then that which* Polyphemus *promiſed to* Ulyſſes, *namely, to devour him after all his fellows were devoured.* Neither did *Sidney* ſooner return then a freſh advertiſement was ſent from the Queen of their overthrow.

Sir *Robert Sidney* ſent from *England* to the King, 29. *Auguſt*.

Of this Navy and the deſtruction that befel it many have written ſo particularly as nothing can be added. Yet becauſe the benefit redounded to this Church and Kingdom no leſs then others, and that the ſpoils of that wreck fell for ſome part in our Northern Iſles, we ſhall touch it a little. The Navy conſiſted of 134 ſail, a great part whereof were Galleaſſes, and rather like Caſtles pitched in the Seas then Ships. The veſſels carried 8000 Sailers, 22000 Souldiers and above, beſides the Commanders and voluntary adventurers, who were reckoned 124: and

The Hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* Navy.

and for proviſion they had abundance of whatſoever was neceſſary either at ſea or at land. Their direction was to joyn with the Prince of *Parma* and his forces, who were appointed to meet them in the narrow Seas, and to invade *England* together. But whether the Prince had not time ſufficient to prepare himſelf, or that he was kept in by the *Holland* Fleet, he came not as was expected. At *Plimmouth* the *Engliſh* had the firſt ſight of the Navy, and kept combat with them till they anchored in the road of *Calais*. Before they came thither they loſt the Gallion wherein *Don Pedro de Valder* and divers other Noblemen were, which was taken in fight and ſent to *Plimmouth*. And the Gallion commanded by *Don Michael de Oquendo* took fire, and therein many were burnt to death; yet the nether part of the Ship being ſaved, was likewiſe ſent thither. The Galleaſſe of *Naples*, commanded by *Don Hugo de Moncada*, periſhed in the ſands of *Calais*; where whileſt they lay at Anchor, Captain *Drake* by a Stratagem put them in great confuſion: for chuſing out eight ſmall Ships that were leaſt uſeful, he filled them with pitch, brimſtone, gunpowder, and the like combuſtible matter, and charged the Ordnance with bullets, ſtones, broken iron, and chains. The Ships driven with the wind and tide into the midſt of the Navy, and the trains taking fire, put the *Spaniſh* in ſuch fear, (the ſame falling out in the night ſeaſon) as having no leiſure to weigh their Anchors, they were forced to cut their Cables, and make to the Sea. *An.* 1588.

Captain *Drake*'s Stratagem.

The next morning, ranging themſelves again in order, they approched to *Greveling*; but no ſupply coming from *Parma*, and the *Engliſh* ſhips hotly purſuing them, they were compelled to paſs by. In this conflict periſhed the Gallion of *Biſkay*, and two other great Ships. Two Gallions of *Portugal*, the one called S. *Philip*, the other S. *Matthew*, having loſt their tackling, and being torn with ſhot, made towards the coaſt of *Flanders*, and were taken by the *Zelanders*. Once, as it ſeemed, the General with the reſt of the Navy bent their courſe towards *Scotland*; but not knowing what favor they ſhould find there, and the wind blowing fair, they reſolved to make home by the North Iſles. The General himſelf with the beſt-provided Veſſels took the main Ocean towards *Biſcay*, and arrived ſafely in *Spain*. The reſt ſeeking to take in freſh water, partly in the Iſles, and partly in *Ireland*, were ſo toſſed with Tempeſts and contrary winds, that 40 and above were caſt away in thoſe Seas. A ſhip of *Florence* driven upon the Weſt coaſt of *Scotland*, was ſpoiled and ſet on fire by certain High-landers. Shortly, the deſtruction was ſo great, as of the 134 Ships that ſet ſail from *Lisbone*, 53 only returned to *Spain*; of the ſoldiers, beſides the mariners, 13500 were loſt by one way or other. And, as they write, not a family in *Spain* of any note there was which ſuffered not in this Expedition, having loſt either a Son, or a Brother, or ſome nigh Kinſman. Such was the ſucceſs of the *Spaniſh* Navy, which had been four years in preparing with no ſmall coſt, and in a few days was thus overthrown; one *Engliſh* Ship only being loſt, and about 100 men in all. The King cauſed ſolemn Thankſgiving for this Deliverance to be given to God in all Churches of the Kingdom, beginning in his own Court for an enſample to others.

The Navy returneth to *Spain*.

This was *The marvellous Year*, talked of ſo long before by the Aſtrologues, which this Defeat and the accidents that fell forth in *France* about the end of the ſame year did in a part make good. In this Kingdom (which we ought ever to remember with thankfulneſs to Almighty God) happened no diſaſter for which we had cauſe to be grieved, the death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* excepted, who deceaſed in the moneth of *July*: a Nobleman, as in place and rank, ſo in worth and vertue, above other ſubjects; of a comely perſonage, affable and full of grace, a lover of Juſtice, peaceable, ſober, and given to all goodneſs, and, which crowned all his vertues, truly pious. A long time he lived in exile in *England*, not through his own fault, but the misfortune of his friends, whom he could not forſake. After he was reſtored to the King's favor, no man did carry himſelf in better ſort, and in that time which was full of Factions he kept himſelf free of all partakings. Being imployed in the Lieftenandry of the Borders, he diſcharged himſelf to his Majeſtie's great content, and to the liking of all the ſubjects; and not long after fell into that diſeaſe whereof he died, leaving no Heir male, and one only Daughter by his ſecond Marriage,

The death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*.

An. 1589. age, who did not long ſurvive him. Never died any Nobleman with greater regrate; and ſo much the more was his death lamented, that, as it was then thought, and afterwards confeſſed, he was taken away by Sorcery and Incantation. In the time of his ſickneſs, when the Phyſicians found his diſeaſe not to proceed of any natural cauſe, one *Richard Graham*, who was executed ſome years after for Witchcraft, being brought to give his opinion of it, made offer to cure him, ſaying, as the manner of theſe Wizards is, that he had received wrong. But when he heard that the man was ſuſpected to uſe unlawful Arts, he would by no means admit him, ſaying, *That his life was not ſo dear unto him, as for the continuance of it ſome years he would be beholden to any of the Devil's inſtruments; That he held his life of God, and was willing to render the ſame at his good pleaſure, knowing he ſhould change it for a better.* Thus, after a long and languiſhing diſeaſe, he died in *Smeton* near to *Dalkeith*, and was buried in *Abernethy*, in the ſepulchre of his progenitors. The Houſes of *Angus* and *Morton*, which within his perſon were conjoyned, went by proviſion of Tail to the Lairds of *Glenbervy* and *Lochlevin*.

His diſpoſition in his ſickneſs.

A Meſſage from the Prince of *Parma* to the Catholick Lords.

The hopes that our Catholicks conceived of the *Spaniſh* Navy being now fruſtrated, they had loſt heart quite, but that the Prince of *Parma* did of new encourage them by his Letters, ſhewing that the loſs was nothing ſo great as it was given out to be, and giving them hopes of another Army that ſet out more timely, and to be with them the next Spring. Theſe Letters were ſent by one Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and delivered to *Huntley*, to be communicated with the reſt of that Faction. Shortly after came one *John Cheſholme*, bringing with him ten thouſand Crowns, which were delivered to *Bruce*, to be uſed as he thought moſt fit for advancing the cauſe. The Earl of *Huntley* made inſtance to have the third part of the ſumme; Lord *Claud Hamilton* pleaded for as much; and *Maxwel*, lying then in priſon, held no leſs to be due to him. But *Bruce* excuſed himſelf by the charge he had to diſpone the mony by the advice of *David Graham* of *Fintrey*, who was warded at the ſame time in *Dundy*, and payed them all with one anſwer. The Lord *Claud* more covetous then the reſt, becauſe he could not come by any part of the money, grew more cold in the buſineſs. *Maxwel* had ſome ſent him, for his conſolation in the priſon. But *Huntley*, having at the King's deſire ſubſcrived the Confeſſion of Faith, and reconciled himſelf to the Church, was wholly neglected.

Huntley reconciled to the Church.

An. 1589. This he excuſed afterwards by a Letter to the Prince of *Parma*, profeſſing, "That after the eſcape of Colonel *Semple* he found himſelf ſo buſied on all hands, "and in ſuch ſort preſſed by the King, as it behoved him either to yield, or depart "out of the Countrey, or then to have taken the fields; which well he could not do, "all hope of help being taken from him by the return of the Navy of *Spain*: but in "what he had failed he ſhould endeavor to amend by ſome good ſervice tending to "the advancement of the cauſe of God, who had put him (he ſaid) in ſuch credit "with the King, as he had broken his former Guards, and made him eſtabliſh others "about his Perſon, by whom at all occaſions he might aſſure himſelf, and be Ma"ſter of the King, and ſo, when the ſupport promiſed ſhould arrive, ſpoil the He"reticks of his Authority, and make ſure the Catholicks enterpriſes. Therefore "beſought him to be perſuaded of his unchangeable affection, albeit in outward "action he was forced to accommodate himſelf to the neceſſity of the time. This Letter was dated at *Edinburgh* the 24 of *January* 1589.

Huntley excuſeth his Reconcilement by a Letter.

A Letter from the Earl of *Arroll* to the Prince of *Parma*.

Another of the ſame date was ſent by the Earl of *Arroll* (whom Mr. *Edmond Hay* the Jeſuite had ſeduced and brought on that courſe) to *Parma*, bearing, "That "ſince his Converſion to the Catholick Faith he did ever think himſelf obliged to "procure the advancement of the Catholick King's enterpriſes, tending princi"pally to that end, and to another Civil cauſe which had great affinity and con"junction with things at home, in regard whereof he ſaid that ever before his "Converſion he had been in his affection one of his friends and ſervitors; and "that Religion, which was the greateſt and moſt important cauſe of the world, "being now joyned to the other, he was become altogether his. This he did intreat "his Highneſs to ſignifie to his Catholick Majeſty, and to aſſure him that in *Scotland* "he had not a more affectionate ſervant then himſelf. The like he did profeſs to the

the Prince, remitting his intentions to be more fully declared by him that ſhould deliver the Letters. *An.* 1589.

There went other Letters at the ſame time from the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Morton* (ſo did the Lord *Maxwel* ſtyle himſelf) to the King of *Spain*, wherein after they had expreſſed their great regrate for the diſappointment of his Preparations, they ſaid, "That if his Naval Army had viſited them, the ſame ſhould "have found no reſiſtence in *Scotland*, and with the ſupport they would have "made given enough to do to *England*; but that it ſeemed the *Engliſh* Catholicks "who had their refuge in *Spain*, out of an unchriſtian enmity, did extenuate the "means of the *Scottiſh* aid, to magnifie their own, and to have it thought that "they were able to do all by themſelves. Therefore they prayed his Majeſty to "make ſuch account of the one, as he neglected not the other, and to ſerve him-"ſelf with them both, to the ends he did aim at. Then remitting to the declaration of ſome of his own ſubjects, who had been in thoſe parts, the commodity and advantage of landing an Army in *Scotland*; they ſaid, "That having 6000 men "of his own Countrey, with money to levy as many more, they might within ſix "hours of their arrival be well advanced in *England*, to aſſiſt the forces that he "ſhould ſend thither, and that the expence beſtowed upon one Galleaſs would pro-"fit more being ſo imployed, then many of them put to Sea could do. Withal "they adviſed him not to make any more Armies by Sea, but to ſend a part of his "forces to *Scotland*, and another by the back of *Ireland* toward *England*, and ſo di-"vide the *Engliſh* forces, which ſhould be partly attending at Sea, partly employed "in *Scotland*, where they ſhould believe all their forces to be landed. A farther "Declaration hereof they remitted to Colonel *Semple*; and ſo praying God "to give him a full accompliſhment of all his holy enterpriſes, they took their "leave. Letters ſent to the King of *Spain* from the Catholick Lords.

Neither were the Jeſuites that lurked in the Countrey in this mean time idle: of theſe the principals were Mr. *Edmond Hay* and Mr. *William Creichton*, who had been priſoners ſome few moneths in the Tower of *London*. They adviſing the Popiſh Lords to attempt ſomewhat by themſelves, which would make the King of *Spain* more earneſt to give ſuccourſe; a Plot was laid to take the King out of the Chancellor and Theſaurer's hands, by whoſe counſel they thought he was only ruled, and that the pretence ſhould be the neglect of the Nobility, and the ill managing of publick affairs. This way they hoped to procure the aſſiſtence of other Noblemen that were diſcontented, and that no mention being made of Religion, the Countrey would be more cold in reſiſting their enterpriſe. The time and place of meeting being condeſcended on, *Fintrie* undertook to bring the Earl of *Montroſs* to the party, and of *Bothwell* they held themſelves aſſured, as well for the malice he profeſſed to the Queen of *England*, as becauſe in a conference with *Bruce* the *Spaniſh* Agent he had promiſed, if he ſhould aſſure him of the two Abbeys of *Coldingham* and *Kelſo*, which he poſſeſſed, he ſhould preſently turn to their ſide. The Jeſuites ſtir up the Lords to enterpriſe ſomewhat by themſelves. A Plot for taking the King.

To bring about this their purpoſe the device was, that they ſhould meet all at the quarrel-holes betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and go from thence to *Halirudhouſe*, and ſettle themſelves about the King, ſecluding thoſe two Counſellors; or if they found them with the King, that they ſhould preſently kill them. But this device was overthrown by the King's remaining in *Edinburgh*, who, ſuſpecting ſome Plots againſt the Chancellor, did for his ſecurity ſtay in the ſame lodging with him. *Bothwell* abode at that time in his houſe at *Creichton*, and kept about him the ſoldiers that he had conduced, pretending a journey to the Iſles, and the collecting of the King's duties in thoſe parts. *Crawford* and *Arrol* came with their friendſhip to the North-Ferry. *Montroſs* feigned a viſit of his Couſen Mr. *John Graham* at *Halyards*, ſome ſix miles from *Edinburgh*; and upon advertiſement that the King did keep lodging within the Town, advanced no farther. But *Huntley*, who reſided then with his Lady at *Dunfermlin*, preſuming much of the King's affection, held on his way, and in the evening on which they had appointed to meet, came unexpected to the King's lodging, where he found him in conference with the Chancellor. A practice againſt the Chancellor. *Huntley* cometh to the King.

An. 1589. The King ſeeing him brake of his purpoſe, ask'd whence he came, and how he fell to be ſo late; and from that falling into another diſcourſe, the Chancellor ſtept aſide to the window. *Huntley* had brought with him the Laird of *Kinfawns*, brother to the Earl of *Crawford*, and ſome of *Arrol*'s men, that were eſteemed of beſt courage and action. Theſe filling the preſence, and looking as men that had ſome purpoſe in hand, the Chancellor's friends began to ſuſpect the worſt: whereupon the Laird of *Ormeſton*, *Carmichael*, and the Provoſt of *Linclowden* drew nigh and ſtood by him. After the King had talked a while with the Earl, he retired to his Cabinet, and ſtaying ſomewhat longer then was expected, the Chancellor asking the Uſher if it was time of Supper, & he anſwering, that it was more then time; then ſaid he, Let us go: and with thoſe three that kept faſt by him paſſed forth of the Chamber, & through the company that ſtood in the preſence, (all of them making way) to his own lodgings, which were juſt above the King's rooms. How ſoon he came there, he ſent one to ſhew the King how unſeemly it was to fill the preſence with ſuch companies, & men armed as they were, ſaying, that he would not have permitted the ſame if he had been alone in the Lodging, nor have caſt himſelf in ſuch danger.

Huntley committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

Preſently the rooms were uſhed, and the Earl with his company went forth. The next morning the King ſent for him, and at his coming began to examine wherefore he came to Town, and why in that manner: his anſwers not ſatisfying, he was committed in the Caſtle. By advertiſement given the ſame day of the companies that were with *Crawford* and *Arrol* at the North-Ferry, and there diſſolving, the whole purpoſe was diſcovered; whereupon the Earls of *Arrol* and *Bothwel* were cited to appear before the Council, and for their diſobedience denounced Rebels. *Montroſs* and *Crawford* were not called, having excuſed themſelves, as it was ſaid, and promiſed to meddle no more in that buſineſs. *Huntley*, upon the like promiſe, after a few days obtained his liberty, and went into the North. In his going thither, whether of purpoſe or by accident, it is uncertain, the Earl of *Crawford* did meet him at *Perth*; where at firſt they concluded to fortifie the Town as a place moſt convenient for drawing forces together from all quarters: but doubting how they ſhould make good the enterpriſe, they gave it over, and getting intelligence that the Theſaurer was come to *Angus*, and had appointed a meeting of ſome friends at the Church of *Megle*, they belayed the ways, and gave him the chaſe unto the houſe of *Kirkhill*, where he was received. Being deſired to render, upon his refuſe fire was caſt to the Houſe, and he forced to yield himſelf, as he did, to his Couſen the Laird of *Achindown*, who kept him ſome weeks priſoner in the North.

Huntley ſet at liberty.

A Letter from the Queen of *England* to the King.

The Letters written to the King of *Spain* and Prince of *Parma*, whereof we made mention, and ſome others from Mr. *Bruce* directed to the ſame Prince, being about this time intercepted, laid open all the practices of theſe Noblemen; which being reported to the Queen of *England*, ſhe wrote to the King a ſharp Letter, wherein complaining of his remiſneſs in puniſhing theſe treacheries, and of the entertainment he gave to the *Spaniards* that had fled into *Scotland* after their wreck in the *Iriſh* Seas, ſhe beſought him not to overſlip ſuch happy occaſions as it had pleaſed God to offer him by revealing theſe practices; as likewiſe to rid the Realm of thoſe ſtrangers, and ſend them away with ſpeed. Hereupon order was taken for their diſpatch, and Ships conduced to tranſport them unto *Weſt-Flanders*. The *Hollanders* advertiſed of their coming, ſent forth ſome Ships to intercept them, and meeting them ſome two miles from the coaſt of *Flanders*, took one of the veſſels, and put to the ſword all the *Spaniards* that were therein: the reſt ran their veſſels on ground, where a number, ſeeking to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were pitifully drowned.

The Lords make open Inſurrection.

A Proclamation was likewiſe renewed againſt the Jeſuites, & their reſſetters, and Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Mr. *William Creichton*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and *David Graham* of *Fentry*, commanded under pain of death to depart the Realm. But they, contemning the charges, did ſtir up the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Arrol*, to make open Inſurrection. Theſe three taking Arms, and aſſembling all the forces they could gather, came to *Aberdene* in the beginning of *April*, where they made Proclamations in the King's name, declaring "that he was held Captive, & forced againſt his mind to uſe his No-"bles more rigorouſly then he deſired; requiring all the Lieges to concur and aſſiſt

"them

"them for ſetting his Perſon at Liberty. Their hopes were that *Bothwell* with his friendſhip in the South ſhould make the King ſuch buſineſs, as they needed not to fear any ſudden purſuit: but the King, having cauſed denounce *Bothwell* and the chief of his followers Rebels, reſolved to begin with them, and leave him to his return. So charges being directed to warn all the ſubjects remaining on the South of *Aberdene* to accompany the King, and they gathering ſomewhat ſlowly, he made forward with thoſe he had in his company toward the middle of *April*, and having advanced as far as *Corry*, (a little Village ſome ten miles off *Aberdene*) was there advertiſed that the Earls were 3000 ſtrong, and marching directly towards him. *An.* 1589.

The Subjects warned to accompany the King.

The King, nothing diſmayed, called the Noblemen that were in the Army together, and ſpake chearfully unto them, ſaying, *That they had a great deal of advantage of their enemies, the better cauſe, and the King on their part. Neither Oaths nor Subſcriptions,* ſaid he, *can aſſure theſe men; and if Benefits or good deeds could have made them loyal and obedient, I have not been ſparing to them all. Now that I am drawn againſt my will by their open Rebellion to uſe force, I do aſſure my ſelf of your fidelity, and that you will not forſake me. I ſhall deſire you ſtand no longer then ye ſee me ſtand: and howbeit I do not think they dare ſet their faces againſt me, yet I ſhall pray you to diſpoſe all things in the beſt order you can.*

His Majeſtie's Speech to the Noblemen in his Army.

This Speech he delivered with ſuch a grace, as thereby the Noblemen and others that ſtood by were greatly incouraged, every one avowing to do their uttermoſt for his Majeſtie's honor. But a queſtion falling between the Lord *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Angus* for leading the Van-guard, was like to have cauſed ſome trouble: *Angus* claiming the place by the privileges granted to his predeceſſors; and the Lord *Hamilton* alleging that none ought to contend with him in honor, becauſe of his proximity to the Royal blood. But the King interpoſing his Authority, gave the leading of the Van-guard for that time to the Lord *Hamilton*, reſerving the rights and privileges of the houſe of *Angus*, whereunto nothing was done at that time ſhould work any prejudice.

A queſtion for leading the Van-guard.

All that night the King did watch himſelf, and kept his Army on foot. In the morning early he was advertiſed that the Rebels were diſperſed, and gone back: for *Huntley* underſtanding that the King was reſolved to put it to a day, declined the fight, becauſe of the danger that might come to the King's perſon; *Crawford* for the ſame reaſon ſeemed not very bent: but *Arroll* inſiſting to have gone forward, when he ſaw they would not be moved, parted from them at the bridge of *Dee* in great wrath. The King came the ſame day to *Aberdene*, and calling the Magiſtrates, did threaten them ſharply for receiving the Rebels into their City. They excuſed themſelves by their weakneſs, and the want of power to reſiſt the great forces: which was admitted, upon promiſe that they ſhould look better to their Town in after-times. Whileſt the King ſtayed there, the Noblemen and Barons of the Countrey came in and made offer of their ſervice, giving ſurety not to reſet nor intercommune with the Rebels, and to concur with his Majeſtie's Lieutenant when they ſhould be required.

The Lords diſſolve their forces.

The King goeth to *Aberdene*.

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, for he was then about the directing of the Earl of *Marſhall* to *Denmark* for the accompliſhing of his Marriage, and bringing home the Queen. There went with him *Andrew* Lord *Dingwell*, Sir *James Scrymgeour* of *Dudap*, Mr. *John Sheen* Advocate, and Mr. *George Young* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*. For defraying the Ambaſſador's charges a Subſidy of an hundred thouſand pounds was granted by the Council, according to a Warrant given them in the Parliament 1587, whereof the ſubjects made ready payment: ſo great was their deſire to have the King matched, and the Royal Succeſſion eſtabliſhed in his Race.

He returneth to *Edinburgh* about the beginning of *May*.

The Earl of *Marſhall* goeth to *Denmark* to accompliſh the Marriage. 10. *June*.

The enterpriſe of the Rebels being in this ſort defeated, the Theſaurer was put to Liberty, and at his coming to Court did ſolicit the King in favors of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Crawford*, who forthinking the attempt they had made, did offer to enter their perſons in Ward, and ſubmit themſelves to the puniſhment his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. The Chancellor made the like interceſſion for *Bothwell*; but for *Arrol* none did ſpeak. After the King had thought a little of it, he

The Rebels offer to ſubmit themſelves.

An. 1589. was content they ſhould enter, and preſent themſelves to the Juſtice; but would give no condition. For this effect the 24 of *May* was aſſigned. At the day Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Mr. *William Oliphant* and Mr. *James Wardlaw* ſitting Judges in the criminal Court by Commiſſion, the three Earls compeired. Of Noblemen and others charged to paſs upon their Aſſiſe there were preſent the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Athol*, *Marre* and *Marſhal*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Somervill*, *Dingwell*, and *Cathcart*, the Lairds of *Pittarrow*, *Glosburn*, *Lagg*, and the Conſtable of *Dundy*.

Huntley, *Crawford* and *Bothwell* impanelled.

The points of their Indictment.

Theſe taking oath as the manner is, the Indictment was read, which conſiſted of ſeven or eight points. "Firſt, they were charged with practiſing with Jeſuites, Se- "minary Prieſts, and other Strangers, againſt Religion; receiving of *Spaniſh* Gold, "and hiring Soldiers therewith to diſturb the quiet of the Realm. 2. That they "had entered in bond and Confederacy with the Earls of *Arrol*, *Montroſs* and "others contrary to the Laws, kept Conventicles, and treaſonably ſurpriſed the "Town of *Perth*, of purpoſe to have fortified the ſame againſt his Majeſty. "3. That they had conſpired to take the King Priſoner at *Halirudhouſe*, and kill "his ſervants and Counſellors, eſpecially Sir *John Maitland* of *Thirlſtane* Chan- "cellor. 4. That they had beſieged the houſe of *Kirkhill*, put fire to the ſame, and "forced the Maſter of *Glammis* Theſaurer to render himſelf captive. 5. That "they had convocated the ſubjects by open Proclamation, and given out that the "King was detained Priſoner againſt his will. 6. That they came with diſplayed "Banners to the Bridge of *Dee*, of mind to invade the King, whom they knew to "be upon an Expedition to the North parts. 7. That they had taken the King's "Herald at Arms in the City of *Aberdene*, ſpoiled him of his Coat and Letters, "when he was about to proclaim them. The 8 and laſt concerned *Bothwell* particularly, who, beſides the reſt, was charged to have hired Soldiers, as well ſtrangers as "men within the Countrey, entertaining them in *Dalkeith*, and threatning to in- "vade the Town of *Leith* at his Majeſtie's being in the North.

The Lords found guilty, and committed to ſeveral Wards.

Bothwell confeſſing that he had waged Soldiers, and entered in bonds with other Noblemen, did therefore put himſelf in his Majeſtie's will: the reſt of the points he denied, remitting himſelf to the trial of his Peers. *Crawford* confeſſed that he was in the fields at the taking of *Kirkhill*, and with the Earl of *Huntley* in *Aberdene*; but denied the other points. *Huntley* come in will for the whole. The Aſſiſe removing by themſelves found *Bothwell* guilty of the enterpriſe at the Quarrel-holes, beſides that which he confeſſed. They filed *Crawford* of ſurpriſing the Town of *Perth*, and coming in Arms to the Bridge of *Dee*. *Huntley* by his own confeſſion was found guilty in all. The Sentence upon the King's Warrant was ſuſpended, and they committed to divers places; *Bothwell* in *Tantallon*, *Crawford* in *Blackneſs*, and *Huntley* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

In *June* following the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, where the King giving his preſence, after he had ſpoken a little of his good affection towards the Church, ſhewed that he was come to deſire Mr. *Patrick Galloway* to be appointed one of his Miniſters. The Aſſembly by the mouth of their Moderator *rendring his Majeſty humble thanks for the beginnings he had made in ſuppreſſing the enemies of Religion, did intreat him to proſecute the buſineſs, and made offer of their humble ſervice and aſſiſtence to the uttermoſt of their power. As to that which he deſired, they acknowledged that his Majeſty might command any Miniſter whereſoevor he ſerved to attend himſelf and his Court*; and ſo ordained Mr. *Patrick Galloway* to leave his Charge at *Perth*, and wait upon the King.

It was a good beginning, and this gave no ſmall content to all well-diſpoſed men. But things continued not long in that caſe, for before that meeting took an end a freſh offence was given. The year preceding the King having contracted his Couſen the Duke of *Lennox* his Siſter to the Earl of *Huntley*, had cauſed the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* celebrate the Marriage, at which the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* taking exception, they complained of the ſame in a preceding Aſſembly, and had obtained a Commiſſion to the Presbytery for calling and cenſuring the Biſhop according to the Acts of the Church. Whether the Biſhop would not acknowledge them

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* deprived for the Marriage of *Huntley*.

them for Judges, or that he esteemed his Majestie's Command a Warrant sufficient for what he had done; whilest as he neglected their proceedings, they pronounce him deprived from all office and Function in the Church; and presenting the Process in this Assembly, the same was found formal, the Sentence ratified, and ordained to be published in all the Churches of the Kingdom, only to make the Bishop hateful and contemptible. He complaineth to the King, who shewed himself extremely displeased with their doings; but what course he should take he was doubtful, for every day he was expecting the arrival of his Queen, and loved to have all things quiet and setled at her coming, especially in the Church, with whom it grieved him not a little to be still in question: but espying no better way, he resolved in end to dissemble his anger towards them, and to take the imprisoned Lords in favor, lest he should make himself too much business. Thereupon he returneth to the North, gives *Arrol* a Pardon, putteth *Crawford* to liberty and fully remits him; *Huntley* and *Bothwell* he freeth from Imprisonment, but, to hold them in awe, he defers the Declaration of his will concerning them. The Lord *Maxwell*, upon his bond not to practice against Religion under the pain of an hundred thousand pounds, is likewise dimitted. *An.* 1589.

The course taken with the imprisoned Lords.

And in this case stood things when advertisement came that the Marriage was accomplished, and the Queen ready to take Sea. All diligence was thereupon used to prepare for her Reception, and nothing left undone that was required for so great a Solemnity. But a second and unlock'd for Message cometh shortly after, shewing that the Navy appointed for her conduct was driven by a Tempest into *Norway*, and that it was thought she should stay in those parts unto the Spring: the King taking this impatiently concludeth with himself to go thither in person: and because he knew many impediments would be made if his purpose were known, he giveth out that he would send the Chancellor and Justice Clerk to transport her in *Scottish* Vessels, if the *Danes* would not adventure theirs in that season. How soon the Ships were prepared for their journey, no man expecting any such matter, he taketh Sea himself, * leaving direction to the Council for the Government of affairs during his absence, with the following Declaration written all with his own hand, but not seen to any till he was gone.

Advertisement to the King of the Marriage with the Queen.

The King intendeth a journey to *Norway*.

* 22. *October.*

He leaveth a Declaration under his hand.

In respect I know that the motion of my Voiage will be at this time diversly scanned, and misinterpreting may be made as well to My dishonor as to the blame of innocents, I have thought fit to leave this Declaration, for resolving all good subjects, first, of the causes that moved Me to undertake this Voiage, then, in the fashion in which I resolved to make the same. As to the causes, I have been generally blamed by all men for deferring my Marriage so long, being alone, without Father, Mother, Brother or Sister; and yet a King not only of this Realm, but Heir apparent of another. This my nakedness made Me weak, and mine enemies strong; for One man is no man, as they speak, and where there is no hope of Succession it breeds contempt and disdain: yea the delay I have used hath begot in many a suspicion of Impotency in Me, as if I were a barren stock. These and other reasons moved Me to hasten my Marriage, from which I could yet have longer abstained, if the weal of my Countrey could have permitted. I am not known to be rash in my weightiest affairs, neither am I so carried with passion as not to give place to Reason; but the Treaty being perfected and the Queen on her journey, when I was advertised of her stay by contrary winds, and that it was not like she should perfect her voiage this year, I resolved to make it on my part possible which was unpossible on hers.

The place where I first took this resolution was in Craigmillar, *none of my Council being present: and as I took it by my self, so I bethought me of a way to follow the same. And first I advised to employ the Earl of* Bothwell *in the Voiage, in regard he is Admiral; but his preparations took so long a time, that I was forced to call the Council, and send for the Chancellor and Justice Clerk, who were then in* Lawder. *When as they met, they found so many difficulties in sending forth a number of Ships for the Queen's Convoy, (for so I gave it out) and who should be the Ambassadors, that I was compelled to avouch, if none should be found to go, I should go my self alone in a Ship: adding, that if men had been as willing as became them, I would not have needed to have been in these streights. This the Chancellor taking to touch him, (for he knew he had been slandered all that time for impeding my*

An. 1589. *Marriage) partly out of zeal to my service, and partly fearing that I should make good my word if no better way could be found, made offer to go himself in that service. This I embraced, keeping my intention from all men, because I thought it enough for Me to put my foot in a Ship when all things were ready, and from the Chancellor himself, (from whom I never kept any of my weightiest businesses) for two Reasons. First, because if I had made him of my counsel in that purpose, he had been blamed, for putting the same in my head, (which had not been his duty) for it becomes no subject to give his Prince advice in such matters; withal considering what hatred and envy he sustained injustly for leading Me by the nose as it were to all his appetites, as though I were an unreasonable creature, or a Child that could do nothing of my self, I thought pity to heap no unjust slanders on his head. The other Reason was, that I perceived it was for staying my journey that he made offer to go; so was I assured, if he had known my purpose, he would either have stayed himself at home, or, thinking it too heavy a burthen for him to undertake my Convoy, he would have lingered so long as there should not have been a possibility for making the Voiage. This I thought meet to declare, (and upon my Honor it is the truth) lest I should be esteemed an imprudent Asse, that can do nothing of my self, and to save the innocency of that man from unjust reproches. For my part, besides that which I have said, the shortness of the way, the surety of the passage, being clear of all Sands, Forelands, and such other perils, safe Harbours in these parts, and no forein Fleets resorting in these Seas; it is my pleasure that no man grudge at this my proceeding, but that all conform themselves to the Directions I have given to be followed unto my Return, which shall be within 20 days, wind and weather serving; and if any shall contravene these, I will take it as a sufficient proof that he bears Me no good will in his heart; as, to the contrary, I will respect all that reverence my Commandments in the best sort I may. Farewell.*

Directions to the Council.

This Declaration, written and signed with his Majestie's own hand, was the next day after he was shipped presented to the Council by *Alexander Hay* Clerk of Register, together with the Directions mentioned in the end thereof, which were thus conceived.

Seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to bring Us to mans age, and that nothing hath been more earnestly wished by all Our good subjects then to see Us honorably matched, so that the Crown might descend to Our own Succession after so many worthy Progenitors; We, to satisfie their desires, having resolved upon a Personage that for blood and other commodities of Alliance could not be thought but most worthy, did enter into contract with Frederick *King of* Denmark *lately deceased, and by advice of Our Council directed Our Ambassador to solemnize the Marriage, and conduct her unto this Realm: But having intelligence that by contrarious winds she and her company was driven to* Norway, *and that it being remitted to her choice whether she would return unto* Denmark *or make stay there until the opening of the Spring, she had embraced the last condition, as the best and most liking to her desire; albeit hitherto We have not behaved Our self dissolutely, but patiently attended the good occasion that God should offer; yet now taking to heart her pains and danger, with the difficulties that have occurred in her Transport, We could find no contentment till that We enterprised to make a Voiage towards her, and bring her home, which We are in good hope to do within the space of 20 days, wind and weather serving.*

Yet fearing the time of My stay may be longer at God's good pleasure, lest any looseness during Our absence should fall into the Government, We have of our Own motion, and not counselled by any, left a Declaration with the Clerk of Register, and willed no man to grudge at Our absence, seeing in former times the Kingdom hath wanted a Governor longer then We trust in God it shall want Us; as namely from the death of Our Grandmother the Queen Regent, unto the arrival of Our dearest mother from France, *the space of* 14 *moneths, during which time, for the reverence and love carried unto her, albeit a Woman and minor in years, no violence was committed by any person, and greater peace and quietness observed then was before or since that time known to have been kept. And notwithstanding Our expectation is nothing less of the good behaviour of Our subjects in this Our absence, We have taken order, for the better government of the publick affairs, that Our privy Council should reside at* Edinburgh, *and ordained the Duke of* Lennox *Our Nephew to be President thereof, and to be assisted by Our Cousen* Francis *Earl of* Bothwell, *whom We appoint to attend him, with the other Officers of State, namely the Thesaurer, Comptroller,*

Comptroller, Maſter of Requeſts, Privy Seal, the Captain of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, *Advocate and Clerk of Regiſter, who ſhall ever be preſent, five of them at leaſt, with Our ſaid Nephew.* An. 1589.

We have likewiſe given order that ſome Noblemen in their courſes ſhall attend at Edinburgh *the ſpace of 15 days; the Earls of* Angus *and* Athol, *with the Lords* Fleming *and* Innermeth *to begin, and the next courſe to be kept by the Earls of* Marre *and* Morton, *with the Lords* Seaton *and* Yeſter. *The Barons of* Lothian, Fife, Striveling-ſhire *and* Strathern *We appoint to attend as they ſhall be warned and directed by the Council. For the South parts We have made the Lord* Hamilton *Our Lieutenant, that is, within the three Wardenries and Sheriffdom of* Lanerick, *and to be aſſiſted, when need is, by the Lords* Boyd, Hereis, Maxwel, Home, Cesford, *and other chief Barons within the Marches; his reſidence to be at* Dumfreis *or* Jedburgh, *and his charges to be furniſhed out of the readieſt of the Taxation by Mr.* John Colvill *Collector thereof. And that peace and quietneſs may be the better obſerved, We diſcharge all Conventions for any cauſe whatſoever unto Our return. Finally, We require the Miniſters and Preachers of the Word to exhort the people to Peace and Obedience, and commend Us and our Journey in their prayers to the protection of Almighty God. As this is Our deſire, ſo We expect that all Our good ſubjects will follow the ſame, eſpecially they who have tried Our favour of late, and that they will perſiſt in the Loyalty promiſed by them: certifying thoſe that do in the contrary, that they ſhall incur Our high diſpleaſure, and be puniſhed with all rigour; as, on the other part, We ſhall remember the peaceable and obedient thankfully, when occaſion preſents.*

By another Miſſive preſented at the ſame time to the Council the Earl *Bothwell* was declared ſecond to the Duke of *Lennox*, Sir *Robert Melvil* Vice-Chancellor, *Alexander Hay* Secretary for the *Scottiſh* language, and Mr. *James Elphinſton* for the *Latin* and *French*.

The King having thus provided for the publick affairs took with him in company Sir *John Maitland*, Chancellor, Sir *Lewis Ballenden*, Juſtice Clerk, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Provoſt of *Linclowden*, the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and other ordinary Officers of the Houſe. He took alſo with him Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith*, leaving Mr. *Patrick Galloway* his ordinary Preacher to attend the Council; and, having a proſperous wind, arrived ſafely in a Sound or Haven of *Norway* (not far from *Upſal*, where the Queen remained) the fourth or fifth day after his embarking.

The Sunday following he ſolemnized the Marriage in his own perſon, Mr. *David Lindeſay* performing the Ceremony in the *French* language. After which, conſultation being taken for his return unto *Scotland*, becauſe it was held dangerous to go to Sea in that ſeaſon, and that the Counſellors of *Denmark* did oppoſe the journey, adviſing him rather to viſit the Queen's Mother, and her Son *Chriſtiern* elected King of *Denmark*, he was eaſily induced to follow their advice, and ſend back the *Scottiſh* Ships with Mr. *James*, Sir *Krymgeour*, and Mr. *John Skein*. Whileſt the King lay at *Upſal*, the Earl *Marſhal* in Council made report of his proceedings in the Ambaſſage, and how according to the Contract paſt, and interchangeably ſealed and ſigned, the Marriage was compleated, and a form of Atteſtation taken touching the Iſles of *Orkney*, bearing, *That the King and Regents of* Denmark *ſhould ſuperſede all claim of right to the ſaid Iſles unto the King's perfect age, reſerving to each Kingdom their own Right, which by that Treaty ſhould not be prejudged;* as the Copy thereof, ſubſcrived by the four Governors, preſently exhibited did ſhew. Together with the Atteſtation he produced the form of an Oath given by him and his aſſociats, for his Majeſtie's performing of all things promiſed on his part concerning the Marriage; and was in all and every one of theſe found to have done good ſervice, and have carried himſelf honorably according to his Commiſſion.

The Marriage ſolemnized at *Upſal*.

The Earl of *Marſhal's* proceedings ratified.

Soon after this came certain Ambaſſadors from *Denmark* to invite the King thither, who parting from *Upſal* with his Queen the 22 of *December*, came to *Bahuis* (a Caſtle ſtanding in the Borders of *Norway* and *Sweden*) the firſt of *January*. There he remained ſeven days, attending a ſafe conduct from the King of *Sweden*, which Captain *William Murray* was employed to bring from *Stockholm*, where

The King's journey from *Norway* to *Denmark*.

An. 1590. where that King kept his reſidence. The conduct brought, he removed from *Bahuis* the eighth of *January*, and was met by a Captain of *Sweden* upon the River then frozen with 400 horſemen, and by the ſpace of two *Dutch* miles conveyed unto the land of *Denmark*. The next day he went to the Caſtle of *Wertbury*, where he remained five days, and from thence journeying by *Falkenburg*, the Town of *Holmeſtad* and Caſtle of *Cowholm*, he came to *Elſinbourg*, where he was ſtayed ſome three days from croſſing the Ferry by tempeſt of weather; and on the 21 of *January* was received at *Cronenburg* Caſtle by the Queen-Mother, the young King, the Duke of *Holſtat* his brother, and the four Regents of the Realm, with all magnificence poſſible. There he remained to the end of *February* royally entertained; and becauſe he was to ſtay upon the Marriage of his Queen's eldeſt Siſter with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, which was appointed in *April* next, he directed home *William Shaw* Maſter of *Worke* to advertiſe the Council of the reaſon of his ſtay, and to cauſe ſome Ships and expert Pilots be ſent with all diligence, for his more ſafe convoy. The Council upon this advertiſement employed Colonel *William Stewart* with ſix well furniſhed Ships together; and with him Mr. *Patrick Galloway* the King's Miniſter was ſent to further his Majeſties return. They arriving at *Elſenore* about the middeſt of *April*, in the very time that *Brunſwick*'s Marriage was ſolemnizing, did ſignifie to the King the longing that the ſubjects had for his return, and the Peace that had been obſerved ſince his going from *Scotland*. For all that while (which conſidering the feuds of the Countrey was ſtrange) two Riots only did happen, one committed by *Archibald Wachop* of *Nudry*, a wicked and inſolent man; another by the *Clangregore* in *Bachudder*. It rejoyced the King to hear that the ſubjects had been ſo quiet, as he did likewiſe accompt it a great happineſs that in his own company there had no quarrels fallen out, either amongſt themſelves or with the ſtrangers; whereas it is hard for men in drink, at which they were continually kept, long to agree. A little ſtrife at his firſt coming to *Upſal* aroſe betwixt the Chancellor and Earl *Marſhal* for priority of place: the Earl thinking it due to him, becauſe of the honor he had in the eſpouſal of the Queen; and the Chancellor excepting, that his Ambaſſage ceaſed in regard of the King's preſence, and that the ſame precedency belonged to him by virtue of his Office in thoſe parts, being with the King, that he had at home. But this was pacified without any noiſe by the King's determination, who declared the place to belong to the Chancellor.

Colonel *Stewart* ſent with Ships to the King. *Penult. Martii.*

Brunſwick's Marriage and ſolemnity thereof finiſhed, the King conveyed with many great Ships took journey homewards, and arrived with his Queen at *Leith* the 20 of *May*, where he was received with a wonderful joy and a great concourſe of people. After his landing, he went firſt to Church, and cauſed publick Thanks to be given to God for his ſafe and happy return; then after to the Noblemen and Council he gave many thanks for the care they had taken in adminiſtration of affairs, and the quietneſs they had maintained in the Countrey. The Earl of *Bothwell*, beſides the reſt, was received with a moſt gracious countenance, for that contrary to all mens expectation he had carried himſelf orderly all that time. And he indeed ſoon after the King's departing, (whether to purchaſe the opinion of a reformed man, or that, as he pretended, remorſe of Conſcience did move him) in a Conference with *James Gibſon* Miniſter, who was then privately returned from *England*, did offer, for removing the many ſcandals he had given by his diſſoluteneſs, to acknowledge publickly his offence, & make any ſatisfaction the Church ſhould enjoyn; which alſo he performed, appearing (as he was appointed) in the Church where Mr. *Robert Bruce* did ordinarily preach, and making confeſſion of his ſins, promiſed to live more regularly, and not to give offence thereafter to good Chriſtians. But it was not long after the King's return that, falling to his wonted forms, he became more diſordered then ever, and there-through procuring the King's diſpleaſure, wrought his own undoing, as we ſhall hear.

An. 1590. The King and Queen return to *Scotland*.

Bothwell his ſatisfaction to the Church.

The next day after the King's arrival the Council aſſembled to adviſe upon the Queen's Coronation. The King determining to have it done in moſt ſolemn manner, becauſe none of the Biſhops were preſent, nor could conveniently be brought againſt the day, made choice of Mr. *Robert Bruce* to perform the Ceremony.

A difference among the Clergy for anointing the Queen.

mony. The Miniſters that were in Town being therewith acquainted, ſome of the number more curious then wiſe did except againſt the Ceremony of Unction, ſaying, that *it was* Jewiſh, *and aboliſhed at the coming of Chriſt, introduced into Chriſtian Kingdoms by the Pope, and not to be uſed.* The chief of this oppoſition was one Mr. *John Daviſon*, an idle and turbulent man, who as then had no charge in the Church, but had gained ſome credit with certain fooliſh people, that would be thought more holy and zealous then other. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* ſided with him at firſt, reaſoning for the ſame opinion. It was ſhewed them, *That the Ceremony could not be* Jewiſh, *ſeeing it never had the beginning from the* Jews, *nor was it uſed by that people only. That the Anointing of Kings was mentioned in the Book of* Judges, *which, albeit uttered in a Parable, did ſhew that it was a cuſtom received in creating of Kings. And that it was practiſed in other Kingdoms beſides that of* Judea *was a thing manifeſt; for* Hazael *King of* Aram *was anointed by* Elias, *and* Cyrus *King of* Perſia *is called by* Eſay *God's Anointed: Both theſe were ſtrangers to the Law and people of the* Jews, *yet were they anointed; wherefore the Ceremony could not be* Jewiſh. Then where they ſaid that the Rite was introduced by the Pope of *Rome; as that could not be made out, ſo no reaſonable man would think that every Rite uſed amongſt* Papiſts *was to be rejected; for in that caſe we ſhould be forced to remove many things that are both of good inſtitution and uſe. Seeing therefore the Function and Authority of Princes continueth the ſame, and is alike in all free Monarchies, their Anointing could no more be excepted againſt then their Crowning, and the bearing of the Sword and Scepter before them, which have all the like warrant.* Thus they were reaſoned with, but nothing could remove their Scruples: which the King hearing, he called them before him, and finding them obſtinate in their opinions, told them, "*That he would not have the right of Unction omitted, and if* Mr. Robert "Bruce *would not do it,* (for they had threatned him with Church Cenſures) *he "would prorogue the day of Coronation, and ſtay till one of the Biſhops came, who would not "refuſe.* Upon this they fell to a ſecond deliberation, and Mr. *Andrew Melvil* altogether miſliking that a Biſhop ſhould be employed in the action, divided from the others, ſo that by the plurality of voices in end it was concluded that the Ceremony ſhould be uſed. Thus the Sunday following the Queen was ſolemnly Crowned, and all the Rites accuſtomed performed by Mr. *Robert Bruce* in the Abbey-Church of *Halirudhouſe*.

An. 1590.

The Ceremony of Unction not Jewiſh.

The Queen's Coronation at *Halirudhouſe*.

On Tueſday thereafter ſhe made her triumphant entry into the Town of *Edinburgh*, where nothing was omitted that might ſerve to expreſs the love and affection of the people. The reſt of the moneth and much of the next was ſpent in Banquets and royal Shews, for the entertaining of the Strangers. Theſe finiſhed, and order taken for adminiſtration of the Rents aſſigned to the Queen, the Strangers were dimitted, and had rich Preſents given them both from the King and Queen.

The Queen's entry into *Edinburgh*.

How ſoon they were gone, the King, upon information that the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith* had permitted *James Gibſon* to preach in their Churches, notwithſtanding he was ſilenced by the general Aſſembly, cauſed cite them before the Conncil. They anſwered, *That his ſilencing, as they took it, was only to the time of his appearance before the Aſſembly, and that he was purged of Contumacy.* But the Act being produced, and bearing that he was ſilenced *during the pleaſure of the Aſſembly*, which as yet was not declared, they confeſſed their overſight, and promiſed that he ſhould not have place amongſt them till his Majeſty was ſatisfied. The King, conſtructing their anſwer to the beſt, gave order to ſummon *Gibſon* for his contempt; and he not appearing was denounced Rebel.

The Miniſters challenged for permitting *James Gibſon* to preach.

At the ſame time there was a Marriage treated betwixt the Earl of *Arrol* and a Daughter of the Earl of *Morton*, at which the King took exception, and did inhibit the ſame, as not liking that he who had ſo lately rebelled, and was not yet reconciled to the Church, ſhould be ſtrengthened by ſuch an Alliance. Nottheleſs the Marriage went on, for which the Earl of *Morton* being called before the Council, anſwered, that he could not reſtrain the affection of his Daughter, and was forced to give way unto it. The Council finding him to have failed in his duty, did remit his Cenſure to the King himſelf, who, as he was a Prince moſt tractable, did paſs it, upon the Earl his ſubmiſſion.

The King offended with the alliance of *Morton* with *Arrol*.

In

An. 1590. In the moneth of *June* the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, which the King did honor with his preſence. Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, elected to preſide in name of the Church, did put up three Petitions to his Majeſty. "One for eſta-
An Aſſembly of the Church "bliſhing the Churche's Juriſdiction, and the aboliſhing of all Acts made to the "contrary. Another for purging the Country of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and Ex-"communicate perſons trafficking againſt Religion. The Third was for providing "a competent maintenance to Miniſters forth of the Tithes of the Pariſhes where "they ſerved, and applying what was above to the ſuſtentation of Schools, main-"taining of the poor, repairing of the fabrick of Churches, and other the like neceſ-"ſary uſes. To the Firſt his Majeſty anſwered, *That in all Parliaments the firſt Act that was concluded did concern the Liberty of the Church, which he ſhould have care to ſee obſerved as in times paſſed.* For the Second he ſaid, *That it was known what pains he had taken therein before his journey to* Denmark, *and that he would do what lawfully could be done for purging the Countrey of Papiſts.* And touching the Third, becauſe many were intereſſed therein, he did adviſe them *to make choice of the moſt diſcreet of their number to meet with ſuch of the Council as he ſhould appoint, for conferring upon the readieſt means to effectuate that which they deſired.* Thereafter his Majeſty falling to ſpeak
The King commended to the Aſſembly the removing of the deadly Feuds. of the barbarous Feuds which were entertained in the Realm, and the many odious Murthers there-through committed, *did ſeriouſly commend to them (as thoſe who ſhould of all others moſt ſtudy to make Peace) the removing of ſuch Barbarities ſo far as in them lay, wiſhing them in their Sermons to ſtrike on that Point, and make people underſtand how ſinful it was, and how ſhameful to the whole Nation; as likewiſe to employ the moſt wiſe amongſt them for reconciling the Variances that abounded in the Countrey. For my ſelf,* ſaid he, *I will employ all the power I have that way; and if you ſhall apply your ſelves in your places to do the like, my work ſhall be the more eaſie and have the better ſucceſs.* This was greatly applauded of all; and indeed after that time he took ſuch pains, partly calling thoſe that were at variance before the Council, and cauſing them ſubmit their quarrels, partly making ſtrict Laws againſt the Troublers of the common Peace, as he never ceaſed till he got the Feuds wholly aboliſhed.

A Trouble betwixt the Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Murray*. Yet this was not wrought but after ſome time and with much difficulty, new Troubles daily ariſing in ſundry parts of the Countrey. In the North a diſſenſion brake out betwixt the Earls of *Huntley* and *Murray*, that kept thoſe parts a long time in trouble, the occaſion whereof was this. *John Gordon*, ſon to *Thomas Gordon* of *Cluny*, having married the Widow of *Grant* of *Ballendallagh*, it happeneth in a private quarrel one of *Gordon*'s ſervants to be killed by the Tutor of the Houſe. *Gordon* purſuing him before the Juſtice, for not appearing he was denounced Rebel, and Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Huntley* as Sheriff of the Countrey to apprehend him. The Earl making ſearch for him cometh to the houſe of *Ballendallagh*, and after ſome reſiſtence taketh it by force, but findeth not the Tutor. This the family of the *Grants* interpreting to be done in their diſgrace, they betook themſelves to the patrociny of the Earl of *Murray*, and with them the *Clan-chatton* and divers of the name of *Dumbar* did joyn. *Huntley* offending that any in thoſe parts ſhould make head againſt him, and having underſtood that the Earls of *Athol* and *Murray* were to meet theſe *Clans* in *Forres*, for making up a Confederacy, did aſſemble his friends, and went thither to diſſolve the meeting; but before his coming they had ſevered, and the Earl of *Murray* was returned to his Houſe of *Tarnway*. *Huntley* taking that way home, and ſome of his company riding about the Houſe in manner of a Bravado, they within diſcharging ſome Muſquets upon them, it happened the ſame *Gordon* that married the Widow to be killed. To be revenged of this affront, *Huntley* gathering forces to invade the Earl of *Murray*; and he, aſſiſted by the Earl of *Athol* his Couſen, prepareth to defend. The Convocations were great on either ſide; whereof the King receiving advertiſement, charges were directed to command *Athol* home, and inhibit *Huntley* from coming by Weſt the River of *Spey*, and *Murray* not to come on the Eaſt of *Findorne*. This courſe did reſtrain them for a time, but gave not an end to thoſe Troubles.

A little after this fell out the ſlaughter of *William Ker* of *Ancram*, a Gentleman of great ſufficiency, who was killed in *Edinburgh* under night by Sir *Robert Ker* apparant

parant of *Cesford*. There had been a long and old emulation betwixt the two Families of *Cesford* and *Farnherst* for the Wardenry of the middle Marches, and the Provostry of *Jedburgh*. But *Farnherst* being then deceased, and the Heir left young, this Gentleman, as descended of the House, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was an eye-sore to the other. It happened also some little time before, this Gentleman, in the trial of goods stoln from *England*, to find out the committer of the Theft, and when the same was denied, (for the matter was brought before the Council) to verifie the same by clear testimonies; which was taken to be done out of spleen, and to rub some infamy upon *Cesford*, who was then Warden; for the man accused was one of his followers. This the Lady *Cesford*, a woman of an haughty spirit, did apprehend so deeply, as she never ceased till she had moved her Son, being then very young, to bereave the Gentleman of his life. A hateful fact it was, both for the manner in which it was done, and for the loss the Countrey received by the Gentleman's death; for he was a man generally well given, wise, of great courage, and expert beyond others in the Laws and Customs of the Borders. The King was highly offended, and was resolved to use exemplary Justice upon the Actor. But he eschewing, and living a Fugitive some moneths, was pardoned, upon satisfaction made to the Gentleman's children, as was thought by the Chancellor's intercession, who afterwards married him to his Neece, a Daughter of *Lethington*. *An.* 1591.

Most of this Winter was spent in the discovery and examination of Witches and Sorcerers. Amongst these *Agnes Samson* (commonly called *The wise Wife of* Keith) was most remarkable; a woman not of the base and ignorant sort of Witches, but, Matron-like, grave and setled in her answers, which were all to some purpose. In her Examination she declared, "That she had a Familiar spirit, who upon her call "did appear in a visible form, and resolve her of any doubtful matter, especially "concerning the life or death of persons lying sick. And being ask'd what words she used when she called the Spirit, she said her word was, *Holla Master*, and that he had learned her so to do. She farther confessed, "That the Earl *Bothwell* had "moved her to enquire what should become of the King, how long he should "reign, and what should happen after his death; and that the Spirit having under-"taken to make away the King, after he had failed in performing, and was challen-"ged by her, confessed it was not in his power, speaking words she understood not, "but, as she did take them, the words were, *Il est homme de Dieu*. *Richard Graham*, another notorious Sorcerer, being apprehended at the same time, made the like Confession of *Bothwell*, which was the cause of his committing in *April* following; for such Curiosities are not thought to possess the minds of those that wish well to their Princes, and hath proved the cause of many mens ruine. *An.* 1591. A Sorceress, *Agnes Samson*, apprehended. *Bothwell* committed for consulting with Witches.

In the end of the year died *John Ereskin* of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernis*, a man famous for the services performed to his Prince and Countrey, and worthy to be remembred for his travels in the Church, which out of zeal to the Truth he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the Reformation, his House was to those who in that time were called Hereticks a special place of refuge; afterwards such was the scarcity of Ministers that he took upon him the Charge, and was chosen with the first to have the oversight of the Churches in these North parts, which he governed to his death most wisely and with great authority, giving no way to the Novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his Charge, whilest he lived. A Baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage, who for divers resemblances may well be said to have been another *Ambrose*. He died the 12 of *March*, in the 82 year of his Age, leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his vertues a memory that shall never be forgotten. The Laird of *Dun* his death.

Bothwell had not stayed above a moneth in Ward, when, seducing his Keeper, he made an escape, and thereby increased the suspicion of his guiltiness: whereupon the King gave order to pronounce the Doom of forfeiture against him, according to the Conviction passed in *May* 1589, and causing denounce him Traitor, did inhibit by Proclamation all the subjects to intercommune or keep intelligence with him. *Bothwell* breaketh his Ward.

And

An. 1591. And leſt the proceeding ſhould have been thought too rigorous, it was declared in the Proclamation, "That he being tender in blood to his Majeſty, and advanced "by him to ſundry Honors and Offices, had out of his ungodly and unnatural hu- "mor, after divers ſlaughters committed by him and overſeen, taken Arms "againſt the King, and practiſed with Strangers for ſubverſion of Religion, and "endangering his Majeſtie's Crown, whereof being convicted in a Juſtice Court "holden in *Edinburgh* the 24 of *May* 1589, the Doom and Sentence was ſuperſeded "in hope of his amendment. And that notwithſtanding all theſe favors he con- "tinued in his wicked courſe; and heaping treaſon upon treaſon, had now at laſt "conſulted with Witches and Necromancers for bereaving his Majeſty of his life, "(as was manifeſt by the Confeſſion of ſome that had already ſuffered, and others "yet alive who were ſhortly to be executed) and for the ſame being committed in "the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, he had broken Ward, and thereby taken the crime up- "on him; whereupon the Doom which at that time was delayed being now pro- "nounced, his Majeſty did will all his ſubjects to acknowledge him for no other "but a Rebel and Traitor.

The doom of Forfeiture pronounced againſt him.

His Majeſtie's Declaration concerning *Bothwell.*

Bothwell taking the courſe of all Rebels, which is to turn their malice againſt ſome about the King, laid the blame of all upon the Chancellor, and drew toge- ther ſome companies of men, as intending to be revenged of him. With him the Lord *Hume* and divers others did joyn, but to little purpoſe; for *Hume* upon better advice forſook him, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King; and others, following his example, uſed their beſt means to obtain pardon; ſo as *Bothwell* was compelled to flee into *England* with ſome few that went with him.

Bothwell layeth the blame of his Rebellion upon the Chancellor.

In the Aſſembly of the Church that convened this Summer at *Edinburgh* fell out a great conteſt betwixt them and the Lords of Seſſion, upon this occaſion. Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Senators, had intended in right of his Wife an Action of removing againſt certain fewars of *Halyeards* within the Pariſh of *Kirkliſton*, and to bear out the plea ſuborned a Notary in *Striveling*, called *Robert Ramſay*, to give him forth an Inſtrument that made for his purpoſe. The Defendents having offer- ed to improve the Inſtrument, did in the mean time, upon a private Warrant ob- tained from his Majeſty, apprehend the Notary, who confeſſed that the Inſtrument which he ſubſcribed was brought formed to him by *William Graham*, Brother to Mr. *John*, and that he knew nothing of the buſineſs; and being purſued criminal- ly, was upon his Confeſſion condemned of falſhood, and executed to the death. The purſuer, as he was a man bold and impudent, to maintain the truth of the Inſtru- ment, did intend Action againſt Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*, Miniſter at *Striveling*, (who had dealt with the Notary to bring him to a Confeſſion) alleging that he had ſedu- ced the man, and made him deny the Inſtrument. The Miniſter complaineth to the Aſſembly, and thereupon Mr. *John Graham* was ſummoned to anſwer for the Scandal raiſed upon one of their members. He compeiring, anſwered, *That he would prove what he had alleged before the Judge competent.* The Aſſembly replied, *That he muſt qualifie it before them, otherwiſe they would cenſure him as a Slanderer.* Hereup- on was the Lord *Provant* Preſident, with the Lords of *Culros* and *Barnbarrogh*, two of the Senators, ſent to deſire the Aſſembly not to meddle in cauſes proper to their cognition, eſpecially in the cauſe depending before them, at the inſtance of the Lord *Halyeards* (ſo they ſtyled him) againſt Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*. The Aſſem- bly anſwered, *That what they did was no way hurtful to the privileges of Seſſion, nor were they minded to meddle in any Civil matter, but in the purging of one of their own members they might proceed without the prejudice of the Civil judicatory; there- fore wiſhed them not to take ill the Churche's dealing in the trial of one of their own num- ber.*

A conteſt between the Church and Lords of Seſſion.

The Lords dimitted with this anſwer, Mr. *John Graham* was called, who ex- cepted againſt the Judgement, affirming the cauſe to be Civil, and that the judge- ment thereof belonged to the Lords of Seſſion *primario*, in regard the ſame was depending before them. The Aſſembly repelling the declinator, *found them- ſelves Judges in the cauſe; therefore willed him to ſay what he could in his own defence, otherwiſe they would give proceſs and miniſter Juſtice.* But he taking documents of their

Mr. *John Graham* queſtioned by the Church.

their Interloquutor, and proteſting for remedy of Law, departed. The Lords eſteeming this an encrochment upon their Privileges, & that upon ſuch grounds all Actions that touched any Miniſter might be drawn from their Judicatory, reſolved to ſend a Prohibition to the Aſſembly, and diſcharge their proceeding: but by the mediation of ſome well-diſpoſed perſons, that did not like to have queſtions of Juriſdiction moved, the buſineſs was ſetled, and both Actions ordained to ceaſe. Not the leſs the Inſtrument was ſuſtained by the Lords and judged to make faith, which turned in end to the purſuers undoing. *An.* 1591.

In this Aſſembly certain Articles were preſented ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, allowing the Presbyterial Diſcipline, and condemning the Government Epiſcopal, which were afterward imprinted under the title of M. *Patrick Adamſon*'s Recantation. The Biſhop lay bedfaſt at the time, and was fallen into great neceſſity by his own miſgovernment; whereof his Adverſaries taking advantage, it was deviſed that he ſhould be viſited by ſome of the brethren, and deſired to leave a teſtimony under his hand of his opinion of matters of Diſcipline. This being moved unto him, he ſaid, *That he did not trouble himſelf with ſuch thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of any other Biſhop in the Church but S.* Paul's *Biſhop, which he would willingly ſet his hand to.* Upon this his anſwer were theſe Articles drawn up and ſubcribed by him. Whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto by a poor Collection they gave him in the time, (for ſo the report went) or otherwiſe, it is uncertain: but when it was told him that ſuch a Recantation was publiſhed in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and, committing his cauſe to God, ended his days in the end of this year. A man he was of great learning, and a moſt perſuaſive Preacher, but an ill Adminiſtrator of the Church-Patrimony, which brought him to the miſery that is pitiful to think of. Divers works he left, of which ſome are extant, that ſhew his Learning; but his Prelections upon the Epiſtles to *Timothy*, which were moſt deſired, falling into the hands of his adverſaries, were ſuppreſſed. The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* his Recantation.

In the ſame Aſſembly a general Revocation was made in name of the Church by M. *Robert Pont* of all things done in prejudice of the Rents and Patrimony thereof, either by Miniſters that were beneficed, or by others bearing the title of Churchmen. This in the opinion of wiſe men was eſteemed to be a good way for pleading Reſtitution, according to the privilege of ancient Laws; but was derided and ſcoffed at by thoſe that had filled their hands with the ſpoils of the Church. And folly it was ſure to think they could enjoy any benefit by theſe privileges, having deſtroyed the eſtate and dignity of the Church, by which theſe Privileges ſhould have been preſerved. A Revocation made in name of the Church.

Soon after this meeting there happened a great diviſion in the Presbytery of S. *Andrews*, for planting the Church of *Luchars*. The pretenders were M. *Patrick Weimes* and Mr. *Robert Wallace*. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* with ſome few that followed him ſtood for Mr. *Wallace*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* and the reſt for Mr. *Patrick Weimes*. The matter after a hot contention being put to voices, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* and ſome 19 or 20 with him gave their ſuffrages to Mr. *Weimes*; Mr. *Andrew* and other ſix that adhered to him gave their voices to Mr. *Robert Wallace*, Mr. *Andrew* taking it impatiently to be thus overſwayed, left the place where the Presbytery did meet, and with his ſix went to the Schools of the new College, and made up another Presbytery. Mr. *Thomas* and the reſt abode in the place, and, according as they had voiced, appointed Mr. *Patrick Weimes* on the next Sunday to be received Miniſter of *Luchars*: Mr. *Andrew* with his company gave forth the like Ordinance for Mr. *Robert Wallace*: and thus both were inſtituted and admitted Miniſters to the Church upon one day. The Gentlemen of the Pariſh went likewiſe in Factions, ſome holding with the one and ſome with the other, which cauſed a great Scandal. There being none to pacifie the ſtrife, Mr. *Andrew Lambe* (the Miniſter at *Brunt-Iſland*) was directed from the Synod of *Fife* to entreat ſome of the Miniſters of *Lothian* to take the pains of bringing them to an agreement. For this effect, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce* & Mr. *J. Spotſwood* were choſen; who coming to S. *Andrews* in the Moneth of *October*, called the parties before them, to underſtand the reaſons A Schiſm in the Presbytery of S. *Andrews*.

An. 1591. of their diſſenſion. Mr. *Andrew* did plead for the one party, and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* for the other. It was laid to Mr. *Andrew* his charge, "That he had made a ſeceſſi-"on, forſaken the place of meeting, and the fellowſhip of his brethren, & with ſome "ſix only that followed him preſumed to overturn the concluſion of the greater number. His defence was, *That albeit he and his followers had left the place, yet they could not be judged to have made ſeceſſion, by reaſon the others had given the cauſe, and conſpired to prefer a perſon in worth not comparable to him whom they had elected.* As to the number of voices, he ſaid, *quod ſuffragia eſſent ponderanda, non numeranda*, that voices ought not to be numbred, but to be weighed and pondered. Two days they continued reaſoning, and in end the Mediators finding no other means of their agreement, took courſe to diſplace both the young men, and to appoint a third perſon for the ſervice of the Church: and for eſchewing ſuch contentions thereafter, which were feared becauſe of the heat betwixt Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *Andrew*, they did appoint the Presbytery to be divided in two, a part to ſit at *Couper*, and the reſt to abide at S. *Andrews*. Thus was that ſtrife pacified, which many held to be ominous, and that the Government which in the beginning did break forth into ſuch Schiſms could not long continue; for this every man noted, *That of all men, none could worſe endure Parity and loved more to command then they who had introduced it into the Church.*

Bothwell's attempt upon Halirudhouſe.

But to leave the matters of the Church for a while; whenas the King did think that all was quiet, and *Bothwell* ſo weakned as he could not make any trouble, (for *Bacleugh* his Son-in-law was by licence gone into *France*, and all the Gentlemen of the South parts, who were of any worth, had given ſurety to have no medling with him) there were found in the Court it ſelf inſtruments apt enough to ſerve his turn. For of the Duke of *Lennox* his retinue ſome that envied the Chancellor's credit with the King, and others whoſe hopes wholly depended upon the Trouble of the State, did by ſecret meſſages incite *Bothwell* to enterpriſe ſomewhat for himſelf, offering to bring him within the King's Palace unperceived, where with a few hands he might make himſelf maſter of the King and all the Court. *Bothwell* is eaſily drawn to condeſcend, and the conſpiracy ſo ordered, that he with his followers ſhould under night be let in at a back paſſage that lay through the Lord Duke his Stables; and firſt they ſhould ſeiſe upon the Gates, take the keys from the Porter, and go after that to the King's Chamber, and make him ſure. Within the Palace were divers privy to the Conſpiracy, eſpecially Colonel *William Stewart*, *John Neſwith* Chirurgeon to the King, and *James Dowglas* of *Spot*, who was brought to take part in that enterpriſe by this occaſion. Some days before it happened *George Home* of *Spot* his Father-in-law to be killed by certain *Merſemen* of the ſurname of *Home* and *Craw*. Sir *George Home*, Nephew to *Spot*, and one of the Maſters of the King's Eſquiry, did charge *James Dowglas* as author or acceſſary to the Murther, becauſe of a fear he had conceived that his Father-in-law ſhould by a new right poſſeſs his Nephew Sir *George* in ſome part of the lands to which he had right by his marriage: upon this ſuſpicion three of his ſervants were apprehended and detained priſoners within the Palace, till they ſhould be tried by torture. The Chancellor, on whom *James Dowglas* depended, laboured all he could to free his ſervants from that extraordinary form of Trial; but the preſumptions being pregnant, the King would have them to be tortured: which when *Spot* underſtood, and ſaw that the ſame would not be eſchewed, he thruſt himſelf deſperately in the action which but a few hours before was communicated to him by one of the Aſſociates.

The ſucceſs of the attempt.

This fell out happily for the King, and was it that marred the whole Conſpiracy; for when *Bothwell* with his company had entred by the way named, and was come to the inner Court of the Palace, *James Dowglas*, that minded nothing but the relief of his ſervants, drew a number to break open the doors where they were detained, and by the noiſe thereof all in the Palace were put upon their guard. The King was then at Supper, and being told that armed men were in the nether Court, leaving the rooms wherein he lodged, went up to the Tower as to a place of greater ſurety. *Bothwell* having directed ſome to encloſe the Chancellor's lodgings, leſt he ſhould eſcape, made towards the Queen's rooms, where he expected to find entry, and perceiving all ſhut upon him, called to bring fire. But ere they could find any,

Sir

Sir *James Sandilands*, one of his Majeſtie's Chamber, who had ſupped without the Palace, with a number of the people of *Edinburgh*, entring by the Church of *Halirudhouſe*, did beat him and his company from the doors, and was in poſſibility to have taken them all, if there had been any lights; but thoſe being all extinguiſhed, *Bothwell* with the principals of his company made ſhift in the dark, and eſcaped, returning by the ſame way that he entred. In his out-going he was encountred by a Gentleman of the Eſquiry, named *John Shaw*, whom he killed with a Piſtol, yet loſt ſome nine of his followers, men of ſmall note, who were executed the next morning. *An.* 1592.

The enterpriſe thus defeated, *Bothwell* went into the North, looking to be ſupplied by the Earl of *Murray* his Couſen-germane: which the King ſuſpecting, *Andrew* Lord *Ochiltry* was ſent to bring *Murray* unto the South, of purpoſe to work a reconcilement betwixt him and *Huntley*. But a rumor being raiſed in the mean while that the Earl of *Murray* was ſeen in the Palace with *Bothwell* on the night of the enterpriſe, the ſame was entertained by *Huntley*, (who waited then at Court) to make him ſuſpected of the King, and prevailed ſo far, as he did purchaſe a Commiſſion to apprehend and bring *Murray* to his Trial. The Nobleman not fearing that any ſuch courſe ſhould be uſed, was come to *Dunybirſill*, a Houſe ſituated on the North ſide of *Forth*, and belonging to his Mother the Lady *Downe*. *Huntley* being advertiſed of his coming, and how he lay there ſecure, accompanied only with the Sheriff of *Murray* and a few of his own retinue, went thither and beſet the Houſe, requiring him to render. The Earl of *Murray* refuſing to put himſelf in the hands of his enemy, after ſome defence made, wherein the Sheriffe was killed, fire was ſet to the Houſe, and they within forced by the violence of the ſmoak and flame to come forth. The Earl ſtayed a great ſpace after the reſt, and the night falling down, ventured among his Enemies, and breaking through the midſt of them did ſo far out-run them all, as they ſuppoſed he was eſcaped; yet ſearching him among the rocks, he was diſcovered by the tip of his Head-piece, which had taken fire before he left the Houſe, and unmercifully ſlain. The report went that *Huntley*'s friends fearing he ſhould diſclaim the fact, (for he deſired rather to have taken him alive) made him light from his horſe, and give ſome ſtroaks to the dead corps. This done, *Gordon* of *Buckie* was diſpatched to advertiſe the King what had happened, and *Huntley* himſelf took journey Northwards in ſuch haſt as he left Captain *Gordon* his Couſen, that was lying on the ground wounded, behind him. This Captain was brought the next day to *Edinburgh*, and publickly executed. The Earl of *Murray* ſlain at *Dunybirſil*, 7. *Feb.* 1592.

The death of the Nobleman was univerſally lamented, and the clamors of the people ſo great, eſpecially againſt the Chancellor, upon whom all the blame was laid, that the King, not eſteeming it ſafe to abide at *Edinburgh*, removed with the Council to *Glaſgow*, where he remained until *Huntley* did enter himſelf in Ward in *Blackneſs*, as he was charged. But he ſtayed not there many days, being dimitted upon Caution to anſwer before the Juſtice whenſoever he ſhould be called. The Corps of the Earl and Sheriff of *Murray* were brought to the Church of *Leith* in two Coffins, and there lay divers Moneths unburied, their friends refuſing to commit their bodies to the earth till the ſlaughter was puniſhed. Nor did any man think himſelf ſo much intereſſed in that fact as the Lord *Ochiltry*, who had perſuaded the Earl of *Murray* to come South, whereupon he fell afterwards away to *Bothwell*, and joyned with him for revenge of the Murther. The Murther univerſally ill taken. The Lord *Ochiltry* maketh defection to *Bothwell*.

The Parliament, which had been now twice prorogated, did keep in the moneth of *June*. In behalf of the Church it was there petitioned, "1. That the Acts of Par- "liament made in the year 1584 againſt the Diſcipline of the Church and Liberty "thereof ſhould be abrogated and annulled, and a Ratification granted of the Diſ- "cipline whereof they were then in practice. 2. That the Act of Annexation "ſhould be repealed, and reſtitution made of the Churche's Patrimony. 3. That "the Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates bearing the titles of Church-men, and gi- "ving voice for the Church, without any power and Commiſſion from the Church, "ſhould not be admitted in time coming to give voice in Parliament, or convene "in their name. And 4, That a ſolid order might be taken for purging the *An.* 1592. Petitions in behalf of the Church.

An. 1592. "Realm of Idolatry and Blood wherewith it was miſerably polluted. The ſecond and third Petitions rejected, conſultation taken about the other two, and ſatisfying the laſt, it was condeſcended, *That ſaying of Maſs, receiving of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and trafficking Papiſts againſt the King's Majeſty and Religion preſently profeſſed, ſhould be a juſt cauſe to infer the pain and crime of Treaſon againſt Jeſuites, Maſs-Prieſts, trafficking Papiſts, and their reſſetters:* with a proviſion, *That if the Jeſuites and Seminary Prieſts did ſatisfie the Prince and the Church, the foreſaid Penalty ſhould not ſtrick upon the reſſetters.* Which in effect was no reſtraint, neither was the trafficking againſt Religion declared to be a crime of Treaſon, unleſs the ſame was proved a trafficking likewiſe againſt the King. So in this point the Church received ſmall ſatisfaction. As to the complaint of Blood, the ſame was remitted to the ordinary courſe of Juſtice.

The firſt Petition granted, and in what manner

But the firſt Petition was longer debated, the King being unwilling either to abrogate the Acts of the 84, or grant the Ratification deſired of the preſent Diſcipline: for he foreſaw the inconvenients that would grow by the liberty that Miniſters ſhould aſſume to themſelves. Yet *Bothwell*'s buſineſs and the many diſcontentments within the Realm moved him to give way, leſt he ſhould be troubled likewiſe with their outcries. So the Act paſſed, but in the moſt wary terms that could be deviſed. As for the Statute confirming his Majeſtie's Royal power, the abrogation whereof was chiefly ſought, it was only declared, *That the ſaid Statute ſhould be no ways prejudicial nor derogatory to the privilege that God hath given to the Spiritual Office-bearer in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, matters of Hereſie, Excommunication, Collation or Deprivation of Miniſters, or any ſuch eſſential Cenſures grounded and having warrant of the Word of God.*

Bothwell's attempt at *Falkland.*

Upon the end of the Parliament the King went to *Falkland*, where *Bothwell* made a new attempt, encouraged thereunto by the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, the Maſter of *Gray*, Colonel *Stewart*, and the Lairds of *Johnſton* and *Balwery*, who did all promiſe their concurrence in bringing him unto the King's preſence. The Maſter of *Gray* and *Balwery* did meet him with a good number of horſe, *Angus* kept the Diet but with a ſmall company, *Arrol* remained with the King within the Palace, and had taken upon him with the aſſiſtence of Colonel *Stewart* to open the Gates; but either out of fear, their hearts failing them, or not having a number ſufficient to make good their undertaking, nothing was done; yet upon ſuſpicions they were apprehended, and *Arrol* ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Colonel to *Blackneſs*. The company that came with *Bothwell* was not great, and did not exceed ſixſcore in all, broken men for the moſt part, whom he had taken up in the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Borders: with theſe he had journied 2 days and nights without either meat or ſleep, & came to *Falkland* a little before midnight; where finding his expectation diſappointed, and thoſe in the Palace provided to defend, he ſtayed on the ſide of the Hill till a little after Sun-riſing; ſome of his followers in the mean time breaking open the Queen's Stables, took away the Horſes and what elſe they could lay hands upon. The night was then at the ſhorteſt, for it was the 26 of *June*, and the Countrey gathering from all parts to releive the King, he was forced to flee. But what way to take he was uncertain; for to paſs the Ferrie with his company he could not ſafely, and to return by the bridge of *Striveling* was a long way, which neither the horſes nor their riders after ſo long watching could indure: yet ſeeing no better then to be gone, with the haſte he could make, about nine of the clock he cauſed ſound the trumpets, and retired.

Arrol and Colonel *Stewart* committed.

Bothwell and his company flieth.

The King purſueth and cometh to *Edinburgh.*

The King after the Countrey people were come followed by the Queen's Ferry, thinking he had gone that way; but finding that he had taken his courſe by *Striveling*, and knowing that the company would ſeparate how ſoon they had paſſed the Bridge, he directed moſt of his followers to apprehend ſuch as they could overtake. Divers were taken in the Moors of *Calder* and *Carnwath*, but ſuffered to eſcape by their takers: many horſes were found ſtraying in the fields, the riders being overcome with ſleep and fallen from them. Amongſt others *Archibald Wachop* of *Nidry*, and ſome 7 or 8 with him, whileſt they lay ſleeping in a meadow nigh to *Cambuſnetham*, were taken by the Lord *Hamilton*, and ſent to be kept in the Caſtle

Nidry taken by the Lord *Hamilton*, and dimitted by his Lady.

of

of *Draffan*: but his Lady the day after, out of a womanly commiseration, whilest her Lord was absent suffered them to depart. *Bothwell* himself fled unto the West Borders, and from thence into *England*. *An.* 1592.

The badness of this attempt put the Borders in a great fear, for many of them, especially of the *Johnstons*, had followed him in that journey: yet so great was the King's clemency, as being at *Dumfreis*, whither he went in the beginning of *July*, a general Pardon was proclaimed to all that would submit themselves; whereupon numbers did enter, and were received in favour, *Bothwell*, thus forsaken almost of all, did notwithstanding in the Court again find some that out of emulation and private rancor, more then for any affection they carried unto him, wrought the King new Troubles. Pardon granted to those that would forsake *Bothwell*.

Alexander Lindesay Lord *Spinie*, a great Favourite in that time, out of the malice he bare to the Master of *Glamis* Thesaurer, whom he knew *Bothwell* also hated, did secretly practice to bring him into the King's presence, and make his Reconciliation. This coming to the knowledge of Colonel *Stewart*, who was still detained in *Blackness*, to procure his own liberty and recover the King's favor, he signified the same to the King by Sir *James Sandilands*, who as then was keeper of the House; and being brought before the Council at *Dalkeith* stood to the declaration, affirming *that the Lord* Spinie *had resset* Bothwell *in his Ladie's House at* Aberdowre; which he offered to prove *by witnesses, circumstances and other clear demonstrations.* These were his words. *Spinie* denying all, appealed the Colonel to combat, which the King would not permit, assigning the 12 of *September* for his Trial before the Justice. *Spinie* appearing at the day, the Colonel excused himself by the shortness of the time, and had a new diet assigned him; at which his probation failing, *Spinie* was restored to his honor, dignity and service: yet did he never recover his former credit with the King, but was held still suspected; and whether offending at this, or that the first declaration was true in it self, the year following he took open part with *Bothwell*, and was therefore denounced Rebel. The Lord *Spinie* delated for practising with the Lord *Bothwell*.

At the same time *John Weymis* younger of *Logie*, Gentleman of his Majestie's Chamber, and in great favor both with the King and Queen, was discovered to have the like dealing with *Bothwell*, and being committed to the keeping of the Guard, escaped by the policy of one of the *Dutch* Maids, with whom he entertained a secret love. The Gentlewoman, named Mistress *Margaret Twinslace* coming one night whilest the King and Queen were in bed to his keepers, shewed that the King called for the Prisoner to ask of him some question. The keepers suspecting nothing, for they knew her to be the principal Maid in the Chamber, conveighed him to the door of the Bed-chamber, and making a stay without as they were commanded, the Gentlewoman did let him down at a Window by a Cord that she had prepared. The keepers waiting upon his return stayed there till the morning, and then found themselves deceived. This with the manner of the escape ministred great occasion of laughter; and not many days after the King being pacified by the Queen's means, he was pardoned, and took to wife the Gentlewoman who had in this sort hazarded her credit for his safety. These dealings at Court increased not a little the boldness of others in the Countrey, so as some of all ranks, both Barons, Gentlemen and Burgesses, became followers of *Bothwell*, and feared not to entertain him openly. All *Tiviotdale* ran after him; whereupon the King made an expedition to *Jedburgh* 12 *October*, and finding some of his Resletters, took Bonds of them for their better behavior. *John Weymis* of *Logie* committed for his practices with *Bothwell* escaped.

At his return he found new vexations by a Faction made at Court against the Chancellor, whereof the Heads were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Morton*, the Master of *Glamis* and Lord *Home*; with these the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, who were released from their wards by the Queen's intercession, did afterwards joyn. That which gave the occasion was, a claim made by the Queen of the Lordship of *Mussilburgh*, as being a part of *Dumfermlin*, which she desired the Chancellor to resign, for he had acquired an heritable right thereof at the making the Act of Annexation. The Chancellor excusing himself, and in effect denying to satisfie her desire, she grew offended, and drew in these Noblemen to oppose him: A Faction made against the Chancellor.

An. 1592. whereupon he withdrew himſelf from Court, and remained in *Nidiſdale* the reſt of that year.

Troubles in the North betwixt *Huntley* and the *Clanhattan.*

In the North there was likewiſe great unquietneſs; for the *Clanhattans* conducted by *Angus Williamſton,* to revenge the Earl of *Murray*'s death, made great ſpoil upon the Earl of *Huntley*'s lands in *Strathſpey,* and *Glemmuck,* killing divers, and amongſt others an honeſt aged man called *Gordon* of *Barcklay,* againſt whom they could pretend no quarrel. *Huntley* to be revenged of this wrong made an Incurſion upon the lands of *Pettie,* which the *Clanhattan* did then poſſeſs, exercing great cruelty; and underſtanding that *William Malcolmtoſhe* was at the ſame time ſpoiling the lands of *Colerick,* encountred him at the head of *Staplegate* hill, where after a ſhort Conflict ſome threeſcore of the *Clanhattan* were killed, a few only falling on his ſide. Shortly after in another Expedition upon the ſame lands, having drawn together a number of High-landers from *Loqhaber, Badenoch* and *Strathdawn,* he waſted, burnt and ſpoiled all that Countrey, killing a great many people.

The Earl of *Angus* imployed in a Commiſſion to the North in *November.*

The King, to pacifie theſe Troubles, directed the Earl of *Angus* with a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry unto the North, where he wrought ſo much as the publick Incurſions of both ſides did ceaſe. And in this time was Mr. *George Ker,* Brother to the Lord *Newbottle,* intercepted as he lay at the Iſle of *Cumray,* intending a journey towards *Spain:* with him were deprehended divers miſſive Letters and Blanks ſigned by the Earls of *Angus, Huntley* and *Arrol,* and by Sir *Patrick Gordon* of *Aughendown.* Mr. *Andrew Knox* then Miniſter of *Paiſley,* who was afterwards made Biſhop of the Iſles, upon ſome diſcovery made to him, did enterpriſe his taking, and making him to be conveighed with a ſtrong Guard, delivered him to the Provoſt of the City, the King being then in *Alloway* at the Chriſtmaſs with the Earl of *Marre,* who but a few days before had married the Duke of *Lennox* his Siſter. Advertiſement made of his apprehenſion and of the Letters deprehended with him, the King made haſte to return. The night before his coming was the Earl of *Angus* returned from the North, and not having heard any thing of Mr. *George Ker*'s taking, went as he was accuſtomed to his lodging in *Edinburgh,* but was preſently arreſted by the Provoſt and Bailiffs, and ſent priſoner to the Caſtle. The King eſteeming this too great a preſumption in them, to have uſed a Nobleman and Counſellor lately returned from ſuch a publick imployment without warrant in that manner, was not a little offended; yet becauſe of the hainous accuſations laid againſt him, their forwardneſs was excuſed, and his impriſonment allowed for good ſervice by Act of Council.

The Earl of *Angus* impriſoned in the Caſtle.

Mr. *George Ker* his Confeſſion.

Mr. *George Ker* at his Examination did ingenuouſly confeſs all that he knew of the buſineſs, the ſum whereof was as followeth. *That upon a Letter ſent from* Mr. William Creichton *the Jeſuite, then reſiding in* Spain, *and aſſurance given of the King of* Spain*'s aid for the alteration of Religion,* Mr. James Gordon *and* Mr. Robert Abercrombie *Jeſuites had deviſed to ſend one to* Spain, *to certifie the King of the concurrence of the Scottiſh Catholicks in his ſervice, and that for the greater ſecrecy the three forenamed Earls ſhould undertake for the reſt, and by their Letters teſtifie the ſame. That this being proponed to the Noblemen, they did willingly conſent, and accordingly ſet their hands to eight Blanks, ſix whereof were to be filled as* Miſſives *from them to the King of* Spain, *and the two other with Procurations, one for the meſſengers credit, the other for the Articles that ſhould be drawn up in* Spain. *That the filling of the Blanks was truſted to* Mr. William Creichton *and* Mr. James Tyrie; *and that Sir* James Chiſholm, *one of the King*'s *Maſter houſholds, was firſt choſen to be carrier of the Blanks; but that he being impeded through ſome private buſineſs, they were delivered to him ſubſcribed in the moneth of* October, *he being then in* Edinburgh. He further declared, *that by conference at the ſame time with the Earls of* Angus *and* Arrol *he underſtood that the King of* Spain *was to ſend an Army of thirty thouſand men into* Scotland, *whereof* 15000 *ſhould remain in the Countrey, and with the aſſiſtence of the Catholicks either alter the preſent Religion, or procure liberty to their own Profeſſion: and that the reſt of the Army ſhould invade* England, *being conveyed thither by the Catholick Lords who were to meet the Army at their landing, which was appointed to be either at* Kirkubright *in* Galloway, *or in the mouth of* Cluid. This was the ſum of his Confeſſion.

The

The Earl of *Angus* charged with theſe points denied, affirming the Blanks and Subſcriptions to be counterfeited. But *David Graham* of *Fintry*, who was apprehended upon ſuſpicion at the ſame time, declared that Mr. *Robert Abercrombie* had revealed the purpoſe to him, and ſhewed that the Blanks were truſted to Maſter *George Ker*. *An.* 1592. The Earl of *Angus* denieth the Blanks.

This ſo manifeſt a diſcovery of Popiſh Plots, tending not only to the overthrow of Religion but alſo of the Realm, which by this Treaſonable practice ſhould have been reduced to a miſerable Slavery, did animate the King much againſt the Jeſuites: whereupon he publiſhed his reſolution, *to ſpare none that ſhould try guilty of the Treaſon, but make them an example to all poſterities; requiring in moſt ſerious manner all his good ſubjects to beware of theſe Jeſuites, Traitors to their native Countrey, and in their prayers to implore the mercy of God for preſervation of themſelves, their wives and children from the Conſpiracy intended.* The Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, eſteeming it their duty to make the Churches of the Countrey foreſeen of the Conſpiracy that was detected, gave notice thereof by their Letters to ſuch as were moſt nigh at hand, deſiring them to meet at *Edinburgh* the 8 of *January*, for giving their advice touching theſe dangers, and how the ſame might beſt be prevented. The King's reſolution publiſhed for puniſhing that Conſpiracy.

The Meeting was frequent, for the report of the diſcovery drew many thither. Mr. *Robert Bruce* in a ſhort ſpeech having related the peril wherein the Countrey and Church were brought by theſe practices, it was thought meet by ſome Commiſſioners to entreat of his Majeſty the execution of the Laws againſt Jeſuites and their Reſſetters, with the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould be found guilty of the preſent Conſpiracy. The King accepting graciouſly thoſe that were ſent unto him, and giving the whole Aſſembly thanks for the readineſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt him in the proſecution of that Trial, wiſhed them to conſider of what importance the buſineſs was, and not only to give their advice for the courſe that ſhould be taken, but alſo to let him know what help they would contribute for ſtrengthening him in his proceeding againſt the unnatural Subjects. A Meeting of the Miniſtery. The King his deſire propoſed to the Meeting.

His Majeſtie's deſire being reported to the Meeting, their advice was, that a Parliament ſhould be indicted, and the Subſcrivers of the Blanks cited thereto: and becauſe it was not expected that they would appear, ſo as his Majeſty ſhould be compelled to purſue them by force of Arms; they did humbly offer their attendence upon his Majeſtie's Perſon, till they ſhould be apprehended or expulſed the Countrey; as likewiſe to entertain a Guard to his Majeſty of three hundred horſemen and an hundred foot, ſo long as any neceſſity was, and till the Laws of the Countrey had taken effect againſt the Rebels: providing it ſhould not be drawn into a cuſtom, nor prejudge the liberty of the Realm in time coming. The offer was thankfully accepted, and a Proclamation made to meet the King at *Aberdene* the 20 of *February*, for ſetling the North parts; and for a beginning of Juſtice, *David Graham* of *Fintry* was arraigned, and being found guilty, beheaded in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh* the 16 of *February*. An offer made by the Meeting. *Fintry* beheaded.

Some two days before his Execution, Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, being charged (becauſe of the buſineſs he made in behalf of *Fintry*) to depart forth of the Town, and keep ward in *Strathern*, was killed as he was going to the tide at *Leith*. There had been a queſtion long depending betwixt Sir *James Sandilands* and him for the lands of *Halyeards*, and by reaſon thereof a profeſſed enmity amongſt them; and it falling out at the ſame time when he was going to *Leith*, that the Duke of *Lennox* accompanied with Sir *James* and divers others was making towards their ſport in the Sands, Mr. *John Graham* apprehending that they did purſue him, made a turn upon that aſcent which is without the Gate of the Town, as if he would ſtand there to his defence; which Sir *James* taking for a ſort of provocation, he made towards him, and entring in conflict, Sir *Alexander Stewart*, a grave Gentleman, ſervant to the Duke of *Lennox*, was killed by the ſhot of a piſtol: preſently after Mr. *John Graham* by another ſhot was ſtricken in the breaſt, and fell to the ground. They who did give him the convoy, ſeeing him fall, did all flie, and the companies ſeparating, he was led to a poor Cottage near unto the place, and, as he lay in bed, killed by the ſaid Sir *Alexander* his Page, in revenge of his Maſter's death.

A man

An. 1593. A man he was but meanly born, and descended of that unhappy race which had an hand in the Murther of King *James* the First: a long time he served as Deputy to the Earl of *Argile* in the Justice Courts, and after his death waited on Captain *James Stewart*, by whose means he was preferred to be one of the Senators of the College of Justice in the place of Mr. *Robert Pont*: of a quick wit and a good and ready utterance; but was excessively proud, covetous and unhonest in his dealings, as appeared in suborning of the Notary of whom we spake, and the fraud which he used to Mr. *Andrew Polwart* subdean of *Glasgow*, a man of great learning, who being forced to fly into *England* in the year 1584 with the other Ministers that took their refuge thither, had intrusted him with his Living and Rent, upon assurance to be repossessed when the time should change; yet being returned and having obtained his peace, could he never bring him to fulfil his promise; whereupon after a long plea at Law, not finding an outgate, the honest man conceived a displeasure and died.

The disposition and qualities of Mr. *John Graham.*

The Earl of *Angus* escapeth.

The Earl of *Angus* the same day that he was killed made an escape out of the Castle of *Edinburgh* by the connivence of the keepers, and flying to the North joyned with *Huntley* and *Arrol*. They, upon the report of the King's coming to *Aberdene*, left their Houses, and betook themselves to the mountains, sending their Ladies to intercede for them, and make offer of the keys of their Houses, which they had been charged to render.

The Houses of the Rebels rendered.

The King receiving the Ladies courteously, told them that if their Husbands would enter and abide Trial, they should receive no wrong, otherwise the crime laid to their charge did so highly touch the Estate, as he could not stay the course of Justice. In the mean time, for preserving the Countrey in peace, the Earl of *Athol* was made Lieutenant within the bounds of *Elgin, Forres, Narne, Innernesse* and *Cromartie;* and the like Commission given to the Earl of *Marshall* of the Sheriffdoms of *Kincardin, Bamffe* and *Aberdene.*

Athol and *Marshall* made Lieutenants of the North.

*26. *March* *An.* 1593. A Message from the Queen of *England.*

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, * where the Lord *Burgh* did meet him. He was sent from the Queen of *England* to congratulate the discoveries of these treacherous practices, and make offer of her assistence in pursuing and punishing those that should trie culpable: *wherein she wished him to do as a King ought in such a case; and if he could not apprehend their Persons, to confiscate their Lands and Rents, whereby he should undo them, and better the Estate of his Crown. And seeing the Cause was common, and touched all Princes professing the same Religion, she desired to be certified what his resolution was, that she might assure other Princes her Confederates of the course taken in both their Dominions for resisting the attempts of* Spain. The King, thanking the Queen for her friendly offer and advice, said, *That he knew Sir* Robert Bowes *her Resident Ambassador had advertised her of the whole particulars, and of the Blanks and Letters intercepted: That he had made a beginning, and was fully resolved to prosecute the same with all rigor against those that he should trie culpable; but willed her to consider how dangerous it was for him to have so many great men his Rebels, and what a business it would be to hunt them out of those holes and desert places where they lurked: That he would stand in need of her help and supply, which he doubted not to find, it being more dangerous for her Estate to have the* Spaniard *set foot in his Kingdom, then either in* France *or the* Low-Countries, *both which she had liberally helped and supplied with men and moneys. But what particular Supply he would crave, his own Ambassador whom he minded to send speedily should declare.* This was the effect of the Conference kept with the Lord *Burgh* at his first hearing.

The Ambassador intercedeth for *Bothwell.*

At the next audience the Ambassador falling again upon the same purpose, said, *That her Majesty did wish the King to fortifie himself with a wise, sound and well-affected Council, that might help to discover such wicked practices, and repress them when they were detected:* and then casting in somewhat of the punishment that the Queen had taken of those that had given *Bothwell* countenance in *England, he wished the King to consider what course was best to be held with him in so troublesome a time; and if it were not for his Majestie's quiet (having so many Rebels) to receive him upon his submission in favor.*

The King passing that which he had told of the punishing of *Bothwell's* Resletters, albeit

albeit he knew no ſuch thing was done, anſwered, *That if the Queen did either reſpect his countenance or her own Honor, ſhe would be ſo far from giving him refuge in her Dominions, as he thought certainly ſhe would deliver him, according to the tenor of the League ſtanding among them. But for taking him in favor, his offences were unpardonable, and to be abhorred of all Sovereign Princes; therefore deſired him to ſhew the Queen his Miſtreſs, that if he ſhould underſtand any reſſet to be given* Bothwell *after that time, he could not but joyn with her greateſt enemies for his own ſafety. As for his reſolution in proſecuting the Trial begun, he ſhould have it with him in a Letter of his own hand.* This done he was dimitted, Sir *Robert Bowes* reſiding ſtill as Legier. *An.* 1592. Midſt of *April.*

In the end of *April* there was an Aſſembly kept at *Dundy*, wherein his Majeſty directed Sir *James Melvill* of *Halhill* with certain Articles, in the firſt whereof he declared, *That he would not ſuffer the Privilege and Honor of his Crown to be diminiſhed, and Aſſemblies to be made when and where they pleaſed. Therefore willed them, before the Diſſolution of the preſent Aſſembly, to ſend two or three of their number, by whom they ſhould know his mind touching the time and place of their next Meeting.* An Aſſembly of the Church at *Dundie*. Articles ſent by his Majeſty to the Church.

By the ſecond it was deſired, *That an Act ſhould be made inhibiting Miniſters to declaim in Pulpit againſt the proceeding of his Majeſty and Council, under pain of Deprivation; both in regard of his Majeſtie's good intentions known to themſelves for maintaining Religion and Juſtice, and for the eaſie acceſs that divers of the Miniſtery had unto him, by whom they might ſignifie their complaints and grievances if any they had.*

Thirdly, *In regard of Mr.* Craig's *decrepit age, his Majeſty deſired to have five or ſix nominated to him by the Aſſembly, that he might chuſe ſome two of them to ſerve in his Houſe.*

Fourthly, *Seeing the ſtanding of Religion and Safety of his Perſon were ſo ſtraightly conjoyned, as they that were enemies to the one could not be friends to the other; that ſome of every Presbytery ſhould be appointed to inform and advertiſe his Majeſty of the practices of the Papiſts and the Reſſetters of* Bothwell, *whoſe whole courſes tended to the ſubverſion of Religion, no leſs then the indangering of his Majeſtie's Perſon.*

And fifthly, *That they ſhould appoint ſome of their number to cauſe the Magiſtrates of Burghs, where there are any Sea-ports, try thoſe that came into the Countrey, or paſſed forth of the ſame, to delate their names, that the Plots and practices againſt Religion might be better diſcovered.*

Theſe Articles, eſpecially the firſt two, ſavoring of diſcontent, were anſwered generally by the Aſſembly. Concerning their Meetings, they ſaid, that they ſhould follow the Act of Parliament made the year preceding: and for the declaiming in Pulpit, an Act was made prohibiting *any Miniſter to utter in Pulpit any raſh or irreverent ſpeeches againſt his Majeſty and Council, or their proceedings; and to give their Admonitions upon juſt and neceſſary cauſes, and in all fear, love and reverence.* Which the King eſteeming to be no reſtraint, but rather to miniſter an excuſe to the unruly ſort when they tranſgreſſed then otherwiſe, rejected, as not ſatisfying his demand; whereupon the Petitions of the Church proponed againſt Papiſts at the ſame time, and againſt the erections of Tithes in Temporalities, were not much regarded. The Aſſemblie's Anſwer.

In this Aſſembly it was enacted, "That none profeſſing Religion within the "Church of *Scotland* ſhould from thenceforth repair to any of the King of *Spain*'s "Dominions, where the tyranny of Inquiſition was uſed, for traffick of Merchan-"diſe, or other the like negotiations, till the King did obtain liberty from the King "of *Spain* to his Subjects for traffick in theſe bounds, without any danger of their "perſon or goods for the cauſe of Religion, under the pain of Excommunication.

The Merchants offending hereat did petition his Majeſty and Council for maintaining their liberty of Traffick; which was granted. Notwithſtanding whereof the Miniſters proceeded in their Cenſures, till the Merchants made offer to ſurceaſe their Trade with *Spain* how ſoon their Accompts were made, and they payed by their Creditors in thoſe parts.

But the aboliſhing of the *Monday*'s Mercat in *Edinburgh*, though aſſented unto by the Council of the Town, and paſt in an Act, took not the like effect: for the Shoemakers, who were moſt intereſſed in that buſineſs, hearing that the ſame was A change of the *Monday*'s Mercat urged at *Edinburgh*.

to

An. 1593. to be put in execution, tumultuouſly gathering themſelves together, come to the Miniſters houſes, menacing to chaſe them forth of the Town if they did urge that matter any more. After which the motion ceaſed, the Mercat continuing as before. This did miniſter great occaſions of ſport at that time in Court, where it was ſaid, *That Raſcals and Sowtars could obtain at the Miniſters hands what the King could not in matters more reaſonable.*

Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent into *England.*

In the beginning of *June* Sir *Robert Melvil* was ſent in Ambaſſage to *England*: His Commiſſion was, to ſignifie what had been done in the proſecution of the Authors and contrivers of the laſt practices ſince the Lord *Burgh* his return, and to require ſome aid and aſſiſtence for inabling the King to follow that buſineſs to an end; and particularly he was deſired to crave a ſupply in money for levying 600 Soldiers, and entertaining them ſome moneths, till the ſervice was finiſhed, and the Rebels either apprehended, or forced to quit the Realm: withal he was appointed to renew the former complaints of *Bothwell* his reſſet and entertainment in the Borders of *England*, and to crave his delivery according to the League. But while he was preſſing that buſineſs in *England*, *Bothwell* ſurpriſed the King at home, and for a while made all theſe purpoſes to ſleep, ſo as he returned without effecting any thing.

The King ſurpriſed by *Bothwell.*

The occaſion and manner of the Surpriſe was this. The Chancellor, who had all that year been abſent from Court, upon a diſcontent the Queen conceived againſt him, had ſent to the King a Letter, "requeſting his licence to depart forth "of the Countrey, ſince he could not with ſafety attend his ſervice; for that to re-"main at home, and live deprived of his Majeſtie's preſence, he ſaid was to him a "very Hell, which he could hardly indure; promiſing to return at ſuch time as his "Majeſty ſhould find convenient to recal him to his ſervice.

The manner of the Surpriſe.

The King did ſhew the Letter to the Queen, becauſe in the ſame he had proteſted much of his ſincere affection towards her, and being loth to quit him whom he had tried to be ſo able a Servant, moved her to forget all quarrels, ſo as he would reſign the Lordſhip of *Muſſilburgh*, which had bred this diſſenſion. The Reſignation made, and the Chancellor being on the point to return to Court, the Duke of *Lennox*, by the advice of *Athol*, *Ochiltry*, and others of the name of *Stewart*, reſolved to prevent his coming by the inbringing of *Bothwell*. The Parliament had broke up ſome two days before, and the Noblemen reſorting to the Palace to take their leave of the King, the Gates were kept patent, and leſs heed taken of thoſe who entred. *Athol* with his Lady had lodged all that time in the Houſe then pertaining to the Earl of *Gowry*, at the back of the Palace, and kept *Bothwell* private, with Mr. *John Colvill*, one of his followers. So early in the morning the Lady pretending to bid the King farewel, and making her entry through the Poſtern Gate, taketh *Bothwell* and his companion along with her, and bringeth them unperceived of any into the King's Bed-chamber. The King was then private in a retiring-room, and when he came back, and ſaw them ſtand with their Swords in their hands, cried aloud, *Treaſon, treaſon.* They falling on their knees called for mercy. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *you have diſhonored me:* and placing himſelf in his Chair, *Strike, Traitor*, ſaith he to *Bothwell, and make an end of thy work, for I deſire not to live any longer.* He proteſting with many oaths that he came only to beg pardon, and to put himſelf in his Majeſtie's will: the King replied, *That mercy extorted by violence was not mercy, and that it was not the form of Supplicants to come with weapons in their hands.* Whileſt the King was thus talking, the Earl of *Marre* and Sir *William Keith* entred into the Chamber, and preſently after them a number of *Bothwell*'s Faction, who by this time had poſſeſſed the utter Court, and aſſumed the charge of the Gates.

The City in arms.

The report of this accident going to the City the people went to arms, and conducted by Sir *Alexander Home*, their Provoſt made towards the Palace to give the King relief: but he was then become ſomewhat pacified, and following the Earl of *Marre* his advice, after he had ſhewed himſelf from a window to the people, and given them thanks for their readineſs, he willed them to return to their houſes & attend his advertiſement. All that day matters were caried fairly in a ſort, *Bothwel* uſing humble

ſpeeches, and offering himſelf to Trial for the conſultation which began his Trouble: for his other miſdemeanors he deſired mercy, excuſing himſef by the want and neceſſity whereunto he and his friends were driven. But when he perceived the King's countenance not to be towards him as he wiſhed, he changed his forms, and letting ſome words fall that ſounded not well, gave divers to ſuſpect that he ſhould attempt ſome violence. This did ſet the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador on work who, being aſſiſted by the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did after long travel and much perſuaſion induce the King to ſet his hand to the Articles following. *An.* 1593.

1. That Remiſſion ſhould be granted to *Bothwell*, his friends and partakers, for all attempts againſt his Majeſtie's Perſon and Authority in any time paſt, and promiſe made never to call or purſue him and his foreſaids for any by-paſt fact; as likewiſe to repoſſeſs them in their houſes and lands, notwithſtanding whatſoever Proceſs laid againſt them. Conditions granted to *Bothwell* by the Ambaſſador's mediation.

2. That a Parliament ſhould be called in *November* next, and ſuch an Act paſt in his and their favors as was made at *Linlithgow Anno* 1585, for their greater ſecurity.

3. That during that time the King ſhould not receive in his Company the Chancellor, the Lord *Home*, the Maſter of *Glammis*, and Sir *George Home* knight.

4. That from henceforth the Earl *Bothwell*, his friends and followers, ſhould be eſteemed as good and lawful ſubjects, and uſed with much favor as if they had never offended.

Theſe Articles the King did in the word of a Prince promiſe to perform; and, for *Bothwell*'s greater ſatisfaction, after he had ſigned the ſame with his own hand, cauſed ſo many of the Council as were preſent together with the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Edinburgh* ſubſcrive as Witneſſes. The Subſcribers were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Forbes*, *Ochiltry*, *Spiny* and *Urquhart*, the Maſter of *Gray*, M. *James Elphinſton*, *Mircarny*, the Clerk of Regiſter, *Nicoll Edward*, *John Moriſon*, *George Fodrick* and *David Williamſon*, Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Walter Balcanquell* and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Miniſters. For *Bothwell* it was promiſed that he ſhould leave the Court, and not come towards the King till he was called by his Majeſty. Articles ſubſcribed by the Witneſſes.

Theſe things were done at *Hilirudhouſe* the 14 of *Auguſt* 1593, ſome twenty days after the Surpriſe. The next day the King went to *Falkland*, attended by the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Ochiltry*, and *Creichton* of *Clany* a follower of *Athol*, who did promiſe to wait upon the King unto *November*, and debar thoſe others that by the Articles were not to be admitted. The reſt of the moneth the King ſtayed at *Falkland*, and in that time *Bothwell* did obtain himſelf purged by an Aſſiſe of practiſing and conſulting with Witches, which had been the original of his miſchief. The King goeth to *Falkland*.

In the beginning of *September* the King went to *Striveling*, where he had appointed a Convention to meet for taking order with the broken men of the High-lands and Borders. Thither came the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Montroſs*, with the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Levingſton*; of the Church Eſtate, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Aberdene*, the Prior of *Blantyre*, and Abbot of *Lundors*; and divers Commiſſioners of Burghs. After ſome ſpeeches concerning the Borders and High-lands, and the means to quiet them, which was the errand pretended, the King declared, "that he had called them to that Meeting for buſineſs that "touched him more nigh: and then relating the many indignities he had endured "at *Bothwell*'s hands, which they all knew, he deſired to have their advice touching "the Conditions granted to him of late, and whether they did think him tied to "the performance thereof, the ſame being extorted by the importunity of thoſe "that took on them to mediate betwixt him and *Bothwell*, and yielded unto by him "upon juſt fear. The Anſwer of the Convention was, *That they judged the fact of* Bothwell *Treaſonable, and the Conditions granted in ſuch a manner to carry no neceſſity of performance. That for the Remiſſion promiſed to him and his followers, the ſame depended upon his Majeſtie's own pleaſure, and that he ſhould do therein what ſeemed to him good: but to be tied not to receive in his company his Servants and Officers, they held* A Convention at *Striveling* 7. *Sept.* The Eſtates find the Conditions given to *Bothwell* diſhonorable.

it

An. 1593. *it not to ſtand with the honor and dignity of a King. For the Remiſſion,* ſaid the King, *I could be content, for the quiet of the Realm, to grant the ſame upon his humble ſuit and ſupplication, when I am now at liberty; but to be forced thereto, and by way of Capitulation to grant the ſame, I do not think it agreeth with mine Honor. That which I require of you, ſince I judge the Conditions unlawful, and that neither in Law nor Conſcience I am bound to obſerve them, is, that by publick Act the ſame be declared; and that, as a free Prince, I may preſently, and in all time coming, admit and receive into my company ſuch of the Nobility, Council, Officiars and other good ſubjects, as I ſhall think good to uſe in the adminiſtration of my affairs.* All eſteeming this to be moſt reaſonable, an Act was made declaring, "That his Majeſty, with the advice of the Eſtates, had recalled the "Grant made to *Bothwell* in *Auguſt* laſt; and that, being a free Prince, he might "uſe the ſervice of any of his ſubjects, and call them to him at his pleaſure.

The Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvil* directed to *Bothwell.*

This Declaration made, the Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvill* were directed to *Bothwell,* to ſhew him that albeit the King did not think himſelf bound in Law or Honor to perform the Conditions made at *Halirudhouſe,* yet if he ſhould now make humble ſuit for Pardon to himſelf, and his followers, the ſame ſhould be granted, with a double Proviſo: firſt, that he ſhould ſupplicate his Pardon and paſs the ſame formally before the 20 of *November*; ſecondly, that the Remiſſion being exped, he ſhould depart forth of the Realm, and abide in ſuch parts beyond Sea as the King ſhould appoint, and not return into the Countrey without his Majeſtie's licence.

Bothwell falleth to his wonted forms.

Bothwell at firſt did take the offer well, and ſeemed therewith content; but when he was returned to *Edinburgh,* (for the intimation was made to him at *Linlithgow*) and heard that the Lord *Home* and thoſe others againſt whom he took exception were received in Court, he was greatly commoved, and, falling to his wonted forms, threatned to make the King obſerve the Conditions, and keep what he had promiſed. To this purpoſe he advertiſed the Earl of *Athol,* deſiring he ſhould meet him at *Striveling* the firſt of *October* with his forces. *Athol* kept the Diet, accompanied with the Earl of *Montroſs* and a great number of men: but the King was parted from *Striveling,* and remained then at *Linlithgow,* attended by the Lord *Hamilton* and divers other noble men, which made *Bothwell* change his purpoſe and diſappoint the enterpriſe.

Athol coming to *Striveling* is charged to return home in the beginning of *Octob.*

The King underſtanding that *Athol* with his forces was come to *Striveling,* ſent a meſſenger to charge him to return home and diſſolve his companies: which he obeyed, pretending that his buſineſs was only to hold a Court at *Down* Caſtle, (a Houſe pertaining to the Earl of *Murray,* whereof he had the Ward) and that the meſſenger might witneſs the truth thereof, he took him along with him the next morning to *Down.* The ſtay of the meſſenger put the King in ſuſpicion that the Charge was not obeyed, and that *Athol* did wait upon *Bothwell*'s coming. Whereupon he went back to *Striveling,* and underſtanding that *Athol* was gone to *Down,* he followed thither. The Lord *Home,* who was appointed to ride before and view the fields, encountring the Earl of *Montroſs,* made him priſoner, and uſed him and his men ſomewhat roughly. But he profeſſing to be ſent by *Athol* to the King for making his excuſe, and declaring the true cauſe of his coming in thoſe parts, was dimitted the next day, upon his promiſe to appear before the Council whenſoever he ſhould be charged. After this the King going to *Edinburgh, Bothwell* was cited before the Council; and not appearing, was of new denounced Rebel.

Montroſs taken by the Lord *Home.*

Bothwell denounced Rebel.

Leaving theſe affairs for a while, we will now return to the Popiſh Lords. They had been cited to the Parliament which was kept in *July* preceding, but upon ſome informalities and defects in the Libel the Proceſs was remitted by the Eſtates to the King and Council. This being ill interpreted, and taken to be done in their favor, the Miniſters of the Synod of *Fife,* meeting at S. *Andrews* in the beginning of *October,* did ſummarily excommunicate the Earls of *Angus, Huntley* and *Arrol,* the Lord *Home,* and Sir *James Chiſholme.* They ſent Letters alſo to all the Presbyteries, deſiring their Excommunication to be publiſhed in all the Churches; & particularly required the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to call a meeting of ſome principal Miniſters & well-affected Barons, to adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be taken for the defence

The Popiſh Lords excommunicated by the Synod of *Fife.*

of

of Religion, and repreſſing the practices of enemies. The King, upon advertiſement of theſe proceedings, called Mr. *Robert Bruce*, (who was then in great favor) and willed him to ſtay the publication of Sentence, as being unjuſt and altogether informal, for that neither were theſe perſons ſubject to the Synod of *Fife*, nor were they cited to anſwer. *And if this be your order*, ſaid he, *that the Miniſters of one Synod may excommunicate, and at their deſire all the reſt ſhall make intimation, who can be ſure, or how ſhall it be eſchewed, but numbers ſhall this way be brought in troubles?* Mr. *Robert* anſwering that it was not in his power to ſtay the publication, the brethren having already concluded the ſame, and that the Miniſters of *Fife* had their own Reaſons, and were anſwerable to the General Aſſembly; *Well*, ſaid the King, *I could have no reſt till ye got that which ye call the Diſcipline of the Church eſtabliſhed; now ſeeing I have found it abuſed, and that none amongſt you hath power to ſtay ſuch diſorderly proceedings, I will think of a mean to help it.* *An.* 1593.

The King dealeth with Mr *Robert Bruce*, to ſtay the publication of the Sentence.

The intimation in the mean time went on, and according to the motion made for convening ſome principal Miniſters and Barons, there aſſembled a good number at *Edinburgh* the 17 of *October*. The King was gone then to *Jedburgh*, for pacifying ſome Tumults in the Borders, and in his going thither was met at *Falaw* by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, who humbly intreated a Trial, and that they ſhould not be condemned unheard, offering to enter themſelves what time and in what place his Majeſty ſhould appoint. There were divers of the Council with the King at the time, by whoſe advice they were enjoyned to enter their perſons in the Town of *Perth* the 24 of that moneth, and abide there till order was taken for their Trial. And leſt caſting of themſelves in the King's way, ſhould be thought to have proceeded upon an intelligence that the King did keep with them; the Maſter of *Glammis* and Abbot of *Lundors* were directed to inform the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and Miniſters of *Edinburgh* of that which had happened, and the anſwer that the Lords received.

The Popiſh Lords meeting the King at *Falaw* deſire a Trial.

They are commanded to enter themſelves in *Perth*.

How ſoon this was known, Commiſſioners were ſent from the Aſſembly to the King with certain Petitions conceived in this form.

Petitions of the Church ſent to the King at *Jedburgh*.

The Commiſſioners of the Church, Barons, Burgeſſes, convened from divers parts of the Realm, foreſeeing the preſent danger wherein the Church of God, the Perſon of the King, and whole Countrey do ſtand, have thought it their duty to petition his Majeſty, and propone their advice as followeth.

1. Seeing the Commiſſioners are informed that the Excommunicate Lords, namely the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, with their Complices, are to be put to the trial of an Aſſiſe, they humbly crave that the Trial be not precipitated, and that the Diet aſſigned may be prorogated, till ſuch time as the Profeſſors of Religion (who are minded to be their Accuſers, and to purſue them for the Treaſons they have contrived) may be throughly adviſed with the buſineſs, and reſolve what is convenient to be done.

2. That, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms obſerved in ſuch Crimes, thoſe Excommunicate and Treaſonable Apoſtates may be committed to ſure Cuſtody in the Town of *Edinburgh*, *Dundy*, and *Striveling*, or other places that ſhall be thought expedient, till order be taken with Papiſts, of which Faction they are known to be the Heads, and till the Eſtates adviſe upon the form of their Trial.

3. That when the Eſtates after mature deliberation ſhall put the foreſaid Traitors to Trial, the Jury be not nominated at the option of the parties accuſed, but by the party accuſer, who are the whole Profeſſors of the Goſpel.

4. That ſeeing the aforeſaid Traitors are Excommunicated, and by the juſt Sentence of the Church cut off from the Society of Chriſt's Body, that they be not admitted to ſtand in judgement, or have any benefit of Law, till they be reconciled to the Church, according to the Laws of the Countrey, and his Majeſtie's own promiſe; as likewiſe in reſpect they have made themſelves guilty, partly through their eſcape forth of Ward, and partly by playing the Fugitives, and not appearing neither at S. *Andrews*, to which they were firſt cited, nor at the time of the laſt Parliament.

5. Or if his Majeſty will not alter the day appointed at *Perth*, as we do not doubt

An. 1593. but after good consideration he will, then we desire that such as profess Religion may be a guard to his Majesty at the time, to defend his Person from violence, and to accuse and pursue them to the uttermost; which we are minded to do, although it should be with the loss of all our lives in one day, being fully resolved, if they continue enemies to God and his Truth, that the Countrey shall not brook them and us together.

The Conference betwixt his Majesty and the Commissioners of the Church.

The Commissioners coming to *Jedburgh* had presence given them, and having presented the Petitions, the King at the reading of the Inscription grew incensed, saying, *That he would not acknowledge any such Convention, nor them for Commissioners, seeing they had assembled themselves without his consent and knowledge.* They answered, that the Meeting was warranted by his Majestie's Proclamations. A long reasoning was kept upon that Point: in end the King condescended to hear them as subjects, and satisfie them with Reason in every particular, but to accept of their Commission or return any answer to that Meeting he would not. This passed, he said, *That he was not foreseen of the coming of these Earls unto him at* Falaw, *nor had he any intelligence with them; but when they came, and did humbly offer themselves to Trial, he could not of his Princely duty refuse it, though they had been the meanest and simplest persons of the Land.: That he had dismissed them without any promise or the smallest assurance of favor, whereof he had many witnesses; and for the time and place assigned to their Trial, the same was done by advice of such of the Council as were present; but that he had since considered the time to be too short, and the Town of* Perth *not so convenient, and therefore had appointed a Meeting of the Estates at* Linlithgow *the last of that moneth, by whose advice he would proceed and do that which was fitting. It hath been,* said he, *the suit of the Ministers to have those Earls brought to their Trial, and now when they offer themselves unto it, it is strange there should be such business made for a delay. As for himself, he had resolved, what time and place soever were appointed for the Trial, to have all things rightly done, and that neither the Judges nor Jurors, if the matter came to that point, should be other then men indifferent and well-affected to Religion.*

The Commissioners putting his Majesty in mind of that he had said at the first view of the Blanks, and the hearing of Mr. *George Ker* his Confession, *that the Crime was above the reach of his power to pardon,* and beseeching him to regard his Honor and surety, seeing it was dangerous to permit the Earls to come accompanied with such numbers as they intended to bring; he said that he could provide for any dangers that way. And when they did offer, as in the Articles, to come and attend his Majesty as a Guard at the time of Trial; he answered, *That he would make choice of his own Guard; that those whom he called to that Diet should be welcome, and such as came undesired should not be so.*

Then they shew what offence was taken at the Lord *Hume* his entertainment in Court, who was both Excommunicated, and known to be a professed enemy to Religion. The King replied, *That a day was given him to satisfie the Church by the Ministers themselves, which was not as yet expired; and if he did not satisfie, that he should remain no longer at Court.* But, said they, he doth not keep promise, and is thought to have been a chief instrument in bringing these Excommunicates to your Majestie's presence. *For that,* said the King, *I know it not; and if you will accuse him, he can speak for himself.* After these speeches, they humbly besought his Majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing; but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave.

The Assembly resolved to keep the Diet appointed for the Lords Trial.

These Answers reported did no way content the Meeting, whereupon it was resolved that upon advertisement they should all convene in arms at the place which should be assigned for the Trial of the Lords, and be their pursuers; to which purpose some was left at *Edinburgh* to make timely warning to the rest. The King being informed of this Conclusion at his return to *Edinburgh*, called the special Ministers that were in Town, and shewed that it was an undutiful part in them to convocate the subjects, and cause them take Arms without his Warrant; prohibiting any such advertisement to be given as was appointed. They, excusing themselves, said, *That it was the Cause of God, and in defence thereof they could not be deficient.*

Hereupon

Hereupon a Proclamation was made, "declaring the course that his Majesty *An.* 1593.
"had taken to try the Conspiracy of the Popish Lords, and how, after some pains
"taken in that business, he had indicted a Parliament in *July* last for that cause, at
"which time nothing being done, (albeit not in his default) and he impeshed a
"long time after by the practices of *Bothwell* and other Troubles in the Countrey,
"was no sooner received forth of his hands then he fell again upon the same
"thoughts; and that now he had appointed a Convention of Estates at *Linlith-*
"*gow*, for taking their advice touching the Surety of his own Person, the relief of
"the subjects oppression, and the ordering of all that business, especially since
"the said Lords had by their Letters and otherwise most humbly desired a Trial,
"which he doubted not the Estates would consider, and so proceed therein as
"might best serve to the preserving of Religion and the quietness of the
"Countrey; his own intention being no other but to have them satisfie the
"Church, or, if they refused, to cause them to be expulsed and banished the
"Countrey. And for that end he had commanded them to remain at *Perth*, and at-
"tend the resolution of the Estates, dissolving their forces, if any they had assem-
"bled. Whereof his Majesty did think meet to give all his subjects notice, that
"they might know his care for the maintenance of true Religion against all the
"enemies thereof. And therefore inhibited the subjects to make any Convocati-
"ons; or if any were already made by the siniſtrous informations of ill-disposed
"people, they were commanded to dissolve and turn to their Houses, till they
"should be advertised either by missive Letters or Proclamations, and not other-
"wise, under the pains appointed for Seditious persons and disturbers of the pub-
"lick Peace.

A Proclamation inhibiting all Convocations.

Notwithstanding of this discharge there came great companies to *Edinburgh*, and in all parts of the Countrey were people stirring; so that the Convention which was called to meet at the same time, being not very frequent, kept a short while together. The Offers and Petitions of the Popish Lords being only read, the consideration thereof was remitted to certain chosen by the Estates. These were the Lord *Thirlstan* Chancellor, the Earls *Marshal*, *Marre*, *Montrosse*, and *Rothes*, the Lord *Levingston*, *Scot* of *Balwery*, *John Murray* of *Tullibarden*, *Alexander Bruce* of *Airth*, Mr. *George Lowder* of *Basse*, *William Scot* of *Abbotshall*, Mr. *David Carnagie* of *Colluthie*, Sir *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick* Provost of *Edinburgh*, *Clement Core* Baily, with the Commissioners of the Towns of *Dundie*, *Couper*, *Striveling* and *Linlithgow*. To these, or any four of every Estate, together with his Majestie's Officers, power was given to consider the Petitions and Offers of the said Lords, to try their Accusations, Purgations, and the truth thereof, and to conclude therein as they should think most expedient for the surety of Religion, and redressing of disorders within the Realm, ordaining their determination to be as valid and effectual as if the same had been concluded in Parliament or Convention. It was likewise ordained that Mr. *Robert Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, and Mr. *James Carmichael*, and *John Duncauson* should be admitted to the said Conference, if they should desire; and that in the absence of any of the Estates nominated, such as were present should appoint others at their pleasure. The Commissioners nominated having convened at *Edinburgh* the 12 of *November*, after many days reasoning grew to this conclusion.

A Convocation of the Estates.

Certain of the Estates selected to judge of the Lords Offers.

That the King, for the publick peace of the Realm, and to remove all Troubles and the occasion thereof, after mature deliberation and conference kept with the Ministers, had by the advice of the Commissioners elected by the Estates declared, and by irrevocable Edict ordained, That the true Religion established in the first year of his Majestie's Reign should be only professed and exercised in all time coming within the Realm, and that none should supply or resset any Jesuites, Priests and other adversaries of Religion, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.

Conclusion taken touching the Popish Lords.

That such as have not embraced Religion, or made defection from the same, should conform themselves before the 1 *of* February *next, satisfie the Church, and obey such things as shall be prescribed to them by the King and the Church; or if any of them did*

An. 1593. *think it difficile ſo to do for any ſcruple of Conſcience, that they ſhould depart forth of the Realm to ſuch parts beyond Sea as his Majeſty ſhould appoint, betwixt this and the ſaid day, and not return till they were reſolved to imbrace the Truth and ſatisfie the Church; they always and their heirs enjoying their lands and livings, and their procurators being licenſed to appear before the ordinary Judges for debating their actions, notwithſtanding of any proceſs laid againſt them.*

That the Earls of Angus, Huntley *and* Arrol, *the Laird of* Achindowne *and Sir* James Chiſholme, *ſhould be unaccuſable of the Crimes contained in the Summons executed againſt them by occaſion of Blanks and Letters intercepted, and concerning their trafficking with ſtrangers to the prejudice of Religion, and the ſaid Proceſs extinct for ever, diſcharging the Iuſtice, Advocate and other Officers preſent and to come of all calling and proceeding againſt them and their heirs therefore in time coming. But in caſe they have ſent, or after this time ſhall ſend, any Pledges forth of the Realm for fulfilling of Conditions tending to the overthrow of Religion, in that caſe the ſaid abolition ſhould be null, neither ſhould it be farther extended then to the Crimes contained in the Summons, and no way comprehend any Murthers, Fire-raiſings, or other Crimes committed by them.*

That ſuch of the ſaid Earls and others as ſhould reſolve to obey his Highneſs Laws in profeſſing the true Religion, before the 1 *of* February, *ſhould remain in the places and bounds to be appointed for them, and forbear all practiſing or intelligence with the Ieſuites, Prieſts and other Papiſts, debarring them from and forth of their company.*

That they ſhould neither diſpute nor permit diſputing at their Tables againſt the Truth, or in favor of Popery, and entertain in their houſes a Miniſter, and be ready to hear conference, and reſolve themſelves of Doubts, that they may be the better prepared to ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith at the day appointed, unleſs it pleaſe the Church to prorogate their Subſcription for ſome longer ſpace.

That the Earls of Huntley *and* Arrol *ſhould before the* 1 *of* February *remove out of their company Mr.* James Gordon *and Mr.* William Ogilvie *Jeſuites, and find ſurety, under the pain of forty thouſand pounds, each of them to abide by their Subſcriptions, and not to make defection from the Religion*: Achindowne *and Sir* James Chiſholme *finding the like ſurety, under the pain of ten thouſand pounds.*

That ſuch of them as make choice to leave the Countrey, and will not imbrace the true Religion, ſhould give aſſurance to forbear all practiſing with Jeſuites and others againſt Religion and the State when they are abroad, and till their departing keep no intelligence with any of that Sect.

That they ſhould declare their choice of the two conditions before the 1 *of* January *to the King and Church; otherwiſe, in caſe they do not accept the ſame in manner and within the time above ſpecified, they ſhould injoy no benefit by virtue thereof, but ſhould be liable to trial and puniſhment of Law, as if the ſame had never been proponed nor offered unto them.*

That the Church ſhould in the mean time call all ſuſpected perſons before them, requiring them to ſatisfie, and if they be obſtinate, delate their names to his Majeſty and Council, that they may be puniſhed; and that Maſters and Landlords be holden to anſwer for perſons ſo ſuſpected, as for other crimes.

Theſe were the concluſions taken in this meeting by the Deputies of the Eſtates, and ſigned by the King and them, which likewiſe were to be ſubſcribed by the three Earls and their complices in token of their acceptation. What effect the ſame took, we ſhall afterwards hear.

Troubles betwixt the *Maxwells* and the *Johnſtons*.

In the end of this year there fell out great Troubles in the Weſt marches. Some of the ſurname of *Johnſton* having in the *July* preceding made a great depredation upon the lands of *Sanwhare* and *Drumlanrig*, and killed eighteen perſons that followed for reſcue of their goods, a Commiſſion was given to the Lord *Maxwell*, then Warden, for purſuing the doers with all hoſtility. Not long before a great friendſhip had been contracted betwixt him and the Laird of *Johnſton*, and bonds interchanged for aſſiſting one another; which the Lord *Sanwhare*, *Drumlanrig*, and others intereſſed by the *Johnſtons* feared ſhould make him remiſs in executing the Commiſſion: yet conſidering his diſpoſition, and that he loved above all things to

be

be followed, they took advice to offer their ſervices, ſo as he would joyn with them for ſuppreſſing the power of the *Johnſtons*. *Maxwell*, thinking this to be a good occaſion for bringing all *Niddiſdale* to depend upon him, embraced the offer; whereupon a Bond was formed, and ſubſcribed by them and theſe others, with divers of their friendſhip. This Bond being negligently kept fell into the hands of one *Johnſton* of *Commerties* who ſerved the Lord *Maxwell*, and was by him carried to the Laird *Johnſton*; who reſolving to diſſemble his knowledge of the Bond, ſent a Gentleman to learn of the Lord *Maxwell* himſelf, if any ſuch friendſhip was made up amongſt them as was noiſed in the Countrey. *Maxwell* at firſt denied that there was any ſuch thing; but having miſſed the Bond, and ſuſpecting the ſame to have fallen into *Johnſton*'s hands, he excuſed the matter by the Commiſſion that was ſent to him, ſaying, He muſt obey the King, and do as he was directed. *An.* 1593.

Johnſton, ſeeing whereto matters would turn, did aſſociate to himſelf the *Scots* of *Teviotdale*, the *Eliots* and *Grahams* of *Eske*, and hearing that *Maxwell* had levied ſome companies of horſe and foot, and placed the foot-company with their Captain called *Oliphant* in *Lochmaben*, to attend his coming to *Anandale*, reſolved to prevent him and cut them off; and ſo falling upon them unexpected, killed the Captain and divers of the ſoldiers. Some fled to the Church, thinking to ſave themſelves; but the ſame being ſet on fire, they came forth and rendred. *Maxwell*, to repair his diſhonor, gathered in haſte as good as 2000 men, and entred into *Anandale* with diſplayed Banner, as the Kings Lieutenant, intending to raiſe the houſes of *Lochwood* and *Lockerby*. *Johnſton*, not equalling his forces, kept aloof, and, after the Border faſhion, ſent forth ſome prickers to ride and make provocation. Againſt them a number went out of *Maxwell*'s Army, who encountring with a great company were beaten and chaſed back to the ſtall or main hoſt, which by their breaking in was wholly diſordered. *Johnſton*, that ſtood in a piece of high ground, beholding the iſſue of the skirmiſh, took the advantage of their confuſion, and breaking upon them, without any reſiſtence made put them all to flight.

Johnſton preventeth the Lord *Maxwell*, and killeth Captain *Oliphant*.

Maxwell invadeth *Anandale*.

The Lord *Maxwell*, a tall man and heavy in armor, was in the chaſe overtaken and ſtriken from his horſe. The report went that he called to *Johnſton*, and deſired to be taken, as he had ſometime taken his Father; but was unmercifully uſed, and the hand that he reached forth cut off. But of this I can affirm nothing. There always the Lord *Maxwell* fell, having received many wounds. He was a Nobleman of great ſpirit, humane, courteous, and more learned then Noblemen commonly are; but aſpiring, and ambitious of Rule. His fall was pitied of many, for that he was not known to have done much wrong in his time; and was rather hurtful to himſelf then others.

The Lord *Maxwell* killed, 6. *Decem.*

The King took theſe news very hardly, that his Warden, a Nobleman bearing his Authority, ſhould be cut off in ſuch a manner, and he kept in ſuch a buſineſs, what with *Bothwell* on the one hand, and the Popiſh Lords on the other, as he could not take journey to thoſe parts; it grieved him exceedingly, always for quieting the Countrey, order was taken that the Lord *Hereis*, *Drumlanrig*, *Lagg* and ſome other Barons ſhould abide at *Dumfreis* with their friends, and be ready upon all occaſions to repreſs whatſoever Stirs might ariſe.

The Lord *Hereis* and Barons of the Countrey appointed to remain at *Dumfreis*.

The 18 of *January*, in a Convention of Eſtates called at *Halirudhouſe*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol* were declared to have amitted the benefit of the Act of Abolition, becauſe of their miſregard of his Majeſtie's favor, and not accepting of the benefit offered before the day prefixed. The King had uſed divers means to gain them, and would gladly upon aſſurance of their good behavior have winked at Crimes paſt; but all was in vain, the Jeſuites prevailing with their counſels, and feeding them ſtill with hopes of forein aid: whereupon charges were directed for entring their perſons in Ward, till trial was taken of the Accuſations laid againſt them. *Angus* was charged to enter in *Blackneſs*, *Huntley* in *Dumbriton*, and *Arrol* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and *Achindowne* in *Tantallon*; but none of them gave obedience.

A Convention of the Eſtates.

The Popiſh Lords declared to have loſt the benefit of Abolition.

Now the time of the Queen's lying in drawing near, the King went to *Striveling*

An. 1594. ſtood, and to propone ſuch remedies as in their judgement were fitteſt for preventing the ſame.

Both the one and the other were conceived in this form.

Petitions directed from the Church to the King.

The perils which oft before were threatned by the pernicious practices of Jeſuites, and the malicious, unnatural and treaſonable Conſpiracies of the Earl of *Huntley*, *Arrol* and *Angus* and their complices, in betraying their native Countrey to the cruel and mercileſs *Spaniard*, are no leſs urgent, and now more to be feared, then when the danger ſeemed to be greateſt, as may appear by the Reaſons following.

A Remonſtrance of the perils threatned to Religion.

1. It is certain that the *Spaniard*, who with ſo great preparations in the year 1588 enterpriſed the Conqueſt of the whole Iſle, retaineth the ſame intention, wanting an occaſion only to accompliſh his promiſe; as is manifeſt by the intelligence he hath kept with the Popiſh Lords, ever ſince the diſputation of that Navy.

2. The open Rebellion of the ſaid Lords at the bridge of *Falkland*, &c. with their continuance in the like Treaſonable attempts, notwithſtanding his Majeſtie's clemency in pardoning the ſame, doth evidence their obſtinacy in proſecuting the ſame Conſpiracies.

3. Whereas the Church hath not ceaſed at all occaſions to lay open theſe dangers, and humbly intreated that ſome remedy ſhould be provided, nothing hath been obtained; to the emboldening of the enemies in their practices and attempts.

4. Notwithſtanding that it was enacted in Council, that none ſhould preſume to requeſt for the ſaid Popiſh Lords, under the pain of loſing their places and Offices; yet none are in ſuch credit as their favorers, who contrary to their promiſes labour ſtill to procure them overſight and immunitie.

5. The Maſſes openly celebrated in the Houſe of *Balgawy* pertaining to Mr. *Walter Lindeſay*, the Houſe of *Birnes* appertaining to the young Laird of *Bonyton*, the Houſes of *Douglas*, *Strathbogy*, *Logyamont* and *Slains* pertaining to the ſaid Earls, do ſhew that either they think themſelves aſſured of favor in the Court, or of ſuch aſſiſtence in the Countrey as may maintain their cauſe, or then that they are perſuaded to be ſupplied by Strangers.

6. The Act of Oblivion offered to them, with the great diſcontent of all good ſubjects, would not have been rejected, except they had looked for greater favor and better conditions.

7. The diſobedience they have ſhewed in entering to their Wards when they were charged, doth prove that they think themſelves aſſured of the aid and concurrence of others.

8. The arriving of the *Spaniſh* Bark lately at *Montroſſe* declareth that they have ſome practice to be put in execution preſently, if the ſame ſhall not be timely prevented.

9. The open Conventions they keep ſince the arriving of the ſaid Bark do ſhew that they eſteem their Plots ſo ſubſtantially laid, as they regard not what can be done for reſiſting the ſame.

10. The diligence they uſe in preparing, and putting their friends and followers in arms, ſpecially in the North parts, is an argument of ſome enterpriſe they go about.

11. And laſt, whereas his Majeſty and Eſtates did upon the firſt diſcovery of their Plots and practices apprehend a great danger to Religion, the King's eſtate, and Liberty of the Countrey; notwithſtanding that the cauſe is not removed, there is no care taken to withſtand their courſes, which declareth that there is either a purpoſe to cover, extenuate and bear forth their wickedneſs, or that the Lord hath in his judgement blinded and hardened the hearts of all Eſtates, that while the danger is greateſt, they can neither ſee nor apprehend the ſame.

The

An. 1594.

The Remedies of the foreſaid Dangers were proponed, as followeth.

1. That the Parliament indicted to the 27 of the ſame moneth ſhould not be prorogated, but the time thereof preciſely kept, and the Popiſh Lords forfeited, and to that effect the Advocate ſufficiently inſtructed for maintaining the Relevancy of the Summons and Probation in due time provided. The Remedies of the Dangers.

2. That none ſuſpected in Religion be choſen upon the Articles.

3. That after the Forfeiture, they be purſued with all extremity, their Lands and Rents annexed to the Crown, and no part thereof diſponed in favors of the perſons forfeited.

4. That the Guard be imployed for apprehending Mr. *Walter Lindeſay* the Abbot of *New-Abbey*, *James Wood* of *Bonyton* younger, Mr. *George Ker*, (who had made an eſcape out of the Caſtle the year before) Mr. *Alexander Leſley*, *Thomas Tyrie*, and other Traffiquers and Jeſuites.

5. That the houſes of the Rebels be poſſeſſed, and their livings intrometted with, to his Majeſtie's uſe.

6. That all perſons be inhibited to reſſet, ſupply or entertain any intelligence with the ſaid Lords, eſpecially their vaſſals and dependers, and that none under whatſoever pretext contravene the ſame.

7. That the ſubjects be charged to put themſelves in arms by all good means, and be in readineſs to purſue and defend, as they ſhall be warned by his Majeſty, or otherwiſe upon urgent occaſions.

8. That the Bark arrived at *Montroſſe* be apprehended, and the perſons that were within her, with ſuch others as have had any dealing with them, and that they be examined diligently for the diſcovery of the practice they have preſently in hand.

Somewhat was adjected concerning the Lord *Hume*; but he compeiring in the ſame Aſſembly, gave ſatisfaction to the Church, and was abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication. All the remedies the King allowed, promiſing how ſoon the Forfeiture was paſt to follow forth the ſame: only at the 7 he took exception, where it was deſired that *the ſubjects ſhould put themſelves in arms upon urgent occaſions*; for he had not as yet forgotten the Stirs of the year preceding, and would have none to arm but upon his own Warrant. The Lord *Hume* reconciled to the Church.

Withal he ſent Sir *Robert Melvill* and *Alexander Hume* of North *Berwick* with certain inſtructions to the Aſſembly; whereof one was, *That they ſhould inhibit the Miniſters to utter any irreverent ſpeeches in Pulpit againſt his Majeſtie's Perſon, Council or Eſtate, under pain of Deprivation:* and becauſe one of their number, called *John Roſſe*, had in a Sermon preached before the Synod of *Perth* uttered divers treaſonable and irreverent ſpeeches of his Majeſty, it was craved that they ſhould cenſure him as his fault had deſerved. Another was, *That they ſhould excommunicate Mr.* Andrew Hunter, *for the ſcandal he had brought upon their Profeſſion, he being the firſt open Traitor of their Function againſt a Chriſtian King of their own Religion, and their natural Sovereign.* A third inſtruction was, *That by Act of Aſſembly Miniſters ſhould be ordained to diſſuade both by publick and private exhortation their Flocks from concurring with* Bothwell *in his treaſonable attempts, or any other that ſhould make inſurrection againſt the Authority eſtabliſhed by God in his Majeſtie's perſon.* The laſt was aſſented unto, and an Act made thereof: but the cenſure of the Miniſter *Roſſe* was carried more ſlightly, and he only admoniſhed to ſpeak in time coming ſo reverently and diſcreetly of his Majeſty, as there might be no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt him. *Hunter* was depoſed from the Miniſtery, as a deſertor of his Flock, and one ſuſpected to have joyned himſelf with the King's Rebels; but the Excommunication was not pronounced. Inſtructions ſent from the King to the Church and Aſſembly.

The Parliament did hold at the time appointed; yet becauſe the Noblemen convened ſlowly, 3 or 4 days were ſpent without doing any thing. In end, when by the excuſes that divers made a greater number was not expected, they that were preſent aſſembled in the Parliament-houſe, and keeping the form accuſtomed A Parliament wherein the Lords are forfeited.

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An. 1594. ed made choice of a number for the Articles: of Noblemen there were three Earls and ſix Lords only preſent. Beginning was made at the ſummons of Forfeiture, the Letters and Blanks intercepted with Mr. *George Ker* preſented, and the hand-writs cognoſced by witneſſes. Some queſtion there was about the Blanks, and that which ſhould have been inſert in them; but the preſumptions were ſo clear, as none would doubt what the ſubject ſhould have been. Yet the Noblemen urged a delay of the Trial to a more full Convention; which the King would not admit, knowing what miſinterpretings that would make: and ſo by pluralities of voices, the crimes of Treaſon were found to be ſufficiently proved, and the Sentence of Forfeiture pronounced againſt the three Earls and *Achindown*; their Scutcheons of Arms (as the manner is) torn by a Herauld, and they declared to have loſt their honors, lands and eſtates for Treaſonable practices againſt the King and their Native Countrey.

In this Parliament divers Statutes were concluded, ſome in favors of the Church, and others very beneficial to the Countrey: as the Statute made for puniſhment of Theft, Robbery and Oppreſſion; another againſt Uſury; and a third againſt buying of Pleas by Judges and other members of the Court of Juſtice.

The Baptiſm of Prince *Henry.*

The next moneth paſſed in receiving the Ambaſſadors that came to aſſiſt the Baptiſm, which in the latter end of *Auguſt* next was performed with great ſolemnity. From *England* the Earl of *Suſſex* was ſent; the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, & *Mecklenburg*, with the Eſtates of the united Provinces, had their Ambaſſadors preſent. But from the *French* King there came not any, though they alſo were expected at the day appointed for the Solemnity. The Prince was brought from his own Chamber to the Queen's Chamber of preſence, and laid in a bed dreſſed in a moſt ſtately form. The Ambaſſadors entered into the Chamber, the Counteſs of *Marre* accompanied with a number of Ladies took up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who preſented him to the Ambaſſadors. *Suſſex*, as having the firſt place, received him, and carried him in his arms to the Chappel; the reſt marching in their ranks, and followed by the Ladies of Honor, the Miſtreſs Nurſe, and others of inferior note. Before them went the Lord *Hume*, carrying the Ducal Crown, the Lord *Levingſton* carried the Towel or Napkin, the Lord *Seaton* the Baſon, and the Lord *Semple* the Laver. Above the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador there was a Pale or Canopy born by the Lairds of *Geſford*, *Buclerogh*, *Duddope* and *Traquier*. The Princes train was ſuſtained by the Lords *Sinclar* and *Urqhart*. In this manner they walked toward the Chappel, a guard of the youths of *Edinburgh* well arrayed ſtanding on each ſide of the way, and the trumpets ſounding.

Being entred the Chappel, the King aroſe from his Seat, and received the Ambaſſadors at the door of the Quire; and then was the Prince delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who gave him to the Nurſe. After which the Ambaſſadors were conveyed to their places, which were ordered in this manner: Upon the King's right hand a Chair was ſet for the *French* Ambaſſador, but this was empty; next to him the Ambaſſador of *Denmark* was placed; on the left the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and Lieger did ſit; and next after them the Ambaſſadors of *Brunſwick*, & *Mecklenburg*, and the States: every Chair had a Taſſel-boord covered with fine Velvet, and the Ambaſſador of *England* beſides the others had office-men ſtanding by him to wait.

The Service did then begin, and upon the end thereof the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aroſe and preſented the Prince to the Biſhop, who was appointed to adminiſter the Sacrament. This was Mr. *David Cunningham* Biſhop of *Aberdene*. The action finiſhed, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter at *Leith*, had a learned ſpeech in *French* to the Ambaſſadors. After which they returned to the Chappel in the ſame order that they came. Then was the Prince laid upon a Bed of Honor, and his Titles in this ſort proclaimed by the Lion Herauld; *Henry Frederick, Knight and Baron of* Renfrew, *Lord of the Iſles, Earl of* Carrick, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Prince and* Stewart *of* Scotland. This done, certain pieces of ſilver and gold were caſt forth at a window among the people, and a number of Knights created at night, (for it was in the

the afternoon that the Baptiſm was miniſtred.) The Ambaſſadors with their train and the Noblemen preſent were royally feaſted, nothing lacking that was required to ſuch a Triumph. The reſt of the moneth was ſpent in Plays, running at Tilt, and ſuch other exerciſes as might give delight to the Strangers. *An.* 1594

An Ambaſſador ſent to *England.*

Amidſt theſe joys the King, not forgetting his own ſerious affairs, ſent his Secretary Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clerkinton* to *England*, to deſire the Queen's aſſiſtence in purſuing the Popiſh Lords, according to the many promiſes made by the Lord *Zouche* and Mr. *Bowes*, that how ſoon he ſhould enter into action againſt them ſhe would have an honorable conſideration of him and his burthens: And that now the Sentence of Forfeiture being pronounced, it concerned him both in honor and ſafety not to permit their longer ſtay in the Realm. For the ſupport deſired and quantity thereof, he was commanded to follow the Inſtructions given to Sir *Robert Melvill* in his laſt Ambaſſage, and was injoyned to complain of one Mr. *Lock* his intertainment in the Court, who profeſſed himſelf an Agent for *Bothwell*; as likewiſe of Mr. *John Colvill* his publick reſidence in *Twedmouth*. In the laſt points he received ſatisfaction; and ſhortly after Mr. *John Colvill*, wearied of *Bothwell*'s courſes, by mediation of friends obtained his pardon. But for the matter of moneys, divers ſhifts and excuſes were made; only ſome part of the money was advanced, which was due otherwiſe to the King.

A new Conſpiracy of *Bothwell* and the Popiſh Lords.

In the beginning of *September* the Ambaſſadors were dimitted with many thanks, nor were they ſooner gone then a new Conſpiracy was detected. *Bothwell* having joyned himſelf with the Popiſh Lords, and received a part of the forein Gold ſent to them, did undertake to raiſe ſuch Perturbations in the South parts, as the King ſhould be compelled to relinquiſh the Expedition he intended to the North; and if he could apprehend his Perſon, to carry him to *Blackneſs*, (the Keeper whereof he had corrupted) and there detain him Captive, till they might come and make their own Conditions.

This enterpriſe was concluded in an Hoſtlary at the Church of *Menmure* in *Auguſt*, where *Huntley*, *Arrol*, *Angus*, *Bothwell*, *Achindown* and divers others convened and ſubcribed a Bond, which was given in cuſtody to Sir *James Scot* of *Balwery*. By the apprehenſion of Mr. *Allan Orme*, ſervant to *Bothwell*, and ſome Papers that were found with him, the whole purpoſe was diſcovered; which the King cauſed to be publiſhed, that people might ſee what truſt was to be given to *Bothwell*'s Religion.

Orme and *Cockeram* executed.

This Gentleman's caſe at his dying was greatly pitied, and much intreaty made as well for him as for *James Cockeram* keeper of *Blackneſs*: but the clemency ſhewed in former times to the followers of *Bothwell* was judged ſo hurtful, as the King againſt his nature was compelled to uſe rigor. Thus the two Gentlemen were condemned, and executed in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh* in the beginning of *October*.

Argile ſent with forces againſt the Lords.

Immediately after the Parliament, upon intelligence that thoſe in the Bark which had arrived at *Montroſſe* had brought with them ſome gold for ſupply of the Popiſh Lords, Commiſſion was given to the Earl of *Argile* and *Athol*, the Lord *Forbes* and a number of Barons, to go and expulſe them forth of the Countrey. But *Argile* being young, and the reſt declining the imployment till his forces or he himſelf ſhould take the fields, nothing was done. Whereupon Mr. *Robert Bruce* taking with him Mr. *James Balfour* made a journey to *Argile*, and partly upon promiſes of recompence from the Queen of *England*, partly upon hopes given that the lands of the Rebels ſhould be at his beſtowing, perſuaded the Earl to undertake the Commiſſion. So gathering his Forces he ſet forward about the end of *September*, and travelling through the Mountains came to *Badenoch* the 27 of that moneth, where he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Ruthven*; but this was by the *Clamphers* ſo ſtrongly defended as he was forced to leave the Siege, and turn unto the Low-lands for joyning with the Lord *Forbes*, the Lairds of *Buqhain*, *Drum* and *Mackenzes*, who were all preparing to meet him.

The number of forces on both ſides.

In his own company were the Lairds of *Tullibardin*, *Grant*, *Macklain*, *Mackintoſh*, *Clangregory*, and *Mackneil* of *Baray*, with their friends and followers, reckoned in whole

An. 1594. whole to 10000 and above. *Huntley* advertiſed of his coming did reſolve to fight him before his joyning with *Forbes* and thoſe of the Inland, and was thereunto encouraged by the Earl of *Arrol*, who brought with him a ſmall number of five or ſix ſcore at moſt, but reſolute Gentlemen all. They of *Huntley*'s part were thought not to exceed 900. With this ſmall number did he adventure, marching the firſt day from *Strathbogie* to *Achindown*, where he encamped the ſecond of *October*. Captain *Ker*, that had ſerved him many years, a man of good experience, being ſent the next morning to try what way *Argile* took, did quickly return, and ſhew that the enemy was at hand. The two Earls hereupon dividing their forces, *Arrol* took the leading of the Van-guard, wherein were 300; the reſt abode with *Huntley* and made the Battel.

The Battel of *Clenlivat.*

How ſoon the Forces came in ſight one of another, *Argile* was ſomewhat troubled, for he was made to believe he ſhould ſee no enemy; yet truſting to his numbers, he command *Macklain*, who had the leading of his Van, to advance: he himſelf keeping the advantage of the ground, made the Army ſtay on the ſide of a Hill which was full of Moſs and Bogs. *Huntley* carried with him certain Field-pieces, wherewith he plaid upon them in his approch, and therewith put them in great confuſion; for the High-landers caſting themſelves on the ground, as their cuſtom is, could hardly be raiſed ſo long as they heard the noiſe of the Ordnance. *Arrol* perceiving this made to give the Charge; but by reaſon of the ſteep aſcent he was driven to make a little compaſs, turning his ſide to the adverſaries, who by that time were got on foot, and reſuming a new courage did rain upon *Arrol* and his men in their paſſing ſuch a ſhower of Darts and Arrows, that, as they affirmed who were preſent, for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour the light of day was palpably eclipſed. *Achindown* was at this time killed, and *Arrol* dangerouſly wounded in his arm and leg: many had their horſes killed, and were compelled to take them to their feet.

Macklain, whoſe numbers were greater, environing *Arrol* and his company, held them ſo engaged betwixt himſelf and *Argile*, as they had been all cut in pieces, if *Huntley* had not with ſpeed come to their relief. But he perceived the danger, and charged with ſuch fury, as the Van and main of both Armies being joyned, they entred into a cruel fight, which continued almoſt two hours. In the end *Argile's* men were diſordered and put to rout. The Earl himſelf labored all he could to rally them again together, but it would not be; ſo amazed they were, as without once looking back down they went to the other ſide of the Hill with all the ſpeed they could make. *Macklain* with a few Iſles-men ſtood long unto it after the reſt were gone, and retired in good order with the ſmall company he had. *Huntley* purſued the chace to the foot of the Hill, though the ſteepneſs of it be ſuch that a man can ſcarce walk down it on foot; but the eagerneſs made all dangers forgotten. There in a little Burn or Brook called *Alwhaunachy* he had his horſe killed, and before he could be again mounted the enemy was gone to another Hill, whereas horſemen could not follow, and ſo the chace ceaſed. In this conflict *Argile* loſt two Couſens, *Archibald Campbell* of *Lochinzell*, his brother *James Campbell*, *Mackneill Baray*, and about 700 common-ſoldiers: on *Huntley*'s part, beſides his Uncle *Achindown*, 12 only were killed, but many were hurt and wounded.

The Defeat of *Argile.*

This Fight happened on Thurſday the 3 of *October* 1594, and is called by the countrey people *the Battel of Clenlivat*, albeit it was fought on a Hill three quarters of a mile diſtant. The Victory fell happily on *Huntley*'s ſide for the countrey people, who ſhould otherwiſe have been miſerably ſpoiled, if *Argile* with his Forces had prevailed.

The Lord *Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Buqhan* and *Drum*, that were advancing to aſſiſt *Argile*, upon advertiſement of his Defeat, and that he was turned back, made after him, thinking to perſuade him return. But by the way a Gentleman of the name of *Irwyn* being killed by the ſhot of a Piſtol in the dark of the night, there entered ſuch a diſtruſt and jealouſie amongſt them, none knowing who was the doer, as preſently they ſeparated and went home.

The King's Expedition to the North.

The King had the news of *Argile*'s Defeat brought him to *Dundee*, which made him haſten his journey to the North. The 16 of *October* he came to *Aberdene*, where counſel

counſel was taken for demoliſhing the Houſes of *Strathbogy*, *Slains* and *Newton*. In this ſervice the Earl of *Marſhall* was imployed, having ſome Companies of horſe and foot allowed him till the ſame was accompliſhed. *An.* 1595.

Huntley and *Arrol* during that time did lurk in *Sutherland*, thinking how ſoon the King returned South to come back into their Countreys; but the Duke of *Lennox* being left Lieutenant in thoſe parts, by the counſel and aſſiſtence of thoſe that were appointed to attend him, put them to ſuch extremity, as they made offer to depart forth of the Realm, and laid ſurety neither to return without his Majeſtie's licence, nor to practice againſt Religion and the State whileſt they ſtayed abroad. It was debated a while, whether or not ſuch a Capitulation might ſtand with the King's Honor; and his Majeſty being thereupon conſulted, in regard of the many difficulties that preſſed him in the time, and that it made for the quietneſs of the Kingdom to have them put away, the ſurety offered was accepted: which done, the Duke of *Lennox*, having ſtayed in thoſe parts three moneths, returned about the third of *February* to *Edinburgh*. The Lords give ſurety for departing the Realm, &c.

Bothwell now was in miſerable plight, being hated of the Queen of *England* for his combining with the Popiſh Lords, Excommunicated by the Church, and forſaken of his fellows, eſpecially Mr. *John Colvill*, who had followed him in all his Troubles, and knew the places of his reſſet; for he had made his peace, and (as the rumor went) betrayed *Hercules Stewart*, *Bothwell*'s Brother, who the ſame time was executed publickly in the Street of *Edinburgh*. Theſe things did ſo increaſe his fears as, not knowing whom to truſt, he ſtole away privately to *France*. The King hearing that he was gone, & had taken land at *New-haven* in *Normandy*, ſent a Gentleman to the *French* King, to demand him as one who was declared a Traitor; and if that was denied, to deſire that he might be baniſhed *France*. The anſwer of the *French* King was, *That he ſhould give him no Countenance; but ſince he had taken his refuge thither, he could not but ſuffer him enjoy the free aire of his Countrey*. Some moneths he remained there, till either wearied of the bad entertainment he found, or, as it was ſaid, for challenging a Gentleman to combate, againſt the King's Edict, he was forced to quit thoſe parts and fly into *Spain*: from thence he went to *Naples*, where he lived in a poor eſtate unto his death, which happened ſome years after the King his going into *England*. *Bothwell* fleeth into *France*. His Brother executed. *Bothwell* ſhifteth to *Spain* and *Naples*.

How ſoon *Bothwell* was gone, all his followers did ſue for Pardon. Sir *James Scot* of *Balwery* offering to exhibit the Bond made at the Church of *Menmure* betwixt *Bothwell* and the Popiſh Lords, which he had in cuſtody, was brought before the Council, and having produced the ſame, laid open all their Plots. By his depoſition it appeared that Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot* was the principal worker of that Agreement. Whereupon the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* were called, and the Bonds ſhewed unto them, bearing a mutual concurrence in all things, Religion not excepted. Whereupon they were deſired to pronounce *Spot* Excommunicated, as one that had made defection from the Truth, & was otherwiſe ſuſpected of hainous crimes: But they excuſing themſelves, the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly were called to meet at *Striveling*, where after ſome debating, the Sentence was pronounced againſt him. *Balwery*, after a few days impriſoned, was ſet at liberty and remitted, but never proſpered after that time, and ruined his Houſe utterly, for an enſample to all that will be medling with Factious and Seditious Rebels. The Bond betwixt the Popiſh Lords and *Bothwell* exhibited. Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot* excommunicated.

The year following an Aſſembly of the Church was kept at *Montroſſe* in the moneth of *June*, where the Commiſſioners for the King did urge theſe Articles. First, *Whoſoever did meddle or practice in any Treaſonable enterpriſe againſt his Majeſtie's Perſon and Eſtate, being found and declared culpable by Law, they ſhould likewiſe incur the ſentence of Excommunication, that ſo there might be an inſeparable union betwixt the two Swords*. Secondly, *That no Excommunication ſhould be pronounced at the appetite of particular men, but that a ſufficient number of the Church ſhould be firſt aſſembled, and the ſame determined by publick conſent*. Thirdly, *That none ſhould be Excommunicated for Civil cauſes, crimes of light importance, or particular wrongs of Miniſters, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall into contempt, and become like the Pope's Curſing*. Fourthly, *That no ſummary* *An.* 1595. An Aſſembly of the Church at *Montroſſe*. Articles ſent from the King to the Aſſembly.

An. 1595. *Excommunication ſhould be thenceforth uſed, but that lawful Citation of parties ſhould go before in all cauſes whatſoever.*

The Aſſemblies anſwer.

To the firſt the Aſſembly agreed, with the clauſe *Legitima cognitione Eccleſiaſtica præeunte.* To the ſecond they likewiſe condeſcended. But to the third and fourth they anſwered, that thoſe being Points of great weight, and craved a mature deliberation, could not on the ſudden be determined; and ſo continued the reſolution thereof to the next Aſſembly, diſcharging in the mean time any ſummary Excommunication to be uſed, with this exception, *Niſi ſalus Eccleſiæ periclitetur.* The exception diſpleaſed the King, for he thought it would ſerve the turbulent ſort for a colour to all their proceedings.

The Queen ſeeketh to have the Prince in cuſtody.

But there fell out in the mean time a buſineſs which made all theſe things be forgotten. The Queen, moved by ſome that envied the Earl of *Marre* his credit, labored to have the Prince her Son in her own cuſtody, and had drawn the Chancellor and divers of the Council to promiſe their aſſiſtence. Advertiſement given of this to the King, who was then at *Falkland*, he came to the Queen at *Halirudhouſe*, and inhibiting any of the Council to come towards him till he ſhould call them, dealt ſo with the Queen, that he diverted her from that courſe, and made her go and remain at *Striveling*. How ſoon ſhe was gone, calling the Chancellor and ſuch of the Council as were ſuſpected to have ſuffered her in thoſe conceipts, he ſhewed himſelf much diſpleaſed, and chiding them bitterly followed the Queen to *Striveling*; where he remained not long, but, returning to *Falkland*, he left to the Earl of *Marre* a Warrant written with his own hand, and conceived in this form. *My Lord of* Marre, *becauſe in the ſurety of my Son conſiſteth my ſurety, and I have concredited unto you the charge of his keeping upon the truſt I have of your honeſty, this I command you out of my own mouth, * being in the company of thoſe I like; otherwiſe for any charge or neceſſity that can come from me you ſhall not deliver him. And in caſe God call me at any time, ſee that neither for the Queen nor Eſtates their pleaſure you deliver him till he be* 18 *years of age, and that he command you himſelf.* Striveling *the* 24 *of* July 1595. This Warrant, as it ſhewed the King's diſpleaſure at thoſe that had combined in the Plots, ſo it declared the great truſt he put in the Nobleman.

The King diverteth her from that courſe.

The King's Letter to the Earl of *Marre* for receiving the Prince.

The Chancellor contracteth ſickneſs and dieth.

Shortly after the Chancellor, taking to heart the King's offence, contracted a hearty ſickneſs at his houſe of *Lawder*, and ſending his Couſin the Secretary to the King, who remained then at *Hamilton*, did by him excuſe the dealing in that matter, and with a ſolemn proteſtation of his Fidelity in all his Majeſtie's ſervices, ſeriouſly commend his Lady, children and friends, now that he was to end his life, to his Majeſtie's protection. The King was much troubled with the news, and wrote unto him with his own hand the Letter following. *Chancellor, how ſorry I am of theſe news I leave it to your ſelf to judge; I was never a diſſembler of my affections. And yet I truſt that God will not ſpoil me of you ſo untimely. Therefore will pray you, ſo far as you may, with a valiant heart reſiſt the aſſaults of your ſickneſs, hoping in the goodneſs of my fortune that God will reſerve you yet to me, as* Hezekiah *was to his people; for the neceſſity between Prince and ſubject is reciproque: nor can any ſickneſs, how heavy ſoever it be, take away the life, if God cut not the threds thereof. As to your ſuits, if God calls you, I need no remembrance: for ſince I made you a pattern of my conſtant Favor during your life, (as your ſelf hath oft time ſaid) I am much more bound of Princely duty to make your Wife and poſterity, that bears your image, a vive repreſentation of my thankful memory. And to comfort you in this, remember what I have done to the Duke, and my Lady* Huntley, *for their Fathers ſake. This may aſſure you, that in caſe of the worſt, (which God forbid) your thoughts ſhall be prevented herein by my thankful behavior to them: and for your Couſin the Secretary, he ſhall be the better at my hand in loſing you. But I green to hear better news: And if time and diſtance of place could have permitted me in any way, I ſhould not have ſpared to have carried my own meſſage my ſelf. God ſend you your health, and keep you to me and to your Native Countrey.*

The King's Letter to the Chancellor.

The Chancellor his Qualities.

This ſhewed in what account the King held him: and in truth he deſerved nothing leſs; for he was a man of rare parts, and of a deep wit, learned, full of courage, and moſt faithful to his King and Maſter. In that laſt buſineſs which the Queen went about, of taking the Prince from the Earl of *Marre*, he was conſenting;

(for

(for the two Noblemen had their private emulations, but it was ever with a reſervation of his Majeſtie's pleaſure.) No man did ever carry himſelf in his place more wiſely, nor ſuſtain it more courageouſly againſt his enemies, then he did. Being viſited in his ſickneſs by Mr. *Robert Bruce* and the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, he expreſſed a great contempt of the world and of the vanities of it, lamenting that he had not done the good which he would and might have done in his place, being impeded, as he ſaid, by the malice of his adverſaries, who were ever plotting his death and ruine. Two moneths he continued under that languiſhing ſickneſs, and ended his days moſt happily the 3 of *October*, 1595. The King did greatly lament his death, and honored him with this Epitaph. *An.* 1595.

His Epitaph written by the King.

Thou paſſenger that ſpies with gazing eyes
This Trophie ſad of Death's triumphant Dart,
Conſider when this outward Tombe thou ſees,
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part.
His wiſdom and his uprightneſs of heart,
His piety, his practice of our State,
His quick Engine ſo verſt in every Art,
As equally not all were in debate.
Thus juſtly hath his death brought forth of late
An heavy grief in Prince and Subjects all
That Vertue love, and Vice do bear at hate,
Though vitious men rejoyces at his fall.
So for himſelf moſt happy doth he die,
Though for his Prince it moſt unhappy be.

Others for all this ſpared not to expreſs their malice in Libels and Rhythms after his death; ſome whereof were caſt in the King's Chamber at *Linlithgow* and other places: but as the Authors were not known, ſo were the Rhythms deſpiſed and contemned by all good men. His Body was ſome days after conveyed to *Hadington*, and ſolemnly interred in the Sepulchre of his fathers.

Great Dearth of Corns, and great Bloodſhed in the Countrey.

This year was by the vulgar people reckoned among the ill years, becauſe of the Dearth and ſcarcity of Corns, which the abundance of winds in the Harveſt-time had cauſed: yet for the Bloodſhed and ſlaughters committed in all quarters of the Countrey was it more juſtly to be ſo accounted. For in the South parts the *Johnſtons* and *Maxwells* had a bloody conflict, wherein divers were killed; the greateſt loſs falling upon the *Maxwells* that went from the Weſt parts beſides *Glaſgow* to aſſiſt their friends in the South.

David Forreſter Citizen of *Striveling* treacherouſly betrayed.

In the Iſles and High-lands were likewiſe great Troubles: nor was the Incountrey more quiet, bloods and ſlaughters daily falling out in every place. Among which none was more odious then the ſlaughter of *David Forreſter*, Citizen of *Striveling*, killed as he was returning from *Edinburgh* by ſome that lay in wait for his life. The Lairds of *Arth* and *Dunnypearce* were thought to have hounded out the committers, upon a ſpleen conceived againſt the Gentleman for the credit he had with his Maſter the Earl of *Marre*: for no other quarrel could be pretended. The Nobleman, taking this greatly to heart, cauſed to bring the body of his ſervant to *Linlithgow*, (for he was killed nigh to *Linlithgow*) and with his whole friendſhip conveyed the ſame to *Striveling* there to be interred, carrying along the pourtraict of the dead with the wounds he had received in a white ſheet, to move the beholders to a great deteſtation of the fact. The Corps buried, and the Earl following the courſe of Law, the Lords *Levingſton* and *Elphinſton* did party the Committers. And though the King by his Proclamation did prohibit the aſſiſting either of the purſuit or defenders, commanding Juſtice to be done, nothing could take effect in that troubleſome time; ſo powerful was the combination of parties. But that which by the ordinary way of Juſtice could not as then be required, we have ſeen ſince viſibly puniſhed in the fall and ruine of thoſe Families, for a leſſon to all men to fly and abhor the ſhedding of innocent blood.

An. 1595. The year preceding the King had directed, as we ſhewed, Sir *Richard Cockborn* of *Clerkington* his Secretary to *England*, and amongſt other inſtructions willed him to urge the payment of the moneys which the Lord *Zouch* and Mr. *Bowes* the Queen's Ambaſſadors had often promiſed. Wherein finding nothing but delays, and his neceſſities daily growing, he reſolved to look to his own Eſtate at home, and order his Revenues to the beſt profit. For this effect he made choice of eight perſons to rule the affairs of the Exchequer. Theſe were *Alexander* Lord *Urqhart*, Preſident of the College of Juſtice, *Walter* Commendator of *Blantire*, Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. *David Carnegy* of *Colluthie*, Mr. *John Lindeſay* Parſon of *Menmure*, and *James Elphingſton* of *Innernaugty*, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* of *Dummany*, Mr. *John Sken* Clerk of Regiſter, all Senators of the College of Juſtice, and Mr. *Peter Young* of *Seaton* his Elemoſynar.

A Commiſſion to eight of the Council to rule the Exchequer.

To theſe eight or any five of them was intruſted "the full and free adminiſtrati-
"on of the whole Rents and Duties pertaining to the Offices of Controllery and
"Collectory, reſigned and committed by the four Officers in his Majeſtie's hands,
"with power to deprive and diſcharge all inferior Chamberlains, Under-colle-
"ctors, Cuſtomers, Secretaries, Intrometters whatſoever with any of the ſaid
"Rents, all inferior Clerks of the ſaid Offices; and to appoint new Clerks, Re-
"ceivers and Intrometters with the ſame, (excepting only the Office of the
"Clerk of Regiſter his fees, privileges, and other commodities belonging to him
"or any of his Predeceſſors) to hear and exact account of Steward, Sheriffs, Bay-
"liffs, Provoſt of Burghs, Cuſtomes, Clerks of Cocquet, Searchers, Cham-
"berlains, Receivers, Factors and Intrometters with the Farms, Males, Pro-
"fits and Duties, Caves, Cuſtomes, Fiſhings, Cole-pits, Parks, Steadings,
"Orchards, and other Rents of the property annexed of old and of new, or un-
"annexed, and belonging any way to the Patrimony of the Crown; as alſo to
"hear the unmade accounts of the Treaſurer and his Deputies, the General and
"Warden of the Coin, and Taskmen and laborers of the Mines and Metals, the
"Collectors of the Taxation, the Maſter of the Wardrobe, Jewels and movables,
"the Maſter of the work, the munition and pleniſhing of Caſtles, the Monks
"portions, the payment of the Guard and men of War, the Rents of Colleges,
"Hoſpitals, Schools and Students, the common good of Burghs, the Dowry of
"whole moneys appertaining to the King, as well within the Realm as coming
"from other parts, and to allow or refuſe allowance thereof as they ſhould find
"meet: with power likewiſe to appoint and ſet Fines and Penalties for offences,
"to make and ſet down the prices of Wines, Victuals and Corns yearly, to put
"an order to his Majeſtie's houſe and Eſquiery and Stable, and make proviſion
"therefore; to repair the decayed Cuſtoms, appoint the order of uplifting the
"ſame, and to rowpe and ſet them to the beſt profit; to conſider the ſtate of the
"preſent Coin, and therein direct what they ſhould think requiſite; to aſſiſt the
"Treaſurer and the Compoſitors in the expeding of Signatures, and that without
"their advice nothing ſhould paſs; to examine the diligence of Sheriffs and other
"inferior Judges with their Officers, and negligence; to correct and puniſh the
"faults of Officers of Arms; to compone, tranſact or uplift the Eſcheats of per-
"ſons denounced to the Horn; and generally to do and perform all things proper
"to the Exchequer: they enjoying ſuch places in Council and Parliament, as the
"Officers thereof had in former times, with all the power, privileges, honors and
"immunities that belonged thereto, either by Acts of Parliament or by Conſue-
"tude of the Realm.

The tenor of the Commiſſion.

The King did further promiſe *in verbo Principis* "not to joyn any more to the
"preſent Commiſſion at any time hereafter; and in caſe a place fell void by de-
"ceaſe of any of the preſent Commiſſioners, to receive and admit none but by
"advice and conſent of thoſe that remained alive; as alſo not to ſign any Letter or
"Signature concerning the diſpoſition of any of the Rents of property, collectory,
"or new augmentations, confirmatives or ratifications of any former gifts, diſpo-
"ſitions, penſions, or inveſtments, or licences for tranſporting of forbidden goods,
"unleſs the ſame were firſt heard, allowed and ſubſcribed by the ſaid Lords, or
any

The King his promiſe to the Commiſſioners.

"any five of them, ſitting in Council by way of Action, Exception or Reply, not- *An.* 1595.
"withſtanding the Seals were appended thereto. The Keepers whereof were diſ-
"charged to append any Signet or Seal, except the Letters or Signatures were
"ſubſcribed in manner above rehearſed, under the pain of loſing their Offices.
"Moreover it was declared that the ſaid Lords ſhould have power to direct Letters
"of Horning, Poynding and Caption upon their own Acts and Decretes; and that
"no ſuſpenſion of any charges for ingathering any part of the Patrimony ſhould
"paſs, except in Exchequer or Seſſion, three of the ſaid Lords ſubſcribing the ſame.

The Lords again made faith, "That the next unto God and good Conſcience The Commiſ-
"they ſhould in all things reſpect his Majeſtie's weal, honor, and advancement of ſioners make
"his Revenue, and neither for tenderneſs of blood, commodity to themſelves, awe faith.
"or fear of any perſon, conſent to the diſpoſition of any part of the Patrimony
"whereby his Majeſtie's profits might be diminiſhed; and that they ſhould not give
"their conſents ſeverally, but being aſſembled, at leaſt five of them, in Exchequer;
"under proteſtation, that the accepting of the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould not be a
"reaſon of declining them in Action that concerned his Majeſty, ſeeing they did
"neither receive fee, nor were intrometters with any part of the Rents, but only
"directed the Receivers and Collectors of the ſame.

This Commiſſion approved by the Lords of Council was publiſhed at the mark- Exception
et-Croſs of *Edinburgh* the 12 of *January* 1595 divers excepting at the ampleneſs of taken at the
it, and ſaying, *That the King had left nothing to himſelf but the naked Title of a King,* ampleneſs of
and put all his power and means in the hands of others, ſo as ſubjects were to expect no bene- the Commiſ-
fit nor reward from him. The Courtiers, they eſpecially of the Bed-chamber, did ſion.
grudge exceedingly, that all occaſion to do good to themſelves or their friends was The Commiſ-
this way cut off. Nor was it long before theſe Commiſſioners became extremely ſioners poſſeſs
diſliked, partly for their ſtrict dealing with the ſubjects, and partly for drawing themſelves
all the Offices into their own hands. Beginning was made at Mr. *David Macgill* with Offices
Advocate, whom they preſſed to dimit and reſign his Office by reaſon of his age of Eſtate.
and imbecillity, as they pretended; and when by no perſuaſion he could be moved unto it, they did aſſociate with him in office Mr. *Thomas Hamilton*, one of their own number; which bred him ſuch a grief, as ſhortly after he ended his days. Next they fell upon the Maſter of *Glammi*'s Treaſurer, and his Deputy Sir *Robert Melvill*, and by examining their Accompts found them liable in ſuch ſums to the King, as to obtain a *Quietus eſt* they were glad to reſign the Treaſurer, which was beſtowed on the Prior of *Blantire*. Then did they labor the Secretary Sir *Richard Cockborne* to reſign his place, and exchange it with the office of Privy-Seal, which *Blantire* had dimitted in favor of Mr. *John Lindeſay*. This was eaſily effected, the Gentleman not liking to contend or fall in queſtion with them. The Office of the Collectory, reſigned by the Provoſt of *Linclowden*, was given to Mr. *James Elphinſton*. The Preſident they intended to make Chancellor; but to this the King would not condeſcend, knowing how he ſtood affected in Religion, and that his preferment to that chief place would open the mouths of the Miniſters, and raiſe a clamor in the Countrey. Theſe proceedings did work them much hatred, and (as is the lot of thoſe that rule in Eſtates) whatſoever was amiſs they carried the blame, albeit in many things they were innocent.

The next year begun with a Trouble in the Borders, which was like to have de- *An.* 1596.
ſtroyed the Peace betwixt the two Realms, and aroſe upon this occaſion. The Lord *Scroop* being then Warden of the Weſt-Marches of *England*, and the Laird of *Bacleugh* having the charge of *Lidiſdale*, they ſent their Deputies to keep a day of Truce for redreſs of ſome ordinary matters. The place of meeting was at the *Dayholme* of *Kerſhop*, where a ſmall Brook divideth *England* from *Scotland*, and *Lidiſdale* from *Baw* Caſtle. There met as Deputy for the Laird of *Bacleugh Robert Scott* of *Hayninge*; and for the Lord *Scroop*, a Gentleman within the Weſt-Wardenry, called Mr. *Salkeld*. Theſe two, after Truce taken and proclaimed, as the cuſtom was, by ſound of Trumpet, met friendly, and upon mutual redreſs of ſuch wrongs as were then complained of, parted in good terms, each of them taking his way homewards. Meanwhile it happened one *William Armſtrong*, commonly

An. 1596. called *Will of Kinmouth*, to be in company with the *Scottiſh* Deputy, againſt whom the *Engliſh* had a quarrel for many wrongs he had committed, as he was indeed a notorious Thief. This man having taken his leave of the *Scots* Deputy, and riding down the River of *Liddell* on the *Scottiſh* ſide towards his own houſe, was purſued by the *Engliſh* that eſpied him from the other ſide of the River, and after a chaſe of three or four miles taken priſoner, and brought back to the *Engliſh* Deputy, who carried him away to the Caſtle of *Carlile*.

William Armſtrong, called *Will of Kinmouth*, taken Priſoner.

The Laird of *Bacleugh* complaineth of the breach of Truce.

The Laird of *Bacleugh* complaining of the breach of Truce, (which was always taken from the time of meeting unto the next day at Sun-riſing) wrote to Mr. *Salkeld*, and craved redreſs. He excuſed himſelf by the abſence of the Lord *Scroop*. Whereupon *Bacleugh* ſent to the Lord *Scroop*, and deſired the Priſoner might be ſet at liberty without any Bond or condition, ſeeing he was unlawfully taken. *Scroop* anſwered, that he could do nothing in the matter, it having ſo happened, without a direction from the Queen and Council of *England*, conſidering the man was ſuch a Malefactor. *Bacleugh* loath to inform the King of what was done, leſt it might have bred ſome miſliking betwixt the Princes, dealt with Mr. *Bowes* the Reſident Ambaſſador of *England* for the Priſoner's liberty; who wrote very ſeriouſly to the Lord *Scroop* in that buſineſs, adviſing him to ſet the man free, and not to bring the matter to a farther hearing. But no anſwer was returned: the matter thereupon was imparted to the King, and the Queen of *England* ſolicited by Letters to give direction for his liberty; yet nothing was obtained. Which *Bacleugh* perceiving, and apprehending both the King, and himſelf as the King's Officer, to be touched in honor, he reſolved to work the Priſoner's relief by the beſt means he could.

No ſatisfaction made, *Bacleugh* ſets the Priſoner at liberty.

And upon intelligence that the Caſtle of *Carlile*, wherein the Priſoner was kept, was ſurpriſable, he imployed ſome truſty perſons to take a view of the Poſtern-gate, and meaſure the height of the Wall, which he meant to ſcale by Ladders; and if thoſe failed, to break through the Wall with ſome iron inſtruments, and force the Gates. This done ſo cloſely as he could, he drew together ſome 200 horſe, aſſigning the place of meeting at the Tower of *Morton*, ſome ten miles from *Carlile*, an hour before ſun-ſet. With this company paſſing the water of *Esk* about the falling, two hours before day he croſſed *Eden* beneath *Carlile* bridge, (the water through the rain that had fallen being thick) and came to the *Sacery*, a plain under the Caſtle: There making a little halt at the ſide of a ſmall Bourn which they call *Cadage*, he cauſed 80 of the company to light from their horſes, and take the Ladders and other inſtruments which he had prepared with them. He himſelf accompanying them to the foot of the Wall, cauſed the Ladders to be ſet to it; which proving too ſhort, he gave order to uſe the other inſtruments for opening the Wall nigh the Poſtern, and finding the buſineſs like to ſucceed, retired to the reſt whom he had left on horſeback, for aſſuring thoſe that entred upon the Caſtle againſt any eruption from the Town. With ſome little labor a breach was made for ſingle men to enter, and they who firſt went in brake open the Poſtern for the reſt. The watchmen and ſome few the noiſe awaked made a little reſtraint, but they were quickly repreſſed and taken Captive. After which they paſſed to the Chamber wherein the Priſoner was kept, and having brought him forth, ſounded a Trumpet, which was a ſignal to them without that the enterpriſe was performed. My Lord *Scroop* and Mr. *Salkeld* were both within the Houſe, and to them the Priſoner cried a Good night. The Captives taken in the firſt encounter were brought to *Bacleugh*, who preſently returned them to their Maſter, and would not ſuffer any ſpoil or booty, as they term it, to be carried away: he had ſtreightly forbidden to break open any door but that where the Priſoner was kept, though he might have made prey of all the goods within the Caſtle, and taken the Warden himſelf Captive; for he would have it ſeen that he did intend nothing but the reparation of his Majeſtie's Honor. By this time the Priſoner was brought forth, the Town had taken the Alarm, the Drums were beating, the Bells ringing, and a Beacon put on the top of the Caſtle, to give warning to the Countrey. Whereupon *Bacleugh* commanded thoſe that entred the Caſtle and the Priſoner to horſe, and marching again by the *Sacery*, made to the River at the Stony bank; on the other ſide whereof certain were aſſembled to ſtop

The Caſtle of *Carlile* ſurpriſed, and the Priſoner freed.

his

his paſſage: but he cauſing ſound the Trumpet took the River, day being then broken; and they chuſing to give him way, he retired in order through the *Grahams* of *Esk*, (men at that time of great power and his unfriends) and came back into *Scottiſh* ground two hours after Sun-riſing, and ſo homewards. *An.* 1596.

This fell out the 13 of *April* 1596. The Queen of *England* having notice ſent her of what was done ſtormed not a little: One of her chief Caſtles ſurpriſed, a Priſoner taken forth of the hands of the Warden and carried away, ſo far within *England*, ſhe eſteemed a great affront. The Lieger Mr. *Bows* in a frequent Convention kept at *Edinburgh* the 22 of *May* did, as he was charged, in a long Oration aggravate the hainouſneſs of the fact, concluding that Peace could not longer continue betwixt the two Realms, unleſs *Bacleugh* were delivered in *England* to be puniſhed at the Queen's pleaſure. *Bacleugh* compeiring and charged with the fact made anſwer, *That he went not into* England *with intention to aſſault any of the Queen's Houſes, or to do wrong to any of her Subjects, but only to relieve a ſubject of* Scotland *unlawfully taken, and more unlawfully detained*: *That in the time of a general aſſurance, in a day of Truce, he was taken Priſoner againſt all order, neither did he attempt his relief till redreſs was refuſed: and That he had carried the buſineſs in ſuch a moderate manner, as no Hoſtility was committed, nor the leaſt wrong offered to any within the Caſtle. Yet was he content, according to the ancient Treaties obſerved betwixt the two Realms, whenas mutual injuries were alleged, to be tried by the Commiſſioners that it ſhould pleaſe their Majeſtie's to appoint, and ſubmit himſelf to that which they ſhould decern.* The Convention eſteeming the Anſwer reaſonable did acquaint the Ambaſſador therewith, and offered to ſend Commiſſioners to the Borders with all diligence to treat with ſuch as the Queen ſhould be pleaſed to appoint for her part.

The Queen of *England* greatly offended with the enterpriſe.

This matter debated in Council.

But ſhe not ſatisfied with the Anſwer refuſed to appoint any Commiſſioners; whereupon the Council of *England* did renew the Complaint in *July* thereafter, and the buſineſs being of new agitated, it was reſolved of as before, and that the ſame ſhould be remitted to the trial of Commiſſioners: the King proteſting, *That he might with great reaſon crave the delivery of the Lord* Scroop *for the injury committed by his Deputy; it being leſs favorable to take a Priſoner, then relieve him that is unlawfully taken: yet for the continuing of Peace he would forbear to do it, and omit nothing on his part that could be deſired either in equity, or by the laws of friendſhip.* The Borderers in the meantime making daily Incurſions one upon another filled all their parts with Trouble, the *Engliſh* being continually put to the worſe; neither were they made quiet till, for ſatisfying the Queen, the Laird of *Bacleugh* was firſt committed in S. *Andrews*, and afterwards entered in *England*, where he remained not long.

The Trouble quieted by *Bacleugh* in *England*.

At the ſame time, for bringing the Iſles to obedience, Colonel *Stewart* was imployed to levy 1000 men, every Shire furniſhing 20 horſemen and 30 foot, or ſo much money as would ſuſtain them, allowing the horſemen 24 pounds monthly, and the foot 12 pound beſides the ſupply of the free Burghs. Theſe Companies were appointed to meet at *Dumbalton* the 20 of *Auguſt*, for aiding the King or his Lieutenant for the ſpace of 40 days, according to the cuſtoms, and when the days were come were commanded to follow the Colonel, as deſigned Lieutenant aſſigned by the King. But upon the bruit of this Expedition the principals of the Iſles did all ſubmit themſelves, offering obedience to appear before the King at the time his Majeſty ſhould appoint: ſo that Expedition ceaſed, the Colonel going no farther then *Ila*, where he remained a few days, and took aſſurance for their appearance.

Col. *Stewart* deſign'd Lieutenant for the Iſles.

In the *March* preceding the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, for conſulting upon the dangers threatned to Religion by the Invaſion of the *Spaniard*, which was then generally noiſed. Some brethren directed to lay open the perils to his Majeſty, returned with this anſwer; *That albeit there was no great cauſe to fear any ſuch Invaſion at that time, yet they ſhould do well to give their advice as if the danger were at hand, which would ſerve when neceſſity did require.* The Aſſembly upon this thought meet to enter into conſideration both of the Dangers and Remedies; and firſt to enquire upon the Cauſes that had provoked God to threaten the Realm with that tyrannous Nation, to the end the ſame might be removed: then to deliberate how by ordinary lawful means the Enemy ſhould be reſiſted.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

A ſearch of the cauſes of the preſent fear of Invaſion.

The

An. 1596. The Cauſes they condeſcended to be Sins of all Eſtates, & eſpecially the Sins of the Miniſtery; which they held beſt ſhould be penned and drawn to certain Heads, that the Corruptions being laid open, the Remedies might be the better provided. For this work ſome of the brethren were named & ſet apart, who after a day or two preſented in writing a number of Articles touching the Corruption of Miniſters as well in their Offices as in their Lives and Manners; the Offences in the King's Houſe, in the Court and in the Judgement-ſeats; the defection and Faults commune to all Eſtates: and the Remedies which in their opinion were fit to be uſed.

A new Covenant made by the Miniſters for abiding to the profeſſion of the Truth, and living according to the ſame.

The Aſſembly allowing their labors, and acknowledging their own guiltineſs in that which concerned themſelves, ordained a day of Humiliation to be kept on Tueſday the week following by the Miniſters that were there preſent, for reconciling themſelves to God, and making up a new Covenant for the better diſcharge of their duties.

This is the Covenant that by ſome is ſo often objected, and ſaid to be violated by thoſe that gave obedience to the Canons of the Church, albeit in it there is not a word or ſyllable that ſounds either to confirming of the Church-government then in uſe, or to the rejecting of that which ſince hath been eſtabliſhed. But when other Arguments fail them, ſomewhat muſt be ſaid to entertain the conceipts of the popular. By this Covenant all did bind themſelves to abide in the profeſſion of the Truth, and to walk according to the ſame, as God ſhould enable them. But for the rules of Policy or Ceremonies ſerving to good order or decency, let inſpection be taken of the Regiſter which is extant, and it ſhall plainly appear, that at the time there was not ſo much as any mention thereof made.

Advice for reſiſting the enemies of Religion.

But to proceed: The advices they gave for reſiſting the practices of the Enemy were, *That all who had kithed in action with the Popiſh Lords ſhould enter their perſons in Ward, till aſſurance was given that they ſhould neither keep intelligence with the Rebels, nor joyn with them in caſe they did return into the Countrey. That the rents and livings of the Rebels ſhould be uplifted for entertainment of Soldiers, and ſupporting other neceſſary affairs. That in every Pariſh Captains ſhould be choſen for the muſtering and training of men in Arms, and ſome Commanders in every Shire appointed for convening the County at needful occaſions. Laſtly, that they who were Sureties for the good behavior of the Rebels without the Realm ſhould be called, and to pay the ſums contained in their Bonds.*

The King deſireth to have the Noblemen reclaimed.

This advice preſented to the King went much againſt his mind; for his deſire was to have the baniſhed Lords reclaimed and brought to obedience, which he eſteemed to be the greateſt aſſurance both of his own peace and the Countrie's quiet: therefore did he only anſwer, That *if it could be proved that the Lords ſince their departing from* Scotland *had trafficked with Strangers to the prejudice of Religion or State, they ſhould be uſed with all extremity; but otherwiſe neither could their Cautioners be convicted, nor would he change the courſe which he had kept with their Wives and Children.* Not long before this Aſſembly the King had communicated his mind to Mr. *Robert Bruce* touching that buſineſs, hoping that by the ſway he carried in thoſe Meetings ſome ſuch Propoſitions as tended to the reclaiming of the baniſhed Lords ſhould have been made by the Aſſembly; but finding his expectation not anſwered, he brake to him the matter of new, and ſhewed *how greatly it concerned his Eſtate to have them reduced and called home: That the Queen of* England *was grown old, and if any ſhould after her death withſtand his Title, he would have need of his ſubjects aſſiſtence: And that having ſo many Nobles exiled, he would be leſs reſpected of Strangers, and be a great deal weaker at home. If he could therefore win them to acknowledge their offence, and ſo embrace the true Religion, (without which they ſhould never get any favor from him) he believed the courſe would not be diſallowed of wiſe men and thoſe that loved him. Always he deſired to know his judgement, for as yet he had not ſhewed his mind in that matter to any perſon.*

He communicated his mind with Mr. *Robert Bruce.*

Mr. *Robert Bruce* his anſwer and advice.

Mr. *Robert Bruce*, being as then in great favor and credit with the King, ſaid "that he did think well of his Majeſtie's Reaſons; and that he ſhould not do a-"miſs to bring home *Angus* and *Arrol*, ſo as they would conform themſelves in "Religion. But that *Huntley* could not be pardoned, being ſo hated as he was of

"the

the ſubjects. The King reaſoning to the contrary, "That if *Huntley* be willing to "ſatisfie the Church and fulfil the Conditions which he would require of him, he "ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould not be received as well as the other two; and as he "could not but know that his care of that man was great; and he having married "his Couſin, whom he accounted his own Daughter, ſo was he the man of greateſt "power, and one that could ſtand him in moſt ſtead. Therefore deſired Mr. *Robert* "to think of that matter, and after a day or two give him his advice in it. At the next meeting being enquired what he had thought of the buſineſs, he anſwered as before, ſaying, That *Huntley*'s return would be ill interpreted, and offend all good men. The King repeating the former Reaſons, and adding, That if he brought one home he would bring them all; he replied, *I ſee, Sir, that your reſolution is to take* Huntley *in favor; which if you do, I will oppoſe, and you ſhall chuſe whether you will loſe* Huntley *or me; for us both you cannot keep.* This ſaucy reply the King did never forget, and it was this which loſt him the favor which formerly he carried with the King. *An.* 1596.

The King reaſoneth with him to the contrary of his advice.

Mr. *Robert*'s ſaucy Reply to the King.

The exiled Lords not finding that reſpect given unto them in forein parts which they expected, took a reſolution to return, and to uſe all means for reconciling themſelves to the King and Church. And that their return might be the more ſecret, they ſeparated one from another. *Arrol* taking his journey homewards through the United Provinces was intercepted, and delivered into the hands of Mr. *Robert Danielſton* Conſervator of the *Scottiſh* privileges, to be kept by him till the King ſhould be advertiſed. But whether by the Conſervator's knowledge, or otherwiſe, he made an eſcape and came into the Countrey. *Huntley* came ſome moneths before, and lurking ſecretly in the North, ſent a Supplication to his Majeſty and the Convention which met at *Falkland* the 12 of *Auguſt*, the effect whereof was, that he might be permitted to return, and remain within any part of the Countrey his Majeſty ſhould appoint, he giving ſufficient ſurety for his quiet and peaceable behavior.

Shortly after the Lords exiled return.

The Earl of *Arrol* intercepted in the Low Countreys, eſcapeth.

A Convention at *Falkland*.

The King having heard the Supplication, took occaſion to ſay, "That one of "the two courſes was needful to be followed with him and the reſt that were in his "condition; that is, either utterly to exterminate them, their race, and poſterity, or "then upon their humble acknowledgement of their offence, and ſurety made for "the ſtate of Religion, to receive them in favor; for to continue in the condition "wherein they preſently were, could not ſtand either with the ſafety of Religion, "or with his own Honor and eſtate. The firſt courſe, ſaid he, hath the own difficulties, and will not be performed without great trouble: and for my ſelf, ſo "long as there is any hope that they may be reduced to the profeſſion of the Truth, "I deſire not their deſtruction, but like rather to extend my clemency towards "them; which I believe is the mind of all good and peaceable men. As to the preſent offer made by *Huntley*, I do not think it well general, and to no purpoſe; "therefore by your advice I would have particular Conditions condeſcended upon, "ſuch as may ſerve for ſecurity of Religion, mine own Honor, and the Tranquillity of the Countrey: ſuch Conditions being offered, and ſecurity found for performance, I ſhould then think that licence might be granted him to return, he "being confined in ſuch a part of the Countrey as ſhould be thought moſt convenient. The Convention, approving his Majeſtie's judgement, reſolved upon this as the fitteſt courſe, remitting the Conditions to be formed by his Highneſs and the Lords of Council.

The King's judgement of *Huntley*'s Supplication.

September the ſame Concluſion was ratified at another Convention of the Eſtates at *Dunfermling*, and the Baptiſm of the Princeſs, who was born the 19 of *Auguſt*, appointed to be at *Halirudhouſe* the 28 of *November* next.

A Convention at *Dunfermling*.

How ſoon this their return into the Countrey was known, and that ſuch an Act was paſſed in their favors, the Commiſſioners of the Church aſſembled at *Edinburgh*, where falling to conſider the dangers threatned to Religion by their return, it was thought neceſſary to acquaint all the Presbyteries with the preſent ſtate of things; particularly That the forfeited Earls were returned into the Countrey without his Majeſtie's Warrant and approbation; That they remained peaceably in the

The Commiſſioners for the Church upon this report of the Lords meet at *Edinburgh*.

An. 1596. the ſame, uſing all means to be reſtored to their livings, albeit they had neither acknowledged their offence in that treaſonable dealing with the King of *Spain*, nor their defection and apoſtaſie from the Truth: and That they had maintained an Act of Council in their favors at the Convention of *Falkland*, which was ratified thereafter at *Dunfermling*, whereby they were licenſed to remain upon certain Conditions to be preſcribed unto them by his Majeſty and Council, to the manifeſt hazard both of Church and State, conſidering their continuance in the ſame diſpoſition to work miſchief as before. Of theſe things they were deſired to inform their Flocks; and both in publick doctrine and private conference to ſtir up the Countrey-people to apprehend the danger, and to be in readineſs to reſiſt the ſame ſo far as lawfully they might. It was farther thought meet, that publick Humiliation ſhould be indicted through the whole Countrey the firſt Sunday of *December*, and the cauſe thereof declared to be the return of the Excommunicated Lords, and dangers thereby threatned to Religion, which the Miniſters ſhould enlarge according to their diſcretions; as alſo that the Presbyteries ſhould call before them their Entainers, Reſſetters, and ſuch as kept company with them, and proceed ſummarily with the Cenſures of the Church, *una citatione, quia periclitatur ſalus Eccleſiæ & Reipublicæ.* Laſtly, they concluded that a number of Commiſſioners ſelected out of all the Quarters of the Countrey ſhould reſide at *Edinburgh*, and convene every day with ſome of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, to receive Advertiſements as ſhould be ſent from other places, and take counſel upon the moſt expedient in every caſe. The Brethren nominated to this purpoſe were Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, Mr. *Peter Blaickborure*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, and Mr. *James Nicholſon* for the North parts; Mr. *James Melvill*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Mr. *Alexander Lindeſay*, and Mr. *William Striveling* for the middle part of the Countrey; Mr. *John Clapperton*, Mr. *John Knox*, Mr. *George Ramſey*, and Mr. *James Carmichaell* for the South; and for the Weſt Mr. *John Howſon*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, *John Porterfield*, and Mr. *Robert Wilkie*. Their attendance was ordained to be monethly, and to begin in *November*. At which time Mr. *James Nicholſon*, Mr. *James Melvill*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, Mr. *John Howſon*, and Mr. *George Ramſey* were appointed to wait: Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Balfour*, Mr. *Patrick Gallaway*, and Mr. *Walter Balcanquell* obſerving ordinarily all the meeting.

A publick Humiliation indicted.

Perſons nominated to attend at *Edinburgh* for the Church.

The Lord *Seaton* Preſident of the Seſſion cited to appear before the Synod of *Lothian*.

A Conference betwixt certain of the Council and ſome moderate men of the Miniſtery.

Theſe Conventions were by a new name called *The Council of the Church*, and appointed to be kept once every day at leaſt, for taking advice in every buſineſs that occurred. By direction of this Council Lord *Alexander Seaton*, Preſident of the Seſſion, was called before the Synod of *Lothian*, for keeping intelligence with the Earl of *Huntley*, and by them remitted back to that Council; before whom, with many atteſtations, he purged himſelf of any dealing with *Huntley*, or any of the Papiſt Lords, and upon promiſe not to imploy his credit that way was dimitted.

The King ſuſpecting their beginnings ſhould end in ſome trouble, but not liking to fall in contrary terms with the Church, if by any means the ſame could be eſchewed, commanded the Preſident, Secretary, Advocate, and Laird of *Colluthie*, to confer with the moſt moderate of the Miniſtery, and uſe their beſt means for ſatisfying them touching the return of the forfeited Lords. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Patrick Gallaway*, Mr. *James Nicholſon*, and Mr. *James Melvill* being ſent for to this Conference, were deſired to give their opinions, "Whether or not, due ſatis-"faction being made to the Church by the Lords, (for otherwiſe the King did not "mean to ſhew them any favor) they might be pardoned and reſtored to their eſtates. The Miniſters anſwered, *They came only to hear what was proponed, and in a matter of that importance could ſay nothing unacquainting their brethren.* The Conference was delayed till afternoon; at which time returning they ſaid, *That the Brethren were glad of the reſpect carried by his Majeſty to the Church, and that his reſolution was to give no favor to thoſe Rebels till the Church was firſt ſatisfied. But in their judgements, they having by God's Law deſerved death, and being by the moſt ſovereign Court of the Kingdom ſentenced to have loſt their Eſtates, they could not be lawfully pardoned nor reſtored. And if the King and his Council would take on them to do it, they had God and the Countrey to anſwer unto; but for them they would give no aſſent, but proteſt to the contrary, that they were free thereof before God and man.* This

This Anſwer ſeeming rather to proceed of paſſion then any good zeal; it was next urged, "Whether upon their humble and ſubmiſs ſuit to be reconciled, the "Church could deny to receive them, it being commonly held, that the boſome "of the Church ſhould ever be patent to repenting ſinners. They anſwered, *That the Church indeed could not refuſe their ſatisfaction, if it were truly offered; nevertheleſs the King ſtood obliged to do Juſtice.* When by no reaſoning they could be wrought from theſe extremities, the Conference brake off, and the effects thereof being reported to the King, he was greatly commoved, inveighing againſt Miniſters at his Table, in Council, and everywhere. The wiſer ſort, that foreſaw the ill effects this rancor would breed, adviſed the Miniſters to ſend ſome of their number, to underſtand what it was that did offend the King, and offer all ſatisfaction on their parts; withal to lay open their Grievances, and in humble manner entreat a redreſs of the things which they eſteemed hurtful. *An.* 1596.

The King offended with the pertinacy of the Miniſters.

Commiſſioners directed to his Majeſty.

Herein the ſame Brethren being employed, they found the Kings anſwers more biting and peremptory then they expected: for being deſired to ſhew what it was that made his Majeſty ſo offended with the Church, and profeſſing to amend it ſo far as lay in them; he ſaid, *There could be no Agreement ſo long as the Marches of the two Juriſdictions were not diſtinguiſhed; that in their Preachings they did cenſure the affairs of the Eſtate and Council, convocate General Aſſemblies without his licence, conclude what they thought good, not once deſiring his allowance and approbation, and in their Synods, Presbyteries and particular Seſſions, meddle with every thing upon colour of ſcandal; beſides divers other diſorders, which at another time he would propound and have reformed; otherwiſe it was vain to think of any Agreement, or that the ſame being made, could ſtand and continue any while.*

His Majeſtie's peremptory anſwer to the Commiſſioners.

The Miniſters not willing to dip in theſe matters, after they had in ſober manner replied to each of theſe Points, fell to ſpeak of their own Grievances. As firſt, the Favor granted to the Popiſh Lords in the late Conventions at *Falkland* and *Dunfermlin*; the countenance given to the Lady *Huntley*, and her invitation to the Baptiſm of the Princeſs; the putting her in the hands of the Lady *Levingſton*, an avowed and obſtinate Papiſt; and, which grieved them more then any thing elſe, the alienation of his Majeſtie's heart from the Miniſters, as appeared by all his ſpeeches publick and private. To this laſt the King did firſt reply, ſaying, *That they had given him too juſt cauſe by their railing againſt him and his proceedings in their Sermons.* For the *Popiſh Lords*, *he had granted nothing to them but what the Eſtate had found needful for the Peace and quiet of the Realm.* As to the Lady *Huntley*, *he eſteemed her a good diſcreet Lady and worthy of his countenance; and that ſhe was a Papiſt they might blame themſelves, who had never taken care to enform her of the Truth.* Laſtly, for his Daughter the Princeſs, *he had truſted her to the Lord* Levingſton, *a Nobleman known to be of good Religion, and not to his Lady, who ſhould not be ſuffered to take any care of her, unleſs ſhe conformed in point of Religion.*

The Grievances of the Church proponed.

The King his anſwer.

Whileſt things thus paſt betwixt the King and the Church, a new occaſion of Trouble was preſented by Mr. *David Blake*, one of the Miniſters of S. *Andrews*, who had in one of his Sermons caſt forth divers ſpeeches full of ſpight againſt the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Seſſion, and amongſt the reſt had called the Queen of *England* an Atheiſt, a woman of no Religion. This being dilated to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador he complained to the King, and thereupon was Mr. *David Blake* cited to appear before the Council the 10 of *November*. Mr. *Andrew Melvill* accompanying him to *Edinburgh*, did labor to make this a common cauſe, giving out that the ſame was done only for a preparative againſt the Miniſters, to bring their Doctrine under the cenſure and controllment of the King and Council; and ſo far he prevailed with the Commiſſioners of the Church, as they ſent certain of their number to intreat the deſerting of the Diet, ſaying, *It would be ill taken to draw Miniſters in queſtion upon trifling delations, when as the enemies of the Truth were ſpared and overſeen.* The King ſome days before had publiſhed the Conditions upon which he was to grant a Protection to *Huntley*, and asking thoſe Commiſſioners if they had ſeen the Conditions, ſaid, *That both he and the reſt ſhould either ſatisfie the Church in every point, or be purſued with all extremity, ſo as they ſhould have*

A new Trouble by Mr. *David Blake*, a Miniſter at S. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Andrew Melvill* laboreth to make it a common cauſe.

An. 1596. *have no reaſon to complain of the overſight of Papiſts.* For Mr. *Blake*, he ſaid he did not think much of that matter, only they ſhould cauſe him appear and take ſome courſe for pacifying the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. *But take heed*, ſaid the King, *that you do not decline the Judicatory; for if you do, it will be worſe then any thing yet fallen out.*

Now the Conditions proponed to *Huntley* were as followeth.

The Conditions proponed to *Huntley*.

That he ſhould give ſufficient and reaſonable caution of Inland-men and landed Barons, to the number of ſixteen at leaſt, who ſhould be acted in the Books of Council under the pain of forty thouſand pounds, (each two of the Cautioners conjunctly and ſeverally for five thouſand pounds of the ſaid ſum) that he ſhould faithfully obſerve and fulfil the whole Articles undermentioned, and every one of them. As firſt, That betwixt that and the firſt day of *April* next to come, he ſhould either ſatisfie the Church for his Apoſtaſie, and return to the boſome thereof in uniformity of Religion, or before the expiring of the ſaid time depart again forth of the Countrey, and not return again without his Majeſtie's licence.

2. Next, that during the ſaid ſpace, he ſhould not receive in his company any Jeſuite, Maſs-prieſts, or excommunicate Papiſts, nor have any dealing, communication or intelligence with them, eſpecially with his Uncle Mr. *James Gordon*; nor ſuffer his Children, in caſe any be brought forth in the mean time, to be baptized by another then a Miniſter.

3. That ſo long as he remained in the Countrey, as likewiſe in caſe of his departing at the time aforeſaid, he ſhould not traffick with any ſtranger or others whomſoever for alteration of the true Religion, or diſquieting the ſtate of the Countrey in any ſort.

4. That his former Cautioners ſhould remain obliged, in caſe after lawful trial, it ſhould be found that ſince his laſt departing he had trafficked with ſtrangers for ſubverſion of Religion or the alteration of the State, in the ſums for which they were bound.

5. That he ſhould preſently enter his perſon in Ward within ſuch a place as his Majeſty ſhould appoint.

6. That within fifteen days next he ſhould enter his eldeſt Son and apparent Heir as a Hoſtage to his Majeſty for obſerving the Articles before and after mentioned; and that his ſaid Son ſhould abide in ſuch company, Ward or Caſtle, as his Majeſty ſhould appoint, where moſt conveniently he might be inſtructed in the true Religion, and not eſcape by his Father's knowledge or aſſiſtence.

Laſtly, that he ſhould compeir perſonally before the Council whenſoever he ſhould be called, upon fifteen days warning, for trying the contravention of any of the Articles above expreſſed: providing the cauſe for which he ſhould be charged were expreſſed in the Letters, and warrant given him that he ſhould not be challenged for any other fact done before his laſt paſſing forth of *Scotland*.

The Conditions give no content.

Theſe Articles the King cauſed to be imprinted, that all men might ſee he meant not to beſtow any favor either upon him or the reſt, unleſs they joyned themſelves to the Religion publickly profeſſed: yet this ſerved not to ſtop the mouths of people, nor did it remove the jealouſie of the Preachers, who were daily complaining, "That Papiſts were favored, the Miniſters troubled for the free rebuke of ſin, and "the Sceptre of Chriſt's Kingdom ſought to be overthrown. The Proceſs, they "ſaid, intended againſt Mr. *Blake* was but a policy, to divert the Miniſters from "proſecuting their ſuit againſt the Popiſh Earls; and if he ſhould ſubmit his Do-"ctrine to the trial of the Council, the Liberties of the Church and Spiritual Go-"vernment of the Houſe of God would be quite ſubverted. In any caſe therefore "they concluded that a Declinator ſhould be uſed, and Proteſtation made againſt "theſe proceedings. This was held a dangerous courſe, and earneſtly diſſuaded by ſome few; but they were cried down by the greater number, that ſaid *it was the Cauſe of God, whereunto it concerned them to ſtand at all hazard.* So a Declinator was formed and given Mr. *Blake* to preſent, bearing this in ſubſtance:

A Declinator adviſed to be proponed.

That

"That howbeit the conſcience of his innocency did uphold him ſufficiently a- *An.* 1596.
"gainſt the calumnies of whomſoever, and that he was ready to defend the Do-
"ctrine uttered by him, whether in opening the words or in application; yet ſee- Mr. *David Blake* his Declinator.
"ing he was brought thither to be judged by his Majeſty and Council for his Do-
"ctrine, and that his anſwering to the pretended Accuſation might import a pre-
"judice to the Liberties of the Church, and be taken for an acknowledgement of
"his Majeſti's Juriſdiction in matters merely Spiritual, he was conſtrained in
"all humility to decline that Judicatory for the Reaſons following. Firſt, be-
"cauſe the Lord *Jeſus*, of whom he had the grace of his Calling, had given him
"(albeit unworthy of the honor to bear his Name) his Word for a Rule to his
"Preaching, and that he could not fall in the reverence of any Civil Law, but in
"ſo far as he ſhould be tried to have paſſed his Inſtructions, which trial belonged
"only to the Prophets and Paſtors, *the ſpirits of the Prophets being ſubject to them*
"*alone*; for as firſt it muſt be declared whether he had kept his Inſtructions or not.
"2. In regard the Liberty of the Church and Diſcipline preſently exerciſed was
"confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament, and the Office-bearers thereof peacea-
"bly poſſeſſed therein, particularly in the Judicatory of the Word preached, (as
"was clear by divers late examples) he ought to be remitted for his Preaching to
"the Eccleſiaſtick Senate, as his competent Judge in the firſt inſtance. For which
"and for other weighty conſiderations, and namely for eſchewing the inconveni-
"encies that might fall to Religion and his Majeſtie's own eſtate, by the appear-
"ance of diſtraction and alienatiou of his Majeſtie's mind from the Miniſtry and
"the Cauſe of God in their hands, he for himſelf, and in name of the Commiſſion-
"ers of the General Aſſembly, who had ſubſcrived the ſame Declinator, did humbly
"beſeech his Majeſty not to infringe the Liberty of the Church, but rather mani-
"feſt his care in maintaining the ſame.

When the Diet came, and the Summons were read, being deſired to anſwer, he ſaid, That albeit he might object againſt the Citation, the ſame being directed *ſuper inquirendis*, contrary to the form preſcrived by Parliament, and no particular ſpecified therein; yet he would take him to the uſual remedy of Law, and deſire to be remitted to his own Ordinary. Being asked whom he meant; he anſwered, The Presbytery where the doctrine was taught. The King then replying that the matter laid to his charge was Civil, and that the generality of the Summons was reſtricted to the particular Letter produced by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; he ſaid, *That the ſpeeches wherewith he was charged being uttered in Pulpit muſt be judged by the Church, in prima inſtantia.* Again being inquired whether the King might not judge matters of Treaſon, as well as the Church did matters of Hereſie; he ſaid, *That ſpeeches delivered in Pulpit, albeit alleged to be Treaſonable, could not be judged by the King till the Church took firſt cognition thereof*; but that he was not come thither to ſolve queſtions, and ſo preſented the Declinator. The King, notwithſtanding that he was greatly offended, (becauſe the day appointed for the Baptiſm of the Princeſs was approching) continued all farther proceeding to the laſt of *November*. Mr. *Blake*'s anſwer to the Diet.

Meanwhile had the Commiſſioners for the Church ſent a Copy of Mr. *Blake*'s Declinator with a Letter to all the Presbyteries, requiring them for the greater corroboration of their doings to ſubſcrive the ſame, and to commend the cauſe in hand in their private and publick prayers to God, uſing their beſt credit with their Flocks, and employing all their labors for the maintainance thereof. The King being mightily incenſed with this doing, as tending to a direct Mutiny, and the ſtirring up of the ſubjects to Rebellion, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein he ſaid, The Declinator ſent to the Presbyteries to be ſubſcrived.

That certain perſons of the Miniſtery abiding in the Town of Edinburgh *had of long time continued together diviſing Plots prejudicial to his Majeſtie's Authority, and uſurping a power over their brethren, had directed Letters for ſubſcriving a Declinator formed and already ſubſcrived by themſelves, requiring them with the return of their Subſcriptions to ſend ſome of their number to aſſiſt their proceedings, as though they were not ſubjects, and that the King had no power nor authority over them, intending, as appeared, by Convocations and the like tumultuous forms to break the Peace, and make an Inſurrection in the Countrey; whereas no care in the meantime was taken of their Flocks, but the ſame left* A Proclamation diſcharging the meeting of the Commiſſioners.

An. 1596. *comfortleſs and deſtitute of the Preaching of the Word; all which they coloured with a general Commiſſion alleged to be given by the laſt General Aſſembly, albeit there was no ſuch Commiſſion, that which he produced containing only a power to conſult and report, and not to ſet down Acts, or exerciſe any Juriſdiction: and granting that ſuch a Commiſſion had been given, the ſame could not be lawful, as given without the conſent and approbation of his Majeſtie's Commiſſioners, who were preſent at the time. Therefore to prevent the diſorders and Confuſion which therethrough might ariſe, his Highneſs, with the advice of the Council, diſcharged the ſaid Commiſſion as unlawful in it ſelf, and more unlawfully executed by the ſaid Commiſſioners; commanding the perſons under-written, namely, Mr.* Andrew Melvill, *Mr.* James Melvill, *Mr.* John Davidſon, *Mr.* Nicoll Dalgleiſh, *Mr.* James Nicolſon, *Mr.* James Carmichaell *and* John Clapperton, *to depart home to their ſeveral Flocks within 24 hours after the charge, and to attend upon the lawful diſcharge of their Callings, and no ways to return for keeping ſuch unlawful Convocations, either within the ſaid Burgh or without, under the pain of Rebellion.*

The Commiſſioners of the Church upon this diſcharge enter into a new conſultation.

The Commiſſioners upon information that ſuch a Charge was directed fell to conſult what courſe they ſhould take; and firſt they reſolved, "That ſince they "were convened by the warrant of Chriſt, in a moſt needful and dangerous time "to ſee unto the good of the Church, *Et ne quid Eccleſia detrimenti caperet*, they "ſhould obey God rather then man; and, notwithſtanding of any Charge that "ſhould be given, continue together ſo long as conveniently they might, and in

They ſent a Commiſſion to the *Octavians.*

"the mean time ſend ſome of the number to the *Octavians*, (this was the title com-"monly given to thoſe eight Counſellors that were truſted with all affairs) to ad-"vertiſe them, that ſeeing the Church at their entry to their places enjoyed a full "peace and liberty, and that now it was caſt into great troubles, and the enemies "of the Truth ſpared and overlooked, they could not but think that all this pro-"ceeded from their counſels; and therefore whatſoever the event ſhould be, the "Church would take her ſelf to them, and they only ſhould bear the blame. The Preſident anſwering in choler ſaid, "That theſe Controverſies were begun without "their advice, & ſo they ſhould end; that for their good ſervice they had reaped ſmall "thanks, and drawn upon themſelves much envy, and therefore would have no med-"ling in that buſineſs betwixt the King & them, but leave it to him & his Nobility.

Commiſſioners ſent to his Majeſty for ſurceaſing Mr. *Blake*'s Proceſs.

This anſwer put them to a ſecond advice, and thinking they were miſtaken, and that theſe Commiſſioners were not in the fault, but that all proceeded from the King himſelf, they ſent Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *James Nicolſon* and *James Melvill*, to declare unto his Majeſty the great inconveniencies that were like to ariſe upon this hard dealing with the Church, & humbly intreat a ſurceaſe of the Proceſs intended againſt M. *David Blake*, and that all other controverſies might be left off till ſome order was taken with the Papiſts, and an Aſſembly convocated for deciding theſe queſtions to his Highneſs content. The King anſwered, "That

His Majeſtie's offer to the Commiſſioners.

"it was not his fault, and that he was no leſs diſpleaſed then they were with the con-"troverſies ariſen; and that yet if they would paſs from the Declinator, or declare "at leaſt that it was not a general, but only a particular Declinator, uſed in the "cauſe of Mr. *David Blake*, as being a cauſe of ſlander, and pertaining to the judge-"ment of the Church, he ſhould alſo paſs from the Summons and ceaſe his purſuit.

The wiſer ſort of the Miniſters adviſe to accept of the offer, but they are over-ruled.

This yielding offer of the King was by the advice of the wiſer ſort thought good to be accepted, that there might be an end of contention: *For if,* ſaid they, *we go to try our ſtrength with the King, we ſhall be found too weak. As yet the Court ſtands in ſome awe of the Church, and whileſt they are in this conceit, it ſhall be meet to take the beſt conditions we can have; for if by our ſtrictneſs matters go to the worſt, our weakneſs ſhall ſoon appear; and thereafter ſhall the Church be no more feared nor regarded: too great ſtiffneſs doth ſeldom ſucceed well; and it is often ſeen, that they who will have all their wills, do loſe all in the end.* This was the reaſoning of the wiſe and more moderate ſort. Others flattering themſelves in their preciſeneſs held, *That the only way to prevail was to ſtand by their grounds; the Cauſe was Gods, which he would maintain: That Worldly powers were not to be feared, and that God had in his hand the hearts of Princes to turn them whither he pleaſed, whereof in the preſent buſineſs they had ſeen a proof.* The debate held long, and in end by moſt voices it was concluded that they

ſhould

ſhould ſtand to the Declinator, unleſs the King would paſs from the Summons, and remitting the purſuit to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge make an Act of Council, that no Miniſter ſhould be charged for his Preaching, at leaſt before the meeting of the General Aſſembly. The King perceiving this offer neglected was in great wrath, & told them who were ſent unto him, that he would hearken to no Agreement unleſs they would paſs ſimply from the Declinator, and cauſe Mr. *Blake* compeir, and acknowledge the Judicatory. Which being refuſed, the Proclamation was publiſhed, the Commiſſioners charged to depart forth of the Town, and Mr. *Blake* by a new Summons cited to the laſt of *November*. *An.* 1596. Mr. *Blake* cited to the laſt of *November*.

The next day being Sunday, and the day of the Princeſs Chriſtening, the ſame was kept in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe* with great joy and feaſting. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador did name the Princeſs *Elizabeth* after the Queen his Miſtreſs; the Town of *Edinburgh* by the Magiſtrates aſſiſting as Witneſſes, ſuch honor did the King unto them. But all that day in the Town-Churches were bitter Invectives made againſt the two Proclamations; for beſides the charge given the Commiſſioners to leave the Town, by another Proclamation the Barons, Gentlemen and all other ſubjects were diſcharged to convene with the Miniſtry, either in Presbyteries or Synods, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Meetings, under whatſoever colour or pretence, without his Majeſtie's licence. Theſe things were mightily aggravated by the Preachers, and the people exceedingly ſtirred: at which the King more and more offending, he reſolved to keep the Diet aſſigned for Mr. *Blake*'s appearing in the Council-houſe of *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his Nobles that were preſent at the Baptiſm. The Baptiſm of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

The Commiſſioners advertiſed of this, (for all that time ſome Gentlemen of the Chamber in hatred of the *Octavians*, gave intelligence of every thing that was intended) did form a Petition to be preſented to his Majeſty & the Noblemen, conſiſting of three heads. "Firſt, they entreated the King, that ſeeing the deciſion of ſuch "thorny and intricate queſtions as were moved at that time to the trouble of the "Church could work no good, and was ſubtilly urged, only to ingender a diſſenſion "between his Majeſty and the Miniſters, he would be pleaſed to remit the deter- "mination thereof to a lawful Aſſembly, and not to incroach upon the limits of "Chriſt's Kingdom upon any pretence, bending his actions, according to the pre- "ſent neceſſity, againſt the common enemies of Religion and State. Next, they "exhorted the Noblemen to give his Majeſty a free and faithful counſel in that "buſineſs; and as to the honor of God and their own juſt praiſe they had kept "themſelves free both in counſel and action from working any prejudice to the "liberty of the Goſpel, ſo they would not ſuffer themſelves to be drawn at that "time under the guiltineſs of ſo great a ſin, by the craft of thoſe who were ſubtilly "ſeeking the thraldom of the Goſpel, and thought to make their Honors the exe- "cutors of their malicious devices. And thereby that by their credit they would "procure a continuation of all controverſies unto a free and lawful Aſſembly, "where the ſame might be gravely reaſoned, and concluded. This Petition was given to Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*, to be preſented; and if the ſame was refuſed, they were enjoyned to proteſt againſt the proceeding of the Council. A Petition preſented by the Commiſſioners to his Majeſty and Council.

The King receiving this Petition, after he had overviewed it, did reject the ſame as not worthy of anſwer, commanding to call Mr. *Blake*, and read the Summons. Therein he was charged, Firſt, to have affirmed in Pulpit that the *Popiſh Lords* were returned into the Countrey with his Majeſtie's knowledge, and upon his aſſurance, and ſaid that in ſo doing he had *detected the treachery of his Heart*. Secondly, that he had called all Kings *the Devil's Barns*, adding that *the Devil was in the Court and in the guiders of it*. Thirdly, in his Prayer for the Queen he had uſed theſe words, *We muſt pray for her for the faſhion, but we have no cauſe, ſhe will never do us good*. Fourthly, that he had called the *Queen of England* an *Atheiſt*. Fifthly, that he had diſcuſſed a Suſpenſion granted by the Lords of Seſſion in Pulpit, and called them *Miſcreants* and *Bribers*. Sixthly, that, ſpeaking of the Nobility, he ſaid they were *Degenerated, Godleſs, Diſſemblers*, and *Enemies to the Church*: likewiſe ſpeaking of the The Petition rejected. The Points laid to Mr. *Blakes* charge.

An. 1596. *Council*, that he had called them *Holliglasses, Cormorants and men of no Religion.* Lastly, that he had convocated divers Noblemen, Barons & others within S. *Andrews* in the month of *June* 1594, caused them take arms, and divide themselves in Troups of horse & foot, and had thereby usurped the Power of the King and Civil Magistrate.

Mr. *Robert Pont* protesteth for the liberties of the Church.

After reading of the Summons Mr. *Robert Pont* protested, that the Process in hand and whatsoever followed thereof should not prejudge the Liberty of the Church in matters of Doctrine. The King answered, *That he was not to meddle with any matter of Doctrine, but to censure the Treasonable speeches of a Minister in Sermon, which he and his Council would judge, except by clear Scripture it should be proved, That Ministers were not subject in these cases to his Judicatory.* Thereafter Mr. *Blake* being commanded to answer, said, that all these Accusations were false, untrue Calumnies, producing two testimonials, one of the Provost, Bailies and Council of S. *Andrews*, the other of the Rector, Dean of facultie, Professors and Regents of the University, which he alleged should be preferred to any Report whatsoever. Next he said for the first six points, the Lords of the Council were not competent Judges, the speeches alleged being uttered in Pulpit, but the same ought to be censured by the Presbytery where the Sermon was delivered. And then repeating his former Declinator, presented a new one, in substance the same with the first. For the last point he made offer to submit himself to the trial of the King and Council. Being removed and the Declinator put to voices, it was found, "That the crimes and accu-
"sations contained in the Summons were Seditious and Treasonable; and that his
"Majesty, his Council and other Judges substitute by his Authority were compe-
"tent Judges in all matters either criminal or civil, as well to Ministers as to
"other subjects. This pronounced the Witnesses were called and admitted, but their Examination was delayed to the next day.

Mr. *Blake* declineth the Council of new.

He presenteth the Council with the Declinator.

After the Council dissolved, the Prior of *Blantire* Treasurer and *Alexander Hume* Provost of *Edinburgh* were sent from the King to the Ministers, that notwithstanding of that his proceeding against Mr. *Blake*, he did not mean to use him with rigour, but if they should move him to come and resolve his Majesty touching the truth of the Points libelled, he would rest upon his own Declaration, and send him back to his Charge: so careful was the King of Peace, and so desirous to be in good terms with the Church. Night was then fallen, and the Commissioners gone to their lodgings; yet finding Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *James Nicolson* and Mr. *James Melvill* together, they declared what they had in Commission to have declared to the whole number. Mr. *Robert Bruce* answering in the name of the rest, said, *That if the matter did touch Mr.* Blake *alone the offer might be accepted, but the liberty of Christ's Kingdom had received such a wound by the Proclamations published the Saturday preceding and that day by the usurpation of the Spiritual Judicatory, as if Mr.* Blakes *life and the lives of twenty others had been taken it would not have grieved the hearts of good brethren so much as these injurious proceedings had done; and that either these things behoved to be retreated, or they would oppose so long as they had breath.*

The King's care to keep peace with the Church.

The King conferreth with some Ministers touching Mr. *Blake*'s business.

This answer reported, the King the next morning called some two or three of the Ministers unto him, did confer with them a long space, shewing that he was so far from impairing the Spiritual Jurisdiction or abridging any of the Church Liberties, as he would not only maintain them in what they enjoyed, but would enlarge and amplifie the same, when he saw it to be for their good: But *this licencious Discoursing*, said he, *of affairs of State in Pulpit can not be tolerated. My claim is only to Judge in matters of Sedition and other Civil and criminal causes, and of speeches that may import such crimes, where soever they be uttered; for that the Pulpit should be a place privileged, and under colour of Doctrine people stirred to Sedition, no good man I think will allow. If Treason and Sedition be crimes punishable when they are committed, much more if they be committed in the Pulpit, where the word of Truth should only be taught and heard.* One of the Ministers answering, that they did not plead for the privilege of the Place, but to the respect that was due to the Message and Commission they carried, which having received from God, the same ought not to be controlled in any civil Judicature. "Would you keep you to your Message (said the King) there would
"be no strife; but I trust your Message be not to rule Estates, and when courses dis-
"like

"like you to ſtir the people to Sedition, and make your King and thoſe that rule *An.* 1596.
"under him odious by your railings and outcries. If any do ſo, ſaid the Miniſter,
and be tried to have paſſed the bounds, it is reaſon he be puniſhed with all extremity; but this muſt be cognoſced by the Church. "And ſhall not I, (ſaid the King)
"have power to call and puniſh a Miniſter that breaketh out in Treaſonable ſpeech-
"es, but muſt come to your Presbytery and be a complainer? I have good proof
"in the proceſs with *Gibſon* and *Roſſe*, what juſtice you will do me: and were it in a
"doubtful and ambiguous caſe, where by any colour the ſpeeches might be juſtifi-
"ed, it were ſome way favourable to ſay that the Miniſter ſhould be called and
"convict by his brethren; but as in the preſent action with Mr. *Blake*, who hath
"ſaid, *The treachery of the King's Heart is diſcovered; all Kings are the Devils Barns*,
"&c. who ſees not the man hath paſſed his bounds, and not kept him to his Meſ-
"ſage? I am not ignorant what agitations *France* of late and *England* in former
"times hath ſuffered by the violence of ſuch ſpirits, and I have been in my time
"reaſonably exerciſed with them, and ye muſt not think that I will tolerate ſuch
"licentiouſneſs. As for any lawful power or liberty ye or your Aſſemblies have
"granted either by the Word of God or by the Laws of the Kingdom, I mean not
"to diminiſh the ſame; and if ye think meet, I will publiſh ſo much by a Declara-
"tion for ſatisfying you and all other my ſubjects.

The Miniſters deſire a Declaration to be made in favor of Church-Aſſemblies.

With this the Miniſters were dimitted, who having related the Conference they had with his Majeſty to the reſt of their brethren, it was agreed, in regard of the many inconveniencies which might enſue upon theſe diſtractions betwixt his Majeſty and the Church, that if they could obtain a Declaration in Council that by the Acts and Proclamations publiſhed his Majeſty did not intend to diſcharge any Church-Aſſembly, nor to annul any Concluſion thereof, but that the ſame ſhould ſtand in force as they had been in uſe by the warrant of the Word and approbation of his Highneſs Laws; and that the diſcharge of Barons and Gentlemen to convene with the Miniſters was not extended to any Eccleſiaſtical Conventions, but only meant of their convening in Arms; matters ſhould be paſſed over for the preſent; the Interloquutor in Mr. *Blake*'s buſineſs not being uſed againſt him nor any other Miniſter, until a lawful General Aſſembly, wherein the queſtion concerning the limits of the Civil and the Spiritual Juriſdiction might be reaſoned and defined.

His Majeſty conſenteth to the Declaration.

This being propounded the King aſſented to the Declaration craved, offering farther to delete the Acts whereupon the Proclamations were founded. And for Mr. *Blake*, he was content that he ſhould be brought to his preſence, and declaring upon his conſcience the truth of the Points libelled, in the hearing of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Nicolſon*, and Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, they three ſhould have power to determine what they thought meet. The buſineſs was now thought to be at an end, but in the afternoon, by the ſuggeſtion, as it was ſuppoſed, of the Preſident, the King would have Mr. *Blake* to come before the Council, and acknowledge his offence to the Queen; which done he ſhould be pardoned of all. This Mr. *Blake* refuſed, ſaying, he would neither condemn himſelf, nor approve the proceedings of the Council, who having taken upon them to judge of his Sermons, had admitted a ſort of ignorant and partially-affected people to be Witneſſes againſt him, rejecting the teſtimonies of the Town and Univerſity. When by no perſuaſion he could be moved unto it, the King went to Council, and the ſame day, it being the ſecond of *December*, cauſed read the Depoſition of the Witneſſes, who did clearly teſtifie that all the ſpeeches libelled were uttered by Mr. *Blake* in Pulpit. Thereupon Sentence was given, that he had falſely ſlandered and treaſonably calumniated the King's Majeſty, his Bed-fellow the Queen, his neighbor Princeſs the Queen of *England*, the Lords of his Highneſs Council and Seſſion, and therefore (his puniſhment being remitted to the King) it was ordained, that till his Majeſtie's pleaſure ſhould be declared, he ſhould be confined beyond the North water, and enter to his Ward within ſix days.

Mr. *Blake* refuſeth to acknowledge his offence to the Queen.

The Witneſſes examined, and Mr. *Blake* found guilty.

Notwithſtanding of this Sentence the day following a new Treaty began, which continued ſome ten days, and was like to have produced an Agreement; for the King was content, as before, to delete the Acts of Council at which the Miniſters took

A new Treaty for making an Accord.

An. 1596. offence, by writing on the margent of the Book according to the custom of deleting, *This matter is agreed, and the Act delete.* He was likewise pleased to mend the Narrative of the Proclamation, turning that upon the Papists and enemies of Religion that was said of Ministers; and for Mr. *Blake*'s business, was content that the Interloquutor pronounced should not be made a preparative against any other Minister, and that none should be called upon their Preaching before the Council, till it was found in a lawful Assembly that the King might judge of those that passed their bounds in Doctrine. Provided he might in the mean time be assured of the good behavior of the Ministers, and that they should not speak unreverently of him or of his Council, which assurance he would have in writing. Some punishment also he would have afflicted on Mr. *Blake*, as either to transport him from S. *Andrews* to another Congregation, or suspend him for a time from his charge: punishments not very rigorous, nor answerable to the quality of the offence.

Conditions craved by his Majesty.

The Commissioners being herewith advised liked well of all, the last excepted. *A punishment,* they said, *could not be afflicted where no cognition had proceeded: for as to the Trial taken, neither was it done by the proper Judge, nor was that equity observed which ought to have been; Witnesses that were under the Censures of the Church, and ill-affected to* Mr. Blake, *being admitted to depone against him.* This reported to the King, he made offer to name twenty persons against whom no exception could be alleged, and to give Mr. *Blake* his choice of seven or eight of that number, who should be new examined touching the verity of the speeches whereof he was accused: if they upon their consciences did absolve him, he should rest satisfied; if otherwise, he would crave him to be deposed. But this came to no effect, nor could any overture, albeit divers were proponed, serve to work an Accord, so as the communing broke off, and greater displeasures arose on both hands then afore.

The Commissioners refuse to agree to any Censure of Mr. *Blake.*

For the Commissioners having directed two of the Brethren to shew the King, *That since they could obtain no redress for the wrongs done unto Christ's Kingdom, and saw nothing but the enemies of the Truth were favoured, and the faithful Pastors of the Church reviled and pursued, they could not abstain from opposing these proceedings with the spiritual armor given them by God;* and did therefore indict a *Fast* to be kept the Sunday following, being the 12 day of *December,* with solemn Prayers for averting the Judgements which the present courses did threaten.

The Ministers indict a Fast, and complain of wrong done to the Kingdom of Christ.

The King on the other side made his displeasure and the scorn he took of these proceedings known by a Declaration published on the 15 day, wherein he shewed, *That out of a desire he had to keep peace with the Ministers he did condescend to abstain from troubling them in any case by-gone, until by a Convention of Estates and a General Assembly of the Ministery the difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Judgements might be removed; providing they should promise not to disgrace him and his proceedings in their Sermons, which he was in hope to obtain by sundry Conferences and meetings that he had kept with some of them, till at last publickly they had opposed themselves in Pulpit by approving the doings of* Mr. David Blake, *accusing himself of Persecution, and falsly suggesting to the people that all Church-Assemblies were discharged; whereas his resolution was and is to maintain Religion and the Church-discipline established by Law, and to suffer nothing to be done in prejudice thereof by whomsoever. Which his Highness thought good to make known to all his subjects, ordaining all Ministers to subscrive their obedience to his Majesty, and set their hands to the Bonds which should be presented to them for that effect, under the pain of sequestring their Rents and Stipends ay and while they gave the obedience required.* The same day was Mr. *Blake* charged to go unto his Ward, and the Commissioners of new commanded to remove themselves forth of the Town.

His Majestie's Declaration published.

A Bond of obedience to be subscrived by the Ministers.

Master *Blake* charged to go to his Ward, and the Commissioners to leave the Town.

How soon they were gone, the Secretary Mr. *John Lindesay* thinking the Ministers of *Edinburgh* would be more tractable being left to themselves, did move the King to send for them, and make a fresh Proposition for setling these Divisions.

A new motion of Agreement overthrown by the practice of some of his Majestie's Chamber.

But they refusing to enter in any communing, except the Commissioners were recalled by as publick a Proclamation as that whereby they were discharged, hope was given that the next day the same should be done, and all questions laid over unto their return: which some of the King's Chamber having understood, and

fearing

fearing if matters were once accorded the *Octavians* (againſt whom they were chiefly ſet) ſhould continue in their imployment, among other reports they informed the King that a mighty Watch was kept in *Edinburgh* about the Miniſters houſes for fear of ſome violence to be offered unto them, which laid an heavy imputation upon his Majeſty, and that the Miniſters would never be quiet till theſe Factious people were put forth of the Town. The advice, as truly meant, was hearkned unto, and direction given to ſome 24 of the Burgeſſes that were beſt affected to the Miniſters to depart the Town within the ſpace of ſix hours. This they knew would be ill taken by the Miniſters; and, to put them in a greater fear, they did advertiſe them by a counterfeit Letter to look unto themſelves, becauſe *Huntley* had been with the King that night late, and cauſed that charge to be given. This Letter ſent to Mr. *Robert Bruce* was by him communicate to Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, whoſe courſe it was to preach that morning; and they both, apprehending the information to be true, did think it the ſafeſt way for themſelves to make the people advertiſed of the danger: ſo when the hour of Sermon came, the Preacher reading his Text out of the book of *Canticles*, which was his ordinary at that time, and taking occaſion of the preſent Troubles of the Church; he made a particular relation of the proceedings and *treacherous forms* (ſo he called them) wherewith they were uſed by the Court, laying the whole blame upon the Preſident, Controller and Advocate, whom he particularly named, and uſed with moſt reproachful terms. Then turning to the Noblemen and Barons, he put them in mind of the zeal which their predeceſſors had ſhewed in planting Religion, and exhorted them with the like courage and conſtancy to maintain the ſame. Having cloſed the Sermon with a Prayer, as uſe is, he requeſted the Noblemen and Barons to meet in the little Church for aſſiſting the Miniſtery with their beſt advice.

An. 1596.

The Miniſters deluded by a counterfeit Letter.

Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* in his Sermon inveigheth againſt the Counſellors.

He exhorteth the Noblemen and Barons to a Meeting.

There aſſembled in the place many people beſides thoſe that were deſired, and ſo great was the throng as the Miniſters could hardly find entrance. Mr. *Robert Bruce* at laſt having made way unto himſelf, went to the Table where the Noblemen and Barons were placed, and after a ſhort Prayer declared in what danger the Church was brought by the return of the Popiſh Lords; how they had regrated the caſe to the King, and when they expected that order ſhould have been taken therewith, a new buſineſs was moved, and one of their Brethren called in queſtion for his Preaching, about which they had been in long conference, but could come to no end; and that now at laſt the beſt-affected of their people were charged to leave the Town, whereby they were brought to ſuſpect ſome worſe practices. They did therefore requeſt them humbly to intercede and intreat his Majeſty, that they might be permitted to ſerve God in their callings without moleſtation. The deſire ſeemed reaſonable: the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Bargenny* and *Buquhain*, Mr. *Robert Bruce* and Mr. *William Watſon* were choſen to prefer the Petition.

A Petition directed to the King from the Meeting.

Mr. *R. Bruce* his Speech to thoſe that convened.

By ſome occaſion the King was that day come to the Seſſion, and being in the Upper Houſe, the Lords with theſe others were admitted; where Mr. *Robert Bruce* taking the Speech ſaid, That they were ſent by the Noblemen and Barons conve-"ned in the little Church, to bemoan the dangers threatned to Religion by the "dealing that was againſt the Miniſters and true Profeſſors. *What dangers ſee you?* ſaid the King: "Under communing, ſaid he, our beſt-affected people, that tender "Religion, are diſchared of the Town; the Lady *Huntley* a profeſſed Papiſt enter-"tained at Court, and it is ſuſpected that her Husband is not far off. The King leaving that purpoſe, ask'd *who they were that durſt convene againſt his Proclamation.* The Lord *Lindeſay* in paſſion replied, *That they durſt do more then ſo, and that they would not ſuffer Religion to be overthrown.* Numbers of people were at this time thronging unmannerly into the room: whereupon the King not making any anſwer aroſe, and went down to the Lower Houſe where the Judges do ſit, commanding the doors to be ſhut. They that were ſent returning to the Church ſhew that they were not heard, nor was there any hope, ſo long as the Counſellors remained about the King, that they ſhould receive any favorable anſwer, and were therefore to think of ſome other courſe.

The King offended with the Meeting.

The Lord *Lindeſay* his inſolent words to the King.

No

An. 1596. *No courſe,* ſaid the Lord *Lindeſay, but one; let us ſtay together that are here, and promiſe to take one part, and advertiſe our friends and the favorers of Religion to come unto us; for it ſhall be either theirs or ours.* Upon theſe ſpeeches followed ſuch a clamor and lifting up of hands, as none could hear what an other ſpake. The Sedition increaſing, ſome cried to Arm, others to bring out *Haman,* (for whileſt the Lords were with the King, Mr. *Michael Cranſtone* Miniſter of *Cramond* had been reading to the people that ſtory) others cried, *The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon:* and ſo great was the fury of the people, as if one of the Deacons of Crafts, called *John Wat,* had not kept them back with a guard of Crafts-men that followed him, they had undoubtedly forced the doors, and wrought ſome miſchief. Sir *Alexander Hume* Provoſt of the Town was then lying ſick; yet being told what a Tumult was raiſed, he came to the ſtreet, and, as he was wiſe and skilful in handling the people, with his fair ſpeeches brought them after a little time to lay down their weapons and retire to their lodgings.

A Tumult raiſed in the Church and City.

A Deacon of the Crafts appeaſeth the fury of the people.

Noblemen directed from the King to inquire the cauſe of the tumult.

The Miniſters purge themſelves.

The Commotion thus raiſed, the King directed the Earl of *Marre,* the Lord *Pittenweem* and Laird of *Traquair* to confer with the Miniſters, and ask the cauſe of the Tumult. They were then walking at the back of the Church, (for the Tumult had ſcattered the Meeting) and profeſſing a great diſlike of that which had happened, beſought the Noblemen to ſhew the King that they were not in fault, and had done their beſt to appeaſe the multitude. The cauſe, they ſaid, to their conjecture was, that his Majeſty refuſed to hear their Petition, which they knew came not from himſelf, but of others. The Earl of *Marre* replied, that any reaſonable Petition would be heard and anſwered, being preferred in a dutiful manner; wherefore they ſhould do wiſely to go together and ſupplicate his Majeſty for remedy of theſe things wherein they were grieved. Whereupon they returned to the little Church, and after a ſhort deliberation ſent the Lord *Forbes,* the Laird of *Bargenny* and Mr. *Robert Rollock* with theſe Petitions. "Firſt, that all which have been done in prejudice of "the Church the laſt four or five weeks might be reſcinded. Next, that in the "things that concerned the Church, the Preſident, Controller and Advocate "ſhould have no voice, as being ſuſpected in Religion, and oppoſite enemies to the "Church. Thirdly, that the Citizens of *Edinburgh* who were charged to leave the "Town might be permitted to ſtay at home, upon ſurety to appear whenſoever "they were called. The King anſwered very calmly, *That his doings had been greatly miſtaken by the Miniſters; and that as theſe controverſies were moved againſt his will, ſo he wiſhed nothing more then to have them quietly ſetled. But that it could not ſtand with his Honor to reſcind ſo haſtily the concluſions taken in Council, nor to remove Counſellors from their places upon naked ſuſpicions, except ſomewhat could be verified that might diſable them. At afternoon he ſhould call the Council, and ſatisfie them in every thing which with reaſon they could deſire.* For the *Citizens,* he ſaid, *that the Supplications made in their behalf would come better from the Provoſt and Bailiffs of the Town, and the ſame upon their Petition ſhould be granted.* With theſe Anſwers the Lord *Forbes* and the reſt returned; and with them the Lord *Ochiltry* and Laird of *Ceſford* were ſent by the King to deſire them to put their Petitions in reaſonable terms, and await on the Council at two of the clock. Matters thus quieted, the King with the Lords went down the ſtreet peaceably to his Palace.

A new Petition moved to the King.

The King's Anſwer to the Petitions proponed.

At afternoon the Noblemen and Barons aſſembling with the Miniſtery, after long reaſoning, did condeſcend upon the Supplication and Articles following.

Articles condeſcended upon to be proponed to his Majeſty.

"In moſt humble manner, we the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes "and Miniſters, this day by the mercy of God convened, do beſeech your Majeſty "to apprehend the great danger wherein the ſtate of Religion, Commonwealth "and your Majeſtie's own Honor and Perſon are brought by the means of crafty "and deceitful Counſellors, who reſpecting only their own preferment and "ſtanding labor to file your Majeſties eyes, that you ſhould not perceive their "courſes: for albeit it hath pleaſed God to endue your Majeſty with knowledge, "wiſdom and graces, beyond all Princes that have ruled this Kingdom at any "time; yet it is no ſtrange thing to behold good Kings brought upon ill courſes

by

"by the devices of ſuch as pretend love, but in very deed hate them malicioufly. *An.* 1596.
"That ſuch courſes are now in hand, pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider what a Divi-
"ſion is made and entertained between your Majeſty and the Church, who were
"ever to this time inſeparably joyned; and how under colorable pretexts the liberty
"of Preaching and faithful applying of the Word is ſought to be reſtrained and
"taken away, which cannot but bring many evils and inconveniencies with it, as
"this day's Tumult may partly teach. And now ſeeing, bleſſed be God, the ſame
"is ſetled without the harm of any perſon, for preventing the like, or worſe, we
"humbly deſire the Articles following to be weighed and conſidered by your Ma-
"jeſty.

"1. That Profeſſed Papiſts, proceſſed by the Church, be not ſuffered to reſide
"at Court; and that the Lady *Huntley* and Lord *Sauwhar* be removed and ſent
"home.

"2. That *Alexander Seaton* Preſident, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and
"Mr. *James Elphinſton*, be not admitted to ſit in Council, at leaſt when the cauſe
"of Religion, and matters of the Church are treated; ſeeing they are enemies to
"the quietneſs thereof, and have by their devices raiſed the Troubles that pre-
"ſently do vex the ſame.

"3. That the Acts of Council, Proclamations, Decrees and Interloquutors paſſed
"in prejudice of the Church and Miniſters theſe laſt five weeks, be reſcinded and
"annulled.

"4. That the Commiſſioners of the Church be recalled by Proclamation, and
"the Burgeſſes of the Town permitted to remain and attend their Callings.

"5. That the Bond adviſed by the foreſaid enemies to be ſubſcrived by all the Mi-
"niſters under the pain of loſing their Benefices and ſtipends be diſcharged, ſeeing
"the ſame is prejudicial to the Goſpel, and that Commiſſion, as uſe is, to modi-
"fie Stipends, for the preſent year.

"Laſtly, that an Act of Council be made allowing the proceedings of the
"Church, and the concurrency given them by the Noblemen, Barons and other
"in the preſent action.

It was late and the night fallen before theſe Articles were put in form, the day being then at the ſhorteſt; the perſons choſen to preſent them were, the Lairds of *Bargenny*, *Pittarrow*, *Faudonſide*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*. Before their coming the Council had concluded not to receive the Petitions, as was promiſed, and to commit thoſe that did preſent them; yet doubtful what might be the event thereof, it was thought fitter to terrifie them from preſenting the ſame. For this effect the Lord *Ochiltry* was appointed to meet them at the utter Gate, who drawing *Bargenny* aſide adviſed him to go back, becauſe of the anger which the King had conceived, and to meddle no more in that buſineſs; for the King, he ſaid, knew he was brought upon it unwillingly, and would excuſe his part, if he went no farther. *Bargenny* forthinking his imployment, and not knowing how to colour it to his aſſociates, the Lord *Ochiltry* drew them aſide, and ſaid that he had brought the Laird of *Bargenny* to the Town for affairs that did nearly touch him, and that he did not think to meet with ſuch buſineſs at his coming, therefore deſired them to have his friend excuſed for that time; and ſeeing they were a number ſufficient to do the errand, they might go to it, or if they pleaſed to delay the ſame to the next morrow, he ſhould be with them. They anſwered, that they were alſe little foreſeen at their coming of thoſe matters as he was, and ſeeing they were all joyned in one Commiſſion, if he was the principal did decline it, they could do nothing by themſelves: and ſo the buſineſs was left for that night.

The Commiſſioners chuſed to preſent the Articles.

Bargenny declining the charge the buſineſs ceaſeth.

In the morning early the King and Council departed to *Linlithgow*, leaving a Proclamation, which was preſently publiſhed at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, of this Tenor. "That the King conſidering the late Treaſonable uproar mo-
"ved by certain Factious perſons of the Miniſtery of *Edinburgh*, (who after they
"had uttered moſt Seditious ſpeeches in Pulpit, did convene a number of
"Noblemen, Barons and others in the little Church, and ſent ſome of their num-
"ber to his Majeſty being then in the upper houſe of Seſſion, uſing him in a
"moſt

The King with the Council departeth to Linlithgow.

An. 1596. "most irreverent manner and with speeches ill-beseeming any subject; and that "a multitude of the Towns-men by persuasion of the said Ministery had treason-
A Proclamation discharging all Judicatories to sit in *Edinburgh*. "ably put themselves in Arms, intending to bereave his Majesty and his Coun-"cil of their lives) did think the said Town an unfit place for the ministration of "Justice, and had therefore ordained the Lords of Session, the Sheriffs, Commissi-"oners and Justice, with their several members and Deputies, to remove them-"selves forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and be in readiness to repair unto such pla-"ces as should be appointed; commanding in like sort all Noblemen and Barons "to dispatch unto their Houses, and not to presume to convene either in that or "any other place without his Majestie's licence, under the pain of his Highness "displeasure.

A great alteration in the minds of people. This Proclamation with the King's sudden departing wrought a great alteration in the minds of the people. They began then to see their error, and look'd heavy one upon another. The better sort being in a great perplexity what they should do, called their Council together, but could not resolve what course to take. To follow the King and plead for the Town, they could not think any of them would be accepted; (and it being the last day of the week, hardly would any others undertake the imployment) so as they saw no way but to be quiet till they heard what the King and Council concluded to do. But the Ministers persisting in their first resolution labored to have the Noblemen and Barons remain together, and to send for others well-affected in Religion, who, as they thought, would joyn in the cause.

A Bond for mutual concurrence. A Bond to this effect was drawn up, and subscrived by some few. The Council of the Town excused themselves, saying, Their good will was known, and that they were not to leave their dwellings; which made divers keep back their hands. Always it was thought meet that the Ministers should write to the Lord *Hamilton* and the Laird of *Bacleugh*, of whose assistence they held themselves assured, intreating them to repair to the Town and countenance the Cause; as likewise that the rest of the Ministers in the Countrey should be convened as unto a General Assembly, and desired to bring with them the best-affected Gentlemen within their Parishes.

The Excommunication of the President deferred. They were at the same time in a long deliberation, whether or not they should Excommunicate the Lord President and Advocate; which divers urged. The Controller was in some better opinion with them, by reason of a Message sent quietly to Mr. *Rob. Bruce*. But in end they resolved to continue that business to the meeting of the Assembly, when the Sentence might be pronounced with greater authority.

A Fast in the City. Meanwhile, to keep the people in a good disposition, a Fast was proclaimed through the City, and Sermons of Preparation ordained to be made that afternoon in all the Churches.

M. *Welch* and his Sermon. A Minister named Mr. *John Welch* making offer to supply the place in the high Church, was allowed to Preach, who taking for his theme the Epistle sent to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, did rail pitifully against the King, saying, *He was possessed with a Devil; and one Devil being put out seven worse were entred in place. And that the Subjects might lawfully rise, and take the Sword out of his hand*: which he confirmed by the example of *a Father that falling in a phrensie might be taken by the Children and servants of the family, and tied hand and foot from doing violence.* A most execrable Doctrine and directly repugnant to holy Scriptures; which yet was taken by many of the hearers as a sound and free application: So ready are men to flatter themselves in wickedness, and even to justifie Impiety it self.

A rumor dispersed that *Arrol* had some forces assembled. A rumor was then also dispersed about the Town, that in the day of Tumult the Earl of *Arrol* did come to the *Queen*'s *Ferry* with 500 horse, and was gone back upon report of the Stir. This upon the Sunday took up a great part of the Ministers Sermons, and was brought to justifie the multitudes proceedings, as though they had been directed by a secret providence to disappoint the wicked practices that were in hand. A manifest forgery it was, yet believed at the same time by foolish and credulous people.

The copy of the Letter sent to the Lord *Hamilton* shewed to the King. The Messenger sent to the Lord *Hamilton* was at his coming well received. At first the Nobleman made a shew that he would go for *Edinburgh*; but upon better advice he turned to *Linlithgow*, and taking the copy of the Letter that was sent unto

unto him, (for he rendred the principal to the bearer) he ſhewed the King what an invitation he had from thoſe at *Edinburgh*. The King at ſight of the Letter grew exceeding angry, for therein, after a ſhort narrative of the injuries the Church had received by the malice of ſome Counſellors, it was ſaid, That *the people animated by the Word and motion of God's Spirit had gone to Arms, and that the godly Barons and other Gentlemen that were in Town had convened themſelves, and taken on them the patrociny of the Church and her cauſe; only they lacked a Head and ſpecial Noblemen to countenance the matter: and ſince with one conſent they had made choice of his Lordſhip, their deſire was that he ſhould come to* Edinburgh *with all convenient diligence, and utter his affection to the Good Cauſe, accepting the honor which was offered unto him.* *An.* 1596.

This Letter endited by Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and ſubſcrived by him and Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, was of all that yet had happened the worſt, nor could it receive any good conſtruction; for albeit in an Apology afterwards ſet forth it was ſaid to be penned only to pleaſe the Nobleman, who was of an ambitious humor; yet put the caſe he had accepted, and taken before him to be their Head, as he was deſired, who can tell what miſchief might have enſued, and if it might not have turned to the wrack and ruine of many innocents? But faults follow one upon another, and when men have once paſſed bounds, they run eaſily into error. This Letter did offend many of the better ſort.

On Monday early a Charge was directed to the Provoſt and Bailiffs for impriſoning the Miniſters; but they upon ſome advertiſement fled, and went to *Newcaſtle* in *England*. The Town the ſame day ſent *John Arnot*, *Hugh Brown*, *George Heriot*, and *John Wat*, to purge themſelves of the Tumult, and offer their obedience in every thing his Majeſty and Council ſhould be pleaſed to enjoyn for repairing the indignity and diſhonor done to his Highneſs; providing they ſhould not be thought guilty of the crime, which from their hearts they deteſted. But the King would receive no Purgation, ſaying, *That fair and humble words could not excuſe ſuch a fault, and that he ſhould come ere it were long, and let them know he was their King*. The next day in Council the Tumult was declared to be Treaſon, and the Deviſers, Executors and Partakers to be Traitors, as likewiſe all that ſhould thereafter partake and aſſiſt the committers thereof. A charge for apprehending the Miniſters. The King refuſeth the Purgation offered by the Town. The Tumult declared treaſon by act of Council.

This put the Town in a great fear, neither did they expect any other then an utter ruine. All the Judicatories were removed to *Leith*, the Seſſion ordained to ſit at *Perth* after the firſt of *February*, their Miniſters were fled, the Magiſtrates not regarded, and thoſe of greateſt power about the King their enemies; what they ſhould do they were doubtful. After divers opinions given, they are reſolved that ſome ſhould be ſent who would be more acceptable, to ſupplicate the King, and excuſe the Town's part, for that perhaps would be taken better at other mens hands then any of their own. To this errand none was held ſo fit as Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *John Preſton*, and Mr. *John Sharp*, men in favor with the King, and free of all Faction. The Town employed others towards the King.

Theſe coming to the King at *Linlithgow*, after they had ſhewed the miſerable eſtate of the Town, and how grieved all honeſt men were for the diſpleaſure he had conceived againſt them, did beſeech him not to uſe the extremity of rigour, but to put a difference between the innocent and guilty. "In great Towns, ſuch "as that was, (they ſaid) there would ever be ſome bad ſpirits; and if the Inſolencies "of a raſcal Multitude ſhould be imputed to the Town, it would be thought hard, "ſpecially ſince the Magiſtrates had done their duties and repreſſed the Tumult. "If on their part there had been any connivence, or the ſmalleſt appearance that "they did favor the Sedition, they proteſted that they would not have opened "their mouths in their favor; but ſince it was known that none were more offend-"ed with the Tumult then they, and that they were careful to find out the authors "and preſent them to puniſhment, they could not but humbly entreat his Majeſty "to relent his wrath, and to be mitigated towards the Town. The Propoſition made by thoſe that were ſent by the Town.

The King after a little pauſe anſwered, *That he could not think the Town to be free; for if ſome of the Principals had not approved the Multitude in their doings, the Tumult could not have been ſo great; but howſoever the Magiſtrates negligence could not be excuſed, in ſo far as they did not prevent the Diſorder: always his reſolution was to proceed* His Majeſtie's Anſwer.

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An. 1596. *by form of Law, and not to uſe any violent courſe; but he had appointed the Eſtates to meet in the ſame place where the Diſhonor was done unto him, and would follow their advice both in the Trial and Puniſhment.* With this anſwer they were dimitted.

The King cometh to *Leith*, and the next day to *Edinburgh*.

The laſt of *December*, which was the day preceding the Convention, the King came to *Leith*, and ſtayed there all night, giving order for his entry into the Town the next morning, which was in this manner: The Keys of the Town being delivered to one of the King's Officers, a Guard of armed men was placed in the ſtreets, and the Citizens commanded to ſtay within their houſes, and forbidden to carry any weapon. The Earl of *Marre* with the Lord *Seaton* and *Ochiltrie* had the charge of the Town given them, without the admiſſion of the Magiſtrates; and they having diſpoſed all things in the beſt faſhion, the King accompanied with a great train of Nobles entered the Town, and riding up the ſtreet lighted at the *Tolbuith*, where the Eſtates were appointed to meet. After ſome general diſcourſes of the Tumult, the King was adviſed to call the Magiſtrates, and hear what they could ſay in behalf of the Town.

Offers made by the Town for pacifying his Majeſtie's anger.

Sir *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick* Provoſt, *Roger Matmath*, *George Todrick*, *Patrick Cothran*, and *Alexander Hunter* Bailiffs, with a number of the Town-Council, compeiring and falling on their knees, after ſome few words delivered by the Provoſt, did preſent in writing the Offers following.

"That for pacifying his Majeſtie's wrath, and ſatisfying the Lords of Council, "they ſhould upon their great Oath purge themſelves of all foreknowledge and "partaking in that ſeditious Tumult. And as already they had made a diligent "ſearch to find out the Authors, ſo they ſhould not ceaſe till they had brought the "Trial unto the uttermoſt point: or if his Majeſty and Council do think any "others more fit to take the Examination, they ſhould willingly reſign their pla-"ces to ſuch as his Highneſs would appoint, and aſſiſt them at their power. And "becauſe his Majeſty had taken that Tumult to proceed from certain Sermons "preached by their Miniſters, who were now denounced Rebels, they ſhould pro-"miſe never to readmit any of thoſe Miniſters, unleſs his Majeſty did command "otherwiſe. As alſo, that the like ſhould not fall out thereafter, the Town ſhould "be obliged never to receive any Miniſter in time coming but by his Majeſtie's ad-"vice and approbation: and in the election of their Magiſtrates they ſhould year-"ly preſent their lites to his Majeſty and the Lords of Seſſion, to be allowed or "diſallowed at their pleaſure, and propone ſuch others as his Majeſty ſhould think "more apt and ſufficient for the Charge, and to that effect ſhould alter the time "of their Election, and make the ſame on ſome day of *November*, when the "Lords of Seſſion were convened and might give their advice thereto. They "did laſtly offer to fulfil whatſoever his Majeſty and Council ſhould think fit to "be done in the premiſſes, under Proteſtation that they did not take upon them "the crime, and that it ſhould not be thought to have been committed of their "foreknowledge.

The effects of the Mutiny contrary to that which was intended.

Thus it proved true which *Tacitus* ſaith, that *all Conſpiracies of the Subjects, if they ſucceed not, advance the Sovereignty:* for by this Tumult was the King's Authority in matters Eccleſiaſtical ſo far advanced, as he received little or no oppoſition thereafter.

Advice given to raze the Town.

The Offers of the Town, howbeit made in great Submiſſion, were not accepted, and counſel given by ſome Noblemen to raze the Town, and erect a Pillar in place thereof, for a monument of the Inſolency committed, and the juſt puniſhment taken thereof. Others were more mild in their opinions; but for that time nothing was concluded.

The Queen of *England* upon notice ſent to her of theſe Broils did write to the King a Letter, which (for the loving advice it contained) I thought meet here to inſert.

The Queen of *England*'s Letter to the King.

My dear Brother,

IF a rare accident and ill-welcomed news had not broken my long ſilence, I had not uſed now Pen-ſpeech, as being careful of your quiet, and mindful of your ſafety. To omit

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the expreſſing of both, by letting you know how untimely I take this new-begun Phrenſie, that may urge you to take ſuch a courſe, as may bring into opinion the verifying of ſuch a Scandal as ye avowed to me to be far from your thought. In this ſort I mean it; ſome members of the Church with their companies have over-audaciouſly emboldened themſelves to redreſs ſome injurious Acts that they feared might overthrow their Profeſſion: which though I grant no King for the manner ought to bear with, yet at the inſtant when the new baniſhed Lords returned, and they ſeen to be winked at without reſtraint, and the Spring-time going on, when promiſed ſuccor is attended, together with many Letters from Rome *and elſewhere ſent abroad, to tell the names of men authorized by you, as they ſay, (though I hope falſly) to aſſure your Conformity, as time may ſerve you, to eſtabliſh the dangerous party, and fail your own: I wail in unfeigned ſort, that any juſt cauſe ſhould be given you to call in doubt ſo diſguiſed acts, and hope that you will ſo try this cauſe as that it harm not you, though it ruine them.* An. 1596.

Of this you may be ſure, that if you make your ſtrength of ſo ſandy a foundation, as to call to your aid ſuch as be not of your Flock, whenas the one ſide be fooliſh, raſh, head-ſtrong and brainſick, yet ſuch as may defend you, having no ſure anchorage for themſelves, if you fail them; and the others, who have other props to ſuſtain them, though they lack you, yea ſuch as though your private love to their perſons may inveigle your eyes, not to pierce in the depth of their Treaſon, yet it is well known that their many Petitions for forein aid might have tended to your peril, and your Countrey's wreck; for ſeldom comes a Stranger to a weaker ſoil that thralleth not the poſſeſſor, or indangereth him at leaſt. I truſt you think no leſs; or elſe they muſt juſtifie themſelves to condemn you, for without your diſpleaſure, not feared for ſuch a fact, no anſwer can ſhield them from blame. Now to utter my folly in ſeeming buſie in anothers affairs, I ſuppoſe you will not miſlike, ſince the ſource of all is care of your good, to deſire that nought be done that may embolden the enemy, decreaſe your love, and endanger your ſurety. This is in ſum the line whereto I tend, and God I beſeech to direct your heart in ſuch ſort, as ye pleaſe not your worſt ſubjects, but make all know in a meaſure what is fit for them, and make difference between Error and Malice. So God bleſs you with a true thought of her that means you beſt,

Your moſt affectionate ſiſter
ELIZABETH R.

This Letter was to the King's mind: for albeit he judged the Offence great, yet it was not his purpoſe to uſe Rigor, but to aſſure the Obedience of the ſubjects in time coming, and make his own advantage of their Diſorders. Therefore in the next Meeting which was kept at *Halirudhouſe*, the Tumult being of new declared to be Treaſon by the Eſtates, no farther was done, but a concluſion taken to purſue the Town criminally before the Juſtice; and to charge the Provoſt, Baylies, Council and Deacons of Crafts, as repreſenting the whole Body of the Town, to enter their perſons within the Town of *Perth* before the firſt of *February*, and there to keep Ward till they ſhould be cleared, or found guilty of the Uproar.

The Letter pleaſed the King well.

The Tumult declared Treaſon in the Convention of Eſtates.

The Town of *Edinburgh* charged to appear at *Perth*.

In this Convention the *Octavians* not according well amongſt themſelves, (for the Prior of *Blantyre* did keep a courſe with the Gentlemen of the Chamber, and underhand informed the Miniſtery of the ill affection that the Preſident and Advocate carried unto them) gave over their Commiſſion of Exchequer in his Majeſtie's hands. They pretended the many burthens which they ſuſtained otherwiſe, their ſervices in Council and Seſſion, with the charge of the Queen's Rent and living; but the true cauſe was, the malice and envy carried unto them for the credit and place they had with the King, which their ſervice had well deſerved; for never were the Rents of the Crown ſo thriftily and ſo rightly uſed as in that ſhort time of their employment. But the King loved to have Peace though with his own loſs neither did they like to be the inſtruments of his Trouble.

The *Octavians* quit their Commiſſion of the Exchequer.

A little before theſe Stirs with the Church, Captain *James Stewart* (who had been ſometimes Chancellor, and carried the Title of the *Earl of Arran*) was killed by *James Douglas* of *Tortherald*. This man after he was put from Court had lived obſcure in the North parts, and was entertained by the Lady *Salton* his Siſter-in-law.

Captain *James Stewart* killed.

An. 1596. Being in ſome hope to come again by the Office of Chancellary, which was yet void by the death of the Lord *Thirleſtan*, he came South, and had a long conference with the King, which did greatly encourage him; but till matters might be better prepared, he took purpoſe to viſit his friends in *Kyle*. Taking his journey by *Symington* nigh unto *Douglas*, he was adviſed by his friends in thoſe parts to look to himſelf, and not ride ſo openly becauſe of *Tortherald* that lived not far off, whoſe Uncle he had followed (as they ſpake) to the death. His reply (as he was a man proud and diſdainful) That he would not leave his way for him, nor for all the name of *Douglas*, being overheard by a fellow, and reported to *Tortherald*, did ſo inflame him, the old ulcer remaining uncured, as he avouched to have his life at all hazards. So getting intelligence that he had taken horſe, he made after him with three of his ſervants, and overtaking him in a valley called *Catſlack*, after he had ſtricken him from his horſe, did kill him without any reſiſtence. It is ſaid that when Captain *James* ſaw the horſemen following, he asked how they called the piece of ground on which they were, and when he heard the name of it, he commanded the company to ride more quickly, as having gotten a reſponſe to beware of ſuch a part. He was a man full of violence, and when he was in place of Rule executed it with much cruelty, which was now payed home in the end.

A National Aſſembly indicted at *Perth*.

The King, who longed to ſee a decent Order eſtabliſhed in the Church, ſuch as agreed with the Word of God, the allowable cuſtom of the Primitive times, and with the Laws of the Countrey, did think this a fit time to effectuate his purpoſe, and thereupon to hold a National Aſſembly to meet at *Perth* the laſt of *February*, for treating and determining the bounds and exerciſe of the Spiritual Juriſdiction; and to the end that all might come the better prepared, and be duly adviſed with the matters then to be entreated, he cauſed ſome Articles to be drawn up and imprinted with a Preface, wherein he *took God the ſearcher of all hearts to record, that his intention was not to trouble the peace of the Church by thorny queſtions, nor yet to claim to himſelf any tyrannical or unlawful Government over the ſame, but only to have theſe Doubts ſolved, which might either in his time or in the time of his Succeſſors engender debate; and to have the Policy of the Church ſo cleared, as all Corruptions being removed, a pleaſant Harmony might be ſetled betwixt him and the Miniſtery, to the glory of Almighty God, the content of all good men, and terror of the wicked.*

Articles publiſhed in print for the better preparation to the Aſſembly.

The Articles were 55 in number, and drawn up in form of Queſtions, as followeth.

1. May not the matters of external Gubernation of the Church be diſputed, *ſalva Fide & Religione*?
2. Is it the King ſeverally, or the Paſtors ſeverally, or both conjunctly, that ſhould eſtabliſh the Acts concerning the Gubernation of the Church? or what is the form of their conjunction in the making of Laws?
3. Is not the conſent of the moſt part of the Flock, and alſo of the Patron, neceſſary in the Election of Paſtors.
4. Is it lawful for the Paſtor to leave his Flock againſt their wills, albeit he have the conſent of the Presbytery? and for what cauſe ſhould the Presbytery conſent thereto?
5. Is it lawful for a Miniſter to uſe ſuch application then that which may edifie his own Flock? or is the whole world the Flock of every particular Paſtor?
6. Is he a lawful Miniſter who wants *Impoſitionem mannuum?*
7. Is it lawful to Paſtors to expreſs in particular the names of Counſellors, Magiſtrates, or others whatſoever in Pulpit, or ſo lively to deſcrive them that the people may underſtand, by whom they mean, without notorious declared Vices and private Admonitions preceding?
8. For what Vices ſhould Admonitions and reproving of Magiſtrates paſs publickly from Pulpits, in their abſence or preſence, reſpective?
9. Is the Application of Doctrine in Pulpits lawful which is founded upon informations, bruits and rumors, ſuſpicions and conditions, if this be or that be, probabilities, likelineſs or unlikelineſs of things to come in Civil matters, which

which all may be falſe, and conſequently the Doctrine following thereupon? or ſhould all Applications be grounded upon the verity of known and notorious Vices? *An.* 1596.

10. Is the Text which is read in Pulpit the ground whereupon all the Doctrine ſhould be built? or may all things be ſpoken upon all Texts, ſo that the reading thereof is but a Ceremony?
11. May a ſimple Paſtor exerciſe any Juriſdiction, without conſent of the moſt part of his particular Seſſion?
12. Is his Seſſion Judge to his Doctrine?
13. Should not the Moderator of the Seſſion be choſen yearly, or any who hath voice therein?
14. May the Seſſion be elected lawfully by Miniſters only, without the conſent of the whole Congregation?
15. Why ſhould not Elders and Deacons of particular Seſſions be elected *ad vitam?*
16. How many Presbyteries are meet to be in the whole Countrey, in what places, and how many Paſtors of Churches in every Presbytery?
17. Should not the Elders and Deacons of every particular Seſſion have voice in Presbyteries, or the Paſtors only?
18. What are the matters belonging to the Juriſdiction of the Presbytery, which may not be entreated in particular Seſſions?
19. What form of Proceſs in Libelling and Citation, what Terms and Diets, and what Probations ſhould be uſed before the ſaid particular Seſſions and Presbyteries reſpective?
20. What matters ſhould the Synodal Aſſemblies treat upon, which may not be decided in Presbyteries?
21. Should not all who have voice in Presbyteries and in the particular Seſſions, have voice in the Synodal Aſſemblies?
22. Should each Univerſity or College, or every Maſter or Regent within Colleges, have voice in Presbyteries and Synods, in the Towns and Countreys where they are? as likewiſe what form of voice ſhould they have in General Aſſemblies?
23. Is it lawful to convocate the General Aſſembly without his Majeſtie's licence, he being *pius & Chriſtianus Magiſtratus?*
24. Is it neceſſary that the General Aſſembly ſhould be ordinarily convened for weighty cauſes concerning the whole Church?
25. Have not all men of good Religion and Learning voice in the General Aſſembly?
26. Is every particular Paſtor obliged to repair to the General Aſſembly? or is it ſufficient that only Commiſſioners come from every particular Seſſion, Presbytery, or Synodal?
27. Who ſhould chuſe the Commiſſioners to come from every Shire to give voice in the General Aſſembly?
28. What is the number of thoſe that give voices, which is neceſſary to the lawfulneſs of a General Aſſembly? and how many of the number ſhould be Paſtors, and how many other men?
29. May any thing be enacted in the Aſſembly to which his Majeſty conſents not?
30. Is it neceſſary that the twe part of them who have *jus ſuffragii* ſhould conſent to any things decerned in Eccleſiaſtick judgments, that matters paſs not by one voice mo or leſs?
31. Hath not every Judgement inferior to the General Aſſembly a Territory limited, without the which they have no power of Citation or Juriſdiction?
32. What is the ordinary Eccleſiaſtick judgment for his Majeſtie's Houſhold and Council, removable with his Majeſty to any part of the Realm?
33. Should there be libelled Precepts containing the cauſe of the Citation

An. 1596.

and certification of the Cenſures before all Eccleſiaſtick judgments? or ſhould they anſwer *ſuper inquirendis?*

34. Have the Inferior Judgements power to ſummon any to compeir before the Superior? or ſhould men be ſummoned only by the authority of that Judgment before which they ought to compeir?

35. Is it not neceſſary that private Admonitions, with reaſonable intervals of time, paſs before all manner of Citations?

36. What interval of time is neceſſary between every private Admonition and between the firſt Citation, and the day of compeirance, and betwixt the Citation and the laſt Admonition, in every one of the ſaid Judgments?

37. How many Citations ſhould infer Contumacie?

38. Is ſimple Contumacy without Probation of a crime, or is any Crime without Contumacy, a ſufficient cauſe of Excommunication?

39. Are there not divers kinds of Cenſures, ſuch as *Prohibitio privati convictus, Interdictio à cœna,* not publiſhed to the people; and laſt of all, *Publica traditio Satanæ?*

40. Should the Presbyteries be Judges of all things that import Slander? and if ſo be, whereof are they not Judges?

41. Can Excommunication be uſed againſt Thieves, Murtherers, Uſurers, and not payers of their Debts? and if ſo it may be, why are not the High-land and Border-thieves curſed, as alſo all the forſwearing Merchants and Uſerers amongſt the Burroughs?

42. Is there any Appellation from the Inferior to the Superior Judgment? and is not the Sentence ſuſpended during the Apellation?

43. Should not all Proceſſes and Acts be extracted to parties having intereſs?

44. Is ſummary Excommunication lawful in any caſe without Admonition and Citation preceding?

45. Have any others but Paſtors voice in Excommunication?

46. Hath every Eccleſiaſtical Judgment a like power to Excommunicate?

47. Is it lawful to excommunicate ſuch Papiſts as never profeſſed our Religion?

48. A Woman being excommunicated, having a faithful Husband, ſhould he thereafter abſtain from her company?

49. Is it not reaſonable that before any Letters of horning be granted by the Seſſion upon the Proceſs of Excommunication, that the party ſhould be cited to hear them granted?

50. Hath not a Chriſtian King power to annul a notorious unjuſt Sentence of Excommunication?

51. May any Council or Univerſity be excommunicated? for what cauſe, by whom, and the manner thereof?

52. When the Paſtors do not their duties, or when one Juriſdiction uſurpeth upon another, or any other Schiſm falleth out, ſhould not a Chriſtian King amend ſuch diſorders?

53. May Faſts for general cauſes be proclaimed without a Chriſtian King's command?

54. May any Eccleſiaſtical Judgment compel a man to ſwear *in ſuam turpitudinem?*

55. Should there any thing be entreated in the Eccleſiaſtical Judgment prejudicial to the Civil Juriſdiction or private mens rights? and may not the Civil Magiſtrates ſtay all ſuch proceedings?

The Miniſters greatly perplexed with theſe Queſtions.

How ſoon theſe Queſtions were divulged, and that it was ſeen they all touched upon the abuſes crept into the Diſcipline, the Miniſters that ſtood affected to the preſent Order were much perplexed; neither did any thing more offend them, then that the Government ſhould be brought in diſpute which they had given out always to be a part of the Goſpel. This at any hand they thought was to be prevented;

vented; and many private Conferences were kept to this purpoſe. Neither did the King neglect to provide himſelf of a party againſt that Meeting; and thinking he ſhould gain moſt eaſily the Miniſters in the North parts, he employed Sir *Patrick Murray*, Gentleman of his Chamber, to deal with them, giving him direction firſt to ſhew what a ſlander the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* had brought upon Religion by ſtirring up of the late Uproar, and the inciting of the Lord *Hamilton* and others of the Nobility to open Rebellion againſt him; how for the ſame they were become Fugitives, and denounced his Majeſtie's Rebels; and thereupon to deſire them by ſome publick Act or Declaration to utter their diſlike of the Seditious and Treaſonable courſes. *An.* 1596.

Sir *Patrick Murray* directed to the North to deal with the Miniſters.

He was next deſired to urge their Subſcription to the Bond, which was appointed to be ſubſcribed by the Miniſters for acknowledging his Majeſtie's Royal power above them in all cauſes of Sedition, Treaſon, and other Civil and Criminal matters, and in all ſpeeches uttered by them in Pulpits, Schools, or otherwiſe, which might import the ſaid crimes, or any of them.

Thirdly, To require them to accept the Earl of *Huntley* his Offers for ſatisfying the Church, and to abſolve him from his Excommunication, they finding his Offers reaſonable; ſeeing *the boſome of the Church ought always to be open to Penitents*, and that they ſhould be more ready to receive then caſt out: wherefore as the Presbytery of S. *Andrews*, to the which he was not ſubject, had pronounced him Excommunicate, they, under whoſe Juriſdiction he lived, might and ought with better reaſon declare him abſolved. Neither ſhould the pretext of the General Aſſemblie's Ratification of the Sentence be a ſtay unto them, conſidering it was done many months after the pronouncing of the Sentence, and that the Abſolution they ſhould give might in the like manner be ratified at the next Aſſembly; much leſs ought the prohibition of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* (whereof his Majeſty was informed) be any hindrance to them, ſeeing they were neither ſubject nor ſubordinate to them, but as free in all reſpects as themſelves.

And if any doubt ſhould ariſe upon the form of the Earl's ſatisfaction, he was to remember them that the ſame is expreſly defined in the Act of Parliament, *An.* 1572, made againſt Apoſtates and other adverſaries of the true Religion, where it is ſaid, *That they which have made defection from the Truth ſhould not be received to our Sovereign Lord's mercy and favor, till they have given of new the Confeſſion of their Faith, and promiſed to continue in the Profeſſion thereof all time coming, and to fortifie the Preachers of the ſame againſt whatſoever enemies.*

Laſt of all, he was appointed to deliver them a Copy of the imprinted Queſtions, and to deſire the moſt diſcreet of their number to be ſent Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly appointed at *Perth*, with promiſe of ſpecial favor to them in all their buſineſs, his good will towards the Miniſtery being no way altered by the wrong he had received from thoſe inſolent Miniſters of *Edinburgh*. This was the ſubſtance of his Inſtructions.

The Miniſters with the reverence that was due made anſwer, That for *the Tumult of Edinburgh* they were ignorant of the Miniſters behavior therein, as likewiſe of their flight; and having no Juriſdiction over them, they could give forth no Judgment or Cenſure: only in the general they would ſay, that whoſoever with juſt trial ſhould be found Authors of that Inſurrection deſerved to be puniſhed as Traitors; and if they were Miniſters, to be doubly puniſhed. The Miniſters Anſwer.

For their *Subſcription to the Bonds*, they anſwered, That at their acception of the Miniſtery they had taken Oath for acknowledging his Majeſtie's Power and Authority, and would not decline the ſame: but where the Bond did mention ſpeeches uttered in Pulpit, becauſe the ſame concerned application of Doctrine, which his Majeſty had proponed as a Queſtion to be decided in the approaching Aſſembly, they did humbly entreat his Majeſty to ſpare them in that point unto that time, which they promiſed preciſely to keep.

For *the Earl of Huntley*, they ſaid, His Repentance ſhould be moſt acceptable to them; that they were content to give him conference, and uſe all means for his reſolution; but they did not find him ſo willing to conform as they wiſhed, nor very earneſt for his Abſolution.

An. 1596. This was the ſum of their Anſwer; which the King did accept the better, becauſe of the hopes given to his ſervant of all ſatisfaction on their parts at the Meeting of *Perth*: which they alſo performed; for both then and afterwards in all Aſſemblies and Conventions they did ſtick faſt unto him. But the King being made to underſtand that *Huntley* did linger and delay to make offers for ſatisfying the Church, he ſent him the Letter following written all with his own hand.

His Majeſtie's Letter to the Earl of *Huntley*.

My Lord,

I Am ſure ye conſider and do remember how often I have incurred skaith and hazard for your cauſe; therefore, to be ſhort, reſolve you either to ſatisfie the Church betwixt the day that is appointed without any more delay, or elſe if your Conſcience be ſo kittle as it cannot permit you, make for another Land *betwixt and that day, where ye may uſe freely your own Conſcience: your Wife and Barns ſhall in that caſe enjoy your living; but for your ſelf look never to be a* Scottiſh-*man again. Deceive not your ſelf to think that by lingring of time your Wife and your Allies ſhall ever get you better Conditions. And think not that I will ſuffer any profeſſing a contrary Religion to dwell in this Land. If you obey me in this, you may once again be ſetled in a good eſtate, and made able to do me ſervice, which from my heart I would wiſh. The reſt I remit to the bearer, whoſe directions ye ſhall follow if you wiſh your own well. Farewell.*

From *Dunfermlin*. *JAMES R.*

Letters directed to the Presbyteries for keeping the Aſſembly.

Such was the King's care for reclaiming the Nobleman to the profeſſion of the Truth, whileſt people ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed with rumors that he himſelf was declining. Letters in the mean time were directed to all the Presbyteries, advertiſing them of the meeting at *Perth*, and deſiring they ſhould ſend their Commiſſioners thither inſtructed with power to treat and conclude in all matters proponed. When the day came, the Aſſembly was frequent enough; but divers Commiſſioners bearing a power only to convene, hear and report, and not to queſtion any thing concluded in former Aſſemblies; the King ſent Sir *John Cockborne* of *Ormeſton*, Sir *John Preſton* and Mr. *Edward Bruce*, to ask thoſe that were convened, *Whether they did accompt that meeting a lawful General Aſſembly, having power ſufficient to treat and conclude in the Articles that ſhould be proponed, according to his Majeſtie's miſſive Letters directed to the ſeveral Presbyteries.* After long reaſoning anſwer was made, "That they did eſteem the Meeting to be a lawful General Aſſembly,

The Aſſembly declared to be a lawful General Aſſembly.

"called extraordinarily by his Majeſtie's Letters, and that they would hear, "treat and conclude of things that ſhould be moved unto them, according to the "Commiſſions wherewith they were authorized.

Articles preſented by his Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly.

This anſwer given, they preſented the Articles following. Seeing the quietneſs of the Church and the freeing of the ſame from Slander, which upon the contrary effects would neceſſarily follow, is the principal ſcope and end at which his Majeſty aimeth in this preſent Aſſembly, foreſhewing faſhions and long diſputes whereupon controverſies and debates might ariſe, his Majeſty hath thought good to remit the deciſion of a great number of the Queſtions imprinted to better opportunity, and will content himſelf with the determination of a few that he hath made choice of, which with a greater could not be longer delayed.

As firſt, That it be not thought unlawful either to the Prince or any of the Paſtors at any time hereafter to move doubts, and crave reformation of any points in the external Policy and Diſcipline of the Church, which are not eſſential concerning Salvation, nor expreſly defined in Scripture; providing it be done *decenter* in right time and place, *animo ædificandi, non tentandi.*

2. That ſeeing the Civil and Politick Government of the Countrey belongs properly to the King's Office and his Counſellors, and it is no way pertinent to the ſpiritual Miniſtery of the Word; that no Miniſter ſhould thereafter meddle with matters of Eſtate in Pulpit, or with any of his Majeſtie's Laws, Statutes or Ordinances; but if any of them ſeem hurtful to Religion, they ſhould complain to the King and Council.

3. That

3. That it ſhould not be lawful to Miniſters to name any particular mens names in Pulpit, or ſo vively to deſcrive them as may be equivalent to their naming, except upon the notoriety of a Crime, which notoriety muſt only be defined by the guilty perſons being Fugitive for the Crimes, or the Declaration of an Aſſize, or their excommunication for the ſame. *An.* 1596.

4. That every Miniſter in his particular Application have only reſpect to the edification of his own Flock and preſent Auditory, without expatiating in other diſcourſes no way pertinent to their Congregation.

5. That every particular Presbytery be commanded to take a diligent accompt of the Doctrine of their Miniſters, and ſee that they keep themſelves within bounds in the premiſſes.

6. That ſummary Excommunication be utterly diſcharged, and that three lawful Citations at leaſt of eight days interval betwixt every one of them precede the Sentence.

7. That no Seſſion, Presbytery or Synod uſe Cenſures upon any but thoſe that are within their bounds; otherwiſe their Decrees and Sentences to be null.

8. That all Summons contain a ſpecial cauſe and crime, and none be uſed *ſuper inquirendis, quod eſt mere tyrannicum.*

9. That no Meeting or Convention be amongſt the Miniſters without his Majeſtie's knowledge and conſent, except the ordinary Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods.

10. That in the principal Burghs no Miniſters be placed without the conſent of his Majeſty and the Flock; and this order to begin preſently in *Edinburgh.*

11. That all matters concerning the reſt of his Majeſtie's Queſtions be ſuſpended, and neither condemned nor rebuked, either in Pulpit, or any other Judicatory, till the ſame be decided in the next General Aſſembly; eſpecially that no matters be called before the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories as importing Slander, wherein his Majeſtie's Authority may be prejudged; but that they meddle only with Cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtical.

12. That ſome wiſe and diſcreet Miniſters, to the number of ſeven or eight, be authorized by Commiſſion to reaſon upon the reſt of the Queſtions, when opportunity of time ſhall ſerve.

Laſtly, that the preſent Aſſembly grant Commiſſion to the Miniſters of the North Countrey to abſolve the Earl of *Huntley* from his Excommunication, if he ſatisfie the Church.

The advice of certain Brethren ſet apart to conſider the Articles.

For the better determining of the ſaid Articles, it was thought meet that ſome Brethren ſhould be deſired to confer of them apart, and report their opinions to the Aſſembly, which they did the next morning. Touching the Firſt Article, they ſaid, That they held it not expedient to make any Law or Act concerning that matter, leſt a door ſhould be opened thereby to turbulent ſpirits; otherwiſe they did think it lawful to his Majeſty by himſelf or by his Commiſſioners to propone in a General Aſſembly whatſoever point his Majeſty deſired to be reſolved in, or to be reformed *in ſpecie externi ordinis*, ſeeing *ſubſtantia externæ adminiſtrationis Eccleſiaſticæ eſt pleniſſime prodita in Sacris Literis.* And as the General Aſſembly hath accepted well of this manner of doing in all times paſt, ſo in their opinion they ſhould do the like in time coming.

For the Second their advice was, That the Acts already made which are hurtful to Religion and prejudicial to the liberty of the Word ſhould be diſcharged, and no Act thereafter paſt concerning Religion without the advice and conſent of the Church. As for matters of Eſtate mentioned in the Article, they craved a farther explanation of that point.

The Third they eſteemed reaſonable, that no man's name ſhould be expreſſed to his rebuke in Pulpit, unleſs the fault was notorious and publick; but they eſteemed *Notoriety* muſt be defined otherwiſe then by the three ways ſet down in the Article: for Contumacy after Citation, the publick commiſſion of a Crime, ſuch as was *Bothwell*'s treaſonable attempt at *Leith*, the Burning of *Dumbriſſill*, and the like, make alſo a Notoriety. As to the *vive deſcription*, ſaid to be *equivalent*, they thought

An. 1596. thought it hard to ſet any Law to that, ſeeing every guilty perſon will think himſelf deſcrived when his fault is rebuked, albeit the Miniſter doth not think of him.

The Fourth and Fifth Articles they judged lawful: But for the Sixth, which craves a ſimple charge of ſummar Excommunication, they adviſed to remit the ſame to the next Aſſembly, ſuſpending the practice thereof in the mean time. The Seventh, they thought likewiſe was to be remitted. To the Eighth they agreed; and for the Ninth that concerned the meeting of Paſtors, they ſaid that beſides Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods, Paſtors are accuſtomed to meet for Viſitation of Churches, Admiſſion of Miniſters, taking up of Feuds, reſolving of Queſtions.

The Tenth they eſteemed reaſonable. The Eleventh Article ſeeming to import a diſcharge of many points of Diſcipline, they ſaid was ſo large that it could not be preſently anſwered. And the laſt Two they remitted to the full Aſſembly, judging that they ought to be granted.

The Aſſembly required to meet with the Eſtates.

Theſe Anſwers ſhewed to the King were not liked, and held unſufficient; whereupon the Aſſembly was deſired to repair to the place where his Majeſty and the Eſtates were convened, for treating upon the foreſaid Articles. At their coming the King had a Speech much to this purpoſe; "That they could not be ignorant either "of the occaſion, or of his purpoſe in calling the preſent Aſſembly: And for the "Occaſion, that it grieved him to remember it, not for any injury or diſpleaſure "done to himſelf, but for the ſhame and ſlander caſt upon Religion: for have not "the adverſaries, ſaid he, too juſt a ground againſt us, who ſay that our profeſſion "teacheth the Contempt of Princes, and maintains Inſurrections againſt them? I "know it is the fault of men and not of the profeſſion, and none of you that are met "here I take to be guilty of the late attempt; but it is in your hands to clear your "ſelves, if any think otherwiſe, and ſo to free your Profeſſion of that Scandal. As "for the Purpoſe for which I have called you together at this time, it is to mend "ſuch things as are amiſs, and to take away the queſtions that may move trouble "afterward: if you for your parts be willing to have matters righted, things may "yet go well. I claim nothing but what is due to every Chriſtian King within his "Dominion, that is to be *Cuſtos & vindex Diſciplinæ*. Corruptions are crept in, "and more daily growing by this liberty that Preachers take in the Application of "their Doctrine, and cenſuring every thing that is not to their mind. This I muſt "have mended; for ſuch diſcourſes ſerve only to move Sedition and raiſe Tumults. "Let the Truth of God be taught in the Chair of Truth, and wickedneſs be repro-"ved; but in ſuch ſort as the offender may be bettered, and Vice made more odious. "To rail againſt men in Pulpit, and expreſs their Names, as we know was done of "late, there being no juſt cauſe, and make the Word of God, which is ordained to "guide men in the way of Salvation, an inſtrument of Sedition, is a Sin, I am ſure, "beyond all other that can be committed on earth. Hold you within your limits, "and I will never blame you, nor ſuffer others to work you any vexation. The Ci-"vil Government is committed to me, it is not your ſubject, nor are ye to meddle "with it. After ſuch words as theſe he began to ſpeak of the Articles proponed, deſiring to hear what Reaſons they had to the contrary.

Proteſtation made by Mr. *Tho. Buchanan* in name of the Church.

Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, as he was appointed, did firſt proteſt in the name of the Aſſembly, "That their coming to that place was only to teſtifie their obedience "to his Majeſty, and to hear what ſhall be proponed; but not to ſubmit matters "Eccleſiaſtick, either concerning Doctrine or Diſcipline, to their Judicatory; or "yet to make themſelves one Aſſembly with the Eſtates: and that therefore they "ſhould be permitted to return to the place of their Aſſembly to treat, reaſon and "conclude in the Points moved unto them according to the Word of God & good "Conſciences. Which Proteſtation was admitted. Then he did humbly thank his Majeſty for his good affection to the Church, and care he had to redreſs things that were amiſs in ſo peaceable a manner. And for the particulars proponed, he ſhewed what was the mind of the Aſſembly, and the Reaſons that led them unto it, ſaying, they were willing to hear and give place to better information. Hereupon enſued a Reaſoning, which kept a long time, & ended in a good Agreement: ſo the Miniſters

were

were dimitted, and assembling again in the ordinary place, they corrected their first Answers in this sort. *An.* 1596.

The Answers of the Articles reformed.

1. That it is lawful to his Majesty by himself or his Commissioners, or to the Pastors, to propone in a General Assembly whatsoever point his Majesty or they desire to be resolved or reformed in matters of external Government, alterable according to circumstances; providing it be done in right time and place, *animo ædificandi, non tentandi.*

2. That no Minister should reprove his Majestie's Laws, Acts, Statutes and Ordinances, unto such time as first he hath by the advice of his Presbytery, Synodal or General Assemblies, complained and sought remedy of the same from his Majesty, and made report of his Majestie's answer, before any farther proceeding.

3. That no man's name should be expressed in Pulpit to his rebuke, except the Fault be notorious and publick; which Notoriety is thus defined, If the person be Fugitive, convict by Assize, Excommunicate, Contumax after Citation or lawful Admonition; nor yet should any man be described vively by any other circumstances then publick Vices always damnable.

4. That no Minister should use Application, wherein he hath not a principal respect to the edifying of his own Flock and present Auditory.

5. That every Presbyter take diligent accompt of the Pastor's Doctrine, and that he keep himself within the bounds of his words.

6. That the answers of the Sixth Article shall be superseded unto the next General Assembly, suspending in the mean time all summary Excommunication unto the said Assembly.

7. That the Seventh Article be remitted to the next Assembly.

8. That all Summons contain the special cause and crime, and none to be given out *super inquirendis.*

9. That no Conventions shall be amongst the Pastors without his Majestie's knowledge and consent, except their Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods, the Meetings of the Visitations of Churches, Admission or Deprivation of Ministers, taking up of deadly Feuds, and the like, which have not been found fault with by his Majesty.

10. That in all principal Towns the Ministers shall not be chosen without his Majestie's consent and the consent of the Flock.

11. That all matters concerning remnant Questions shall be suspended, and neither damned nor rebuked in Pulpit or other Judicatories, till they be decided in the General Assembly; and that no matters importing Slander shall be called before them in the mean time, wherein his Majestie's Authority is prejudged, causes Ecclesiastical only excepted.

Persons nominated to reason the remaining Questions.

Lastly, for reasoning the said Questions, according to his Majestie's desire, the Assembly did ordain Mr. *James Nicolson*, Mr. *John Coldclewch*, Mr. *Andrew Clayhills*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *James Melvill*, Mr. *Robert Wilky*, Mr. *William Cowper*, Mr. *John Cowper*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Robert Howy*, *John Duncanson*, and Mr. *James Bryson* to convene at such time and place, as his Majesty should be pleased to appoint, and to report their opinion and advice to the next general Assembly.

Commission given for absolving the Popish Lords.

These Conclusions taken, which for a beginning did satisfie the King, a Commission was also given at his Majestie's desire to the Ministers of *Aberdene* and *Murray*, with some others of *Mernis* and *Angus*, for reconciling the Popish Lords. The Conditions required of *Huntley* to be fulfilled before his Absolution were,

The Conditions required of the Earl of *Huntley.*

"1. That he should appear before the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly "the 22 of *March* at *Aberdene*, and remain in that City during the time of their "Conference with him, to the effect he might be instructed in the Truth, & brought "to condescend with knowledge unto the Religion professed, and to the detestation "of the contrary. 2. That he should acknowledge the Church of *Scotland* to be a "true Church, and adjoyn himself thereto, hear the Word, receive the Sacra-"ments, and be obedient to the Discipline thereof. 3. That he should solemnly pro-"mise to remove forth of his company, and from the bounds that were under his

"power,

An. 1596. "power, all Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Excommunicate perſons. 4. That he ſwear and "ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of the Faith in preſence of the whole Commiſſioners. "5. That he acknowledge the Sentence of Excommunication to have been juſtly "pronounced againſt him for his Apoſtaſie from the Truth, the ſlaughter of the "Earl of *Murray* and burning of *Dumbriſſill*, and that he declare himſelf penitent "therefore, promiſing aſſithment to the party whenſoever he ſhould be moved to "accept the ſame. 6. That he provide ſufficient maintenance to the Churches "within his bounds by the advice of his beſt-adviſed friends, and have an ordinary "Miniſter to reſide with him in his Family. And laſtly, that he be content to re-"concile with all that he is eſteemed to carry any grudge unto, and profeſs no "quarrel to any of thoſe that aſſiſted the King in his purſuit.

The like Conditions preſcrived to *Angus* and *Arrol*.

The like Conditions were required of *Angus* and *Arrol*, (that which concerned the Earl of *Murray* only excepted.) All matters being thus peaceably accorded,

The King taketh the Miniſters in his protection.

the King cauſed publiſh the good Agreement he had made with the Church, taking in his protection the Miniſters with their families, goods and poſſeſſions, and charging all Papiſts (thoſe excepted that were in terms of ſatisfaction) to depart forth of the Countrey before the firſt of *June*.

The Aſſembly intercedes for the Miniſtery of *Edinburgh*, and others charged with the Tumult.

The Aſſembly, finding the King ſo well pleaſed, made bold to intercede for the Miniſters, the Town of *Edinburgh*, and the Gentlemen that were challenged for the Tumult. For the Town his Majeſty anſwered, *that he was not minded to trouble innocent men, and ſhould ſhortly ſettle with them.* Touching the Gentlemen he ſaid, *they ſhould do well to preſent their Supplications by their friends.* But for the Miniſters, *he eſteemed them moſt guilty, and knew not what courſe to take with them.* It being replied, that by the Examinations taken it appeared that they all, eſpecially Mr. *Robert Bruce*, was a chief inſtrument in the ſtaying of the Tumult, and that they ſhould therefore be rather rewarded then puniſhed: He anſwered, *that granting they did ſtay the Tumult, yet they were the cauſe of it; and if they for that fault were firſt corrected, he would not be much troubled with their reward. Nottheleſs, at the Aſſemblie's requeſt, he would be content they ſhould be relaxed, upon Caution to underly the Trial of Law.* Thus an end was put to that Meeting, and the next Aſſembly by his Majeſtie's conſent appointed to be at *Dundee* the 10 of *May* following.

The King's anſwer.

The death of Mr. *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe*.

This year Mr. *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe* departed this life at *Bruxels* in *Flanders*, where for the moſt part he abode after the Queen of *Scotland*'s Execution. A man (though differing from us in Religion) worthy to be remembred for his fidelity to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and the extraordinary pains he took to procure her liberty, travelling with all the neighbor-Princes to interpoſe their credit with the Queen of *England* for her relief: neither was he deficient otherwiſe in miniſtring the beſt Conſolations he could furniſh for bearing patiently her croſs, whereof one Treatiſe he afterwards publiſhed full of piety and learning. How heavily he took her death it cannot well be expreſſed: yet comforting himſelf in the beſt ſort he could, he put off to this time, and being much weakned by a languiſhing ſickneſs that held him ſome moneths he ended quietly his days. The Hiſtory of his Countrey from the beginning of the Nation unto theſe laſt times, written by him in the *Latine* Tongue, doth witneſs both his Learning and Judgement. It being juſt to give unto every man (albeit an enemy) his due commendation, I could not paſs him unremembred. Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith* was in the year following provided to that See.

The Town of *Edinburgh* denounced Rebels.

The Diet aſſigned for the appearing of the Town of *Edinburgh* at *Perth* was upon their Petition continued firſt to the 15 day of *February*, and from the 15 again put off to the 1 day of *March*, with a Declaration, "That if two of the Bayliffs, "with the Dean of *Guild*, Treaſurer, four of the principal Deacons, four of the "Council and their Clerk, making 13 in all, did enter themſelves the ſaid day, "and bring a ſufficient Commiſſion from the Provoſt, Bayliffs, Council and "Community of the Town for underlying the order that ſhould be taken with "them, as repreſenting the whole Body, their compeirance by ſo many ſhould ſerve for all the reſt.

It

It was the 5 of *March* before they were called, at which time there appeared a number of perſons, and preſented a Procuratory under the Seal of the Town, and the Subſcription of the Clerks thereof, which his Majeſty cauſed to be read: then asked if all contained in the Commiſſion were preſent. It was anſwered that they were all there, *William Mauld* excepted, who had his Majeſtie's Letter of diſpenſation, which they produced. But the ſame being granted the 11 of *January*, long before the deliverance upon their Petition, which expreſly ordained that they ſhould have thirteen perſons preſent for undergoing the Trial, it was declared to be no Warrant; and ſo for not fulfilling the Ordinance of the Council the Town was denounced, the Burgeſſes declared Rebels, and their *Common goods* (ſo they call the Rents belonging to the Town) arreſted to the King's uſe. *An.* 1597.

It was pitiful to behold the Deſolation wherein the Town was then caſt. The Magiſtrates renounced their Offices, and would carry no more Charge; the People were left without direction, wanting both Magiſtrates and Miniſters: and in this ſtate did they continue for the ſpace of fifteen days. At laſt, by the Interceſſion of ſome Noblemen, the King was pleaſed to receive the Town in favor; and the Provoſt, Bayliffs, Council and Deacons of Crafts being brought unto his preſence at *Halirudhouſe* the 21 of *March*, and falling upon their knees, did with tears beg Pardon for their negligence in not timely preventing that Tumult, raiſed (as they ſaid) by a number of ill-diſpoſed people, beſeeching his Majeſty to take pity of the Town, which did ſubmit it ſelf ſimply to his Highneſs mercy. The King after he had ſharply rebuked them, and ſhewed in many words the greatneſs of their offence, commanded them to remove, that he might think what was fitteſt to be done. Then calling for their Officers they had formerly made, he cauſed eke unto them the Articles following. "That the lodgings in the Church-"yard wherein the Miniſters dwelt and kept their conſultations ſhould be given "to his Majeſty, and uſed at his pleaſure. That the Miniſters that ſhould there-"after ſerve in the Town ſhould dwell in their own quarters and live diſperſed. "That the Town ſhould be obliged for the indemnity of the Lords of Seſſion du-"ring their ſitting, under the penalty of forty thouſand Marks. That the neather "Council-houſe, wherein the Provoſt and Bailiffs did keep their meetings, ſhould "be appointed for the Exchequer; and that for the offence committed the Town "ſhould be fined in twenty thouſand marks to be paid in four moneths. Theſe Conditions accepted, the King did pardon the Town, giving order to receive them to his peace, and by Proclamation recalled the Seſſion to ſit in their former place. Never did any King, conſidering the offence, temper his Authority with more grace and clemency then did his Majeſty at this time: which the people did all acknowledge, aſcriving their life and ſafety only to his favor.

An. 1597. The Town received into favor at the interceſſion of Noblemen.

Articles injoyned to be performed by the Town.

Shortly after the Miniſters were alſo permitted to return, and had their peace granted, but were not ſuffered to Preach in their places; the King taking now the occaſion of finiſhing the work which ſome two years before had been moved, for diſtributing the people in ſeveral Pariſhes, and planting more Miniſters among them. The let he knew was in the Town, that ſtill put off the buſineſs becauſe of the burthen it would draw upon them; and knowing that the deſire they had to have their old Miniſters reponed would make them the more forward that way, he refuſes to re-admit them until the diſtribution intended was perfected, and other four Miniſters adjoyned to them, for the better inſtruction and more orderly government of the People. The Miniſters themſelves did alſo profeſs that they were wearied of that *confuſed Miniſtery*, as they called it, and compeiring in the Aſſembly which held at the time appointed in *Dundee*, they reſigned their Offices, denying to ſerve any longer, unleſs they had a particular Flock deſigned. But becauſe that work required a longer time then the Aſſembly could well abide together, the ſame was committed to certain Delegates, and the Miniſters dwelling near unto *Edinburgh* ordained to furniſh the Pulpits for the interim.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* ſuffered to return, but inhibited to Preach.

An Aſſembly at *Dundee*.

In the Aſſembly Mr. *Robert Rollock* was elected to preſide, though he was not as yet in Orders; in ſo great eſteem he was with all good men for his learning, holineſs, and moderation. The firſt thing done was the taking of an accompt of the Miniſters

Mr. *Robert Rollock* elected to preſide.

An. 1597. Miniſters travels with the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and of their obedience to the Injunctions given in the former Aſſembly. This was teſtified by the Miniſters that had the charge to have been in all points ſo well performed, as no more could be required of them. For verifying thereof their ſeveral Subſcriptions were produced, together with an humble Supplication to the Aſſembly for accepting their ſatisfaction, and receiving them in the boſom of the Church: which accordingly was decerned, and order given that they ſhould be received by the ſame Commiſſioners who were appointed to meet at a certain time, and pronounce their Abſolution.

Order given for Abſolution of the Popiſh Lords.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

The next thing proponed was touching the Queſtions left unreſolved in the laſt Aſſembly; and becauſe exception was taken by ſome Brethren that were abſent at the Articles concluded at *Perth*, eſpecially that it ſhould have been acknowledged for a lawful General Aſſembly, it was of new declared to be a lawful Aſſembly, and certain explanations added by the reſt of the Acts: As in the point of *Notoriety*, the crime ſhould be reputed notorious that was ſo manifeſt and known, *ut nulla tergiverſatione celari poſſit*: and for *the convening of Paſtors with his Majeſtie's conſent*, the ſame was declared to be extended to all Aſſemblies either general or particular, authorized by his Highneſs Laws, and having warrant in the Word of God. His Majeſty did likewiſe expreſs his meaning touching *the proviſion of Burgs with Miniſters* in this ſort, that when the Aſſembly ſhould find it neceſſary to place a Miniſter in any Town, he ſhould either yield his conſent or give a ſufficient reaſon of his refuſe. With theſe Declarations the whole number was ſo well pleaſed, as proceeding in the reſt of the queſtions they determined as followeth.

The reſt of the Queſtions determined.

First, Where his Majeſty doth crave that before the concluſion of any weighty matter his Highneſs advice and approbation ſhould be had thereto; the Aſſembly will be very glad to have his Majeſtie's Authority interponed to all Acts of any importance made by the Church, ſo as matters formerly treated and concluded be not drawn in queſtion.

2. That there ſhould be an uniform order keeped in the Ordination of Miniſters, and none admitted but by Impoſition of hands, and to a certain Flock on which they ſhall be aſtricted to attend. As alſo ſuch as have not received Ordination ſhould not be permitted to teach in great rooms, except upon urgent neceſſity and in the defect of actual Miniſters; and that good heed ſhall be taken that they did not paſs their bounds, eſpecially in Application.

3. That no Miniſter ſhould exerciſe any juriſdiction, either by making of Conſtitutions or leading of Proceſſes, without advice and concurrence of his Seſſion, Presbytery, Synod, or General Aſſembly.

4. That all Seſſions ſhould be elected with conſent of their own Congregations.

5. That Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods ſhould labour to be formal in their proceedings, and that the inferior Judicatories ſhould be tried in this point by their ſuperiors.

6. That in the exerciſe of the Word whereunto Miniſters convene there ſhould no Application be uſed.

7. That in matters of importance, if the voices be different only by two or three, nothing ſhould be concluded until a better reſolution was taken, and he who holdeth the negative give *rationem negandi*.

8. That Presbyteries ſhould not meddle with any thing that is not known without all controverſie to belong to the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatory; and that therein uniformity ſhould be obſerved throughout the Countrey.

9. That no Proceſſes and Acts ſhould be extracted at the deſire of parties having intereſs.

10. Summary Excommunication ſhould be ſuſpended as before, and in great crimes after publick intimation the Committer debarred *à ſacris & à privato convictu*.

11. That

11. That where any Presbytery ſhould be deſired by his Majeſtie's miſſive to ſtay their proceedings, as being prejudicial to the Civil Juriſdiction or private mens rights, they ſhould deſiſt untill his Majeſty did receive ſatisfaction. *An.* 1597.

The principal Queſtions being thus decided, it was thought meet to ſuperſede the treating of the reſt, and to give a general Commiſſion to certain of the moſt wiſe and diſcreet Brethren for all affairs that might concern the good of the Church. For this effect choice was made of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Thomas Nicolſon*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, *Iohn Duncanſon*, Mr. *Patrick Sharpe*, Mr. *Iames Melvill*, Mr. *William Cowper*, and *Iohn Clapperton*, to whom, or to any ſeven of them, power was given to convene with his Majeſty at ſuch times as they ſhould be required, for taking order touching the Proviſion of Miniſters to the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Dundee* and S. *Andrews*, the Houſes of the King and Prince, and to any other Churches within the Realm that ſhould ſtand in need to be planted; as likewiſe to preſent the Petitions and Grievances of the Church to his Majeſty, either general or particular, and to give their advice to his Highneſs in all matters that might ſerve to the weal and peace of the Church. A general Commiſſion for Church affairs.

How ſoon the Aſſembly diſſolved, Sir *Patrick Murray* was ſent by the King unto the North, to ſee the Conditions made by the three Earls to the Church performed, and to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners appointed for their Abſolution. He had farther in charge to cauſe them to ſubſcrive the general Bonds for the Peace and quietneſs of the Countrey, and to find Caution each of them, under the pain of twenty thouſand pounds, not to traffick nor keep intelligence with any foreiners without his Majeſtie's licence by word or writing; particularly for the Earl of *Huntley* it is injoyned, that he ſhould follow the counſel of certain Barons and Miniſters that the King did nominate unto him, and proceed by their advice in all weighty affairs, eſpecially in matters that concerned his Majeſtie's ſervice. The Barons nominated to him were, the Laird of *Finlatour*, the Laird of *Innes*, the Laird of *Phiborth*, the Tutor of *Cromartie*, the Laird of *Pitlarge*, and Laird of *Cluny*, or any three of them; the Miniſters were, the Biſhop of *Aberdene*, Mr. *Peter Blackburne*, Mr. *Iohn Forbes*, Mr. *Robert Horry* the Parſon of *Turreſſo*, and Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, or any three of them. Sir *Patrick Murray* directed to the North.

Whileſt the King was thus buſied to reconcile *Huntley* to the Church, Mr. *James Gourdon* Jeſuite came into the Countrey of intention to divert him from giving obedience; againſt whom a ſtrict Proclamation was made, inhibiting the ſubjects to reſſet, ſupply, or intertain any intelligence with him, under pain of treaſon, and a thouſand Crowns promiſed to any that ſhould apprehend and bring him to the King. And at the ſame time was diſcovered a practice of fortifying the Iſle of *Elſay* in the Weſt ſeas, for receiving certain forces that the *Spaniſh* King had promiſed to ſend thither. The contriver of this Plot was one *Hugh Barclay* of *Lady-land*, who being committed the year before in the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*, had made an eſcape and gone to *Spain*: this year returning to make good what he had undertaken, with ſome few aſſiſters, he entered into the Iſle (a huge Rock it is, four miles in compaſs, wherein an old ruinous Tower built on the aſcent of the Rock of difficult acceſs) meaning to have victualled the ſame. Mr. *Iohn Knox* (the ſame who took Mr. *George Ker* with the Blanks ſome five years before) getting intelligence of the purpoſe, came upon him unlooked, and landing in the Iſle did encounter him in the very ſhore: for the moſt of his company being gone to ſeek their ſport, he had ſtayed to ſee who thoſe were that he eſpied coming to the Iſle, not thinking that his purpoſe was known, or that any would purſue him; but when he perceived them to be unfriends, and to be ſet for his apprehenſion, he ran into the Sea and drowned himſelf. The King did eſteem this, as it was indeed, a piece of good ſervice; and the news thereof going to the Popiſh Lords made them more willing to fulfil that which they had promiſed: ſo that on the 26 of *June* the Earls of *Huntley* and *Arrol*, upon their ſolemn repentance, A Proclamation againſt Mr. *James Gourdon*; The Laird of *Lady-land* having ſurprized the Rock *Elſay* is drowned.

An. 1597. Oaths and Subſcriptions to the Articles of Faith, were abſolved in the Church of *Aberdene*. The Earl of *Angus* in the ſame manner was received by the Miniſters of *Mernis* and *Angus*.

The King's care for removing of deadly feuds.

This buſineſs ended, the King for repreſſing the barbarous Feuds which abounded at that time in the North parts, ſent a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Aberdene*, with concurrence of Sir *Patrick Murray* and ſome Miniſters, for taking up their quarrels, and with charges to cauſe the parties give aſſurance one to another, which ſhould endure to the firſt of *April* 1598. The Feuds mentioned in the Inſtructions ſent to Sir *Patrick Murray* were the Feuds betwixt the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Forbes*, the Earl of *Arrol* and the Laird of *Ladwherne*, the Laird of *Drum* and young *Frendraucht*, with a number more: but the moſt deadly and dangerous betwixt the Families of *Huntley* and *Murray* the King reſerved to be his own work, and ceaſed not till the ſame was removed, and a friendſhip made up by Marriage, which ſhould in all reaſon be moſt laſting. Thoſe others were by the diligence of the Biſhop and Miniſters ſetled, and ſo the North parts reduced unto quietneſs.

A meeting of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly at *Falkland*.

In the end of *June* the King called the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly to a Meeting at *Falkland*; where amongſt other buſineſs a complaint was preferred by Mr. *John Lindeſay* of *Balcarres* Secretary, againſt Mr. *Robert Wallace* Miniſter at S. *Andrews*, for certain injurious ſpeeches uttered in his Sermons, having called him a Briber, and ſaid, *That albeit he had made conqueſt of fifty Chalders victual in* Fife, *and built a Houſe to the skies, yet his poſterity ſhould beg their bread, which ſome of his Auditors ſhould ſee; and that it was doubtful if ever God ſhould grant him Repentance.* The Secretary had complained of this to the Presbytery, but they refuſed to admit his Accuſation, unleſs the ſame was aſſiſted by two Witneſſes, who could affirm that the Accuſer had juſt cauſe to purſue the complaint, which they alledged to be the Apoſtles Canon in the 1 of *Timothy*, ch. 5. v. 19. and ſhewed themſelves ſo partially affected, as he was forced to purſue the complaint before his Majeſty and Commiſſioners.

The Secretary complaineth of Mr. *Robert Wallace* Miniſter at S. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Wallace* declineth the Commiſſioners.

Mr. *Wallace* being ſummoned to that Diet, and deſired to anſwer to the complaint, refuſed to acknowledge the Judgment, alleging, "That the General Aſſembly had given them no Commiſſion in that particular, and that the Accuſation "once before the Presbytery of S. *Andrews* ought to have been orderly taken out "of their hands, which was not done. This Declinator being proponed, compeired "Mr. *Nicoll Dalgleiſh* Moderator of the Presbytery, and in their name proteſted "againſt the proceedings of the Commiſſioners in that cauſe, as being once intended before them, ſeeing by that form of doing all the Presbyteries of *Scotland* "ſhould be prejudged, and that the General Aſſembly, of whom they had their "Commiſſion, would not take unto them the trial of any cauſe, with a neglect of "the inferiour Judicatories. Then ſaid the King, *I will likewiſe proteſt, that ſeeing one of the principal motives which induced me to crave, and the General Aſſembly to yield unto this Commiſſion, was to have the like of theſe offences, when they did ariſe, removed, and juſtice done by the Miniſters themſelves, rather then to be brought before the Council, ye either proceed in examining the Complaint, and do that which is right, or hold me excuſed if I take order with it by another form that will not pleaſe you ſo well.*

Mr. *Nicoll Dalgleiſh* proteſteth againſt the Commiſſioners proceedings.

The Declination and Proteſtation declared invalid.

The Commiſſioners having adviſed the Reaſons of the Declinator and Proteſtation, did find them all invalid and of no force, and that they had warrant ſufficient to proceed and miniſter juſtice in that action, as well in reſpect of the general power contained in their Commiſſion, as of the particular commended to their care in the planting of the Church of S. *Andrews*. So the Complaint was admitted, and the 5 of *July* appointed at S. *Andrews* for trying the ſame.

The Witneſſes examined do verifie the complaint.

At the day the Secretary compeiring, accompanied with Maſter *Robert Mauld* Commiſſar of S. *Andrews* and *John Arnot* Clerk to the Commiſſar, (whom he produced as aſſiſting Witneſſes to take away the Presbytery's exception) did inſiſt in his complaint. Mr. *Wallace* being ask'd if he had any thing to oppoſe againſt the Witneſſes, refuſed to anſwer in reſpect of his Declinator: whereupon they were admitted, and upon oath declared that they knew the Accuſation to be juſt, and that the Secretary had not intended the ſame of any purpoſe to calumniate or ſlander

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the ſaid Mr. *Robert*, but only to be repaired to his credit and honour, as one who had been greatly wronged by him. The witneſſes for probation being then called, and Mr. *Wallace* inquired if he had any exception againſt them, refuſed, as before, to anſwer. So they likewiſe were received, and being ſworn, deponed, that they heard the ſaid Mr. *Wallace* utter the words complained of, in his Sermon. Nottheleſs the Commiſſioners for their better information did think it meet to call his Auditors of the Univerſity, who were of better judgment, and could truly relate what they heard. The Maſters of the new College refuſing to give any teſtimony, in reſpect of the Presbyterie's Proteſtation at *Falkland*, all the reſt affirmed what the Witneſſes had deponed. After which Mr. *Wallace* being again called, and deſired to ſhew what reaſon or warrant he had for uttering ſuch ſpeeches, refuſed ſtill to make anſwer; nor could any perſuaſion break his obſtinacy, though he was earneſtly laboured by Mr. *Robert Rollock* and Mr. *James Melvill* apart, who did offer, upon the confeſſion of the fault, that the Proceſs ſhould ceaſe. *An.* 1597. Mr. *Wallace* his obſtinacy.

The Commiſſioners ſeeing no way to eſchew the pronouncing of Sentence, in regard of his obſtinacy, did yet take Counſel to viſit the Church, and inquire both of his and Mr. *Blake*'s behaviour in that Miniſtery, before they went farther. A Viſitation for this effect being appointed the 11 of *July*, and Mr. *Blake* ſummoned to the ſame day, the Elders and Deacons of the Church were inquired touching the behaviour of them both, and the verity of the Accuſations laid againſt them; who all upon oath deponed that the Accuſations were true, and that *Blake* had ſpoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Council; as alſo that the Secretarie's complaint of Mr. *Wallace* was moſt juſt. And being ask'd touching their behaviour otherwiſe, they declared that both the one and the other were given to Factions, and that they did not carry themſelves with that indifferency which became Preachers. A Viſitation of the Church of S. *Andrews*.

This Declaration made clear way to the Commiſſioners for ending that buſineſs, and providing S. *Andrews* with a more peaceable Miniſtery; whereupon Sentence was given that both the Miniſters ſhould be removed, and Mr. *George Gladſtaves* (a man ſufficiently qualified, ſerving then at *Arbirlot* in *Angus*) tranſlated and placed in their room, till another helper might be found out to be joyned with him. This done, the Sunday following he was accepted of the people with a great applauſe, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Mr. *Iames Nicolſon* and Mr. *Iames Melvil* entring him to the charge. Sentence given for removing Mr. *Blake* and Mr. *Wallace* from the Miniſtery of S. *Andrews*. Mr. *George Gladſtaves* admitted Miniſter of S. *Andrews*.

And becauſe it concerned the peace of the Church no leſs to have the abuſes of the Univerſity reformed, he calling the Governors thereof, and inquiring what order they kept; when he underſtood that, againſt the accuſtomed form, Mr. *Andrew Melvill* had continued Rector in a number of years together, he commanded a new Election to be made, and honouring the Election with his own preſence in the Schools of S. *Salvator*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie* Principal of S. *Leonards* was choſen Rector, and appointed to bear that charge unto the ordinary time of Election: as alſo, for preventing the like diſorders, a Statute was made, *That none ſhould be continued Rector above a year, nor admitted to the ſaid Office but after the ſpace of three years.* It was likewiſe declared, *That any Suppoſt, having received the Degree of a Maſter of Arts, might be choſen Rector, he reſiding in the Univerſity during his Office, or at leaſt the moſt part of his time.* Abuſes in the Univerſity reformed.

In the new College, whereof the ſaid Mr. *Andrew* had the charge, all things were found out of order; the Rents ill husbanded, the Profeſſions neglected, and in place of Divinity Lectures Politick Queſtions oftentimes agitated: as, *Whether the Election or Succeſſion of Kings were the better form of Government*; *How far the Royal Power extended*; and, *If Kings might be cenſured for abuſing the ſame, and depoſed by the Eſtates of the Kingdome.* The King to correct theſe abuſes did preſcrive to every Profeſſor his ſubject of Teaching, appointing the firſt Maſter to read the Common places to the Students, with the Law, and Hiſtory of the Bible; the ſecond to read the New Teſtament; the third, the Prophets, with the Books of *Eccleſiaſtes* and *Canticles*; and the fourth, the *Hebrew Grammar*, with the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and the Book of *Job*. In the new College all things found out of order.

An. 1597. For the better husbanding of the Rents as well in that as in the other Colleges, it was ordained, *That there ſhould be a Council choſen to the Univerſity, which ſhould have power to elect an* Oeconomus *in every College for uplifting the Rents, and take care to ſee all things rightly adminiſtrated.* Of this Council were named the Chancellar of the Univerſity, the Conſervator of the Privileges, the Laird of *Colluthie*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, and Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*; without whoſe conſent and ſubſcriptions it ſhould not be lawful to ſet any Leaſe, or make other diſpoſition whatſoever of any part of the Rents.

A Council appointed for the Univerſity.

And, leſt they ſhould be diſtracted by any other employment, it was concluded, *That all the Doctors, Profeſſors and Regents, not being Paſtors in the Church, ſhould be exempted from the keeping of Seſſions, Presbyteries, Synodical or General Aſſemblies, and from all teaching in Churches and Congregations, Exerciſes excepted; with a diſcharge to all and every one of them, to accept any Commiſſion prejudicial to the ſaid Exemption, under the pain of Deprivation and Rebellion, at the Conſervators inſtance, the one execution not prejudging the other.* Yet that they ſhould not be thought excluded from the General Aſſembly, it was appointed, *That the Maſters and Regents of the Univerſity ſhould meet when any ſuch occaſion did offer, and condeſcend upon ſome three perſons, of whom one ſhould be elected by the foreſaid Council, to be preſent at the General Aſſembly for that year; which perſon ſo choſen ſhould not for the ſpace of three years thereafter be employed in that Commiſſion.* Theſe Articles being openly recited in preſence of his Majeſty, and of the whole members of the Univerſity, were accepted by the Maſters and Regents, with ſolemn promiſe of obedience.

The Doctors, Profeſſors and Regents exempted for the Church-meetings.

This Summer there was a great buſineſs for the trial of Witches; amongſt others one *Margaret Atkin*, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion, and threatned with torture, did confeſs her ſelf guilty. Being examined touching her aſſociates in that trade, ſhe named a few, and perceiving her delations find credit, made offer to detect all of that ſort, and to purge the Countrey of them, ſo ſhe might have her life granted. For the reaſon of her knowledge ſhe ſaid, *That they had a ſecret Mark, all of that ſort, in their eyes, whereby ſhe could ſurely tell, how ſoon ſhe look'd upon any, whether they were Witches or not:* and in this ſhe was ſo readily believed, that for the ſpace of 3 or 4 moneths ſhe was carried from Town to Town to make diſcoveries in that kind. Many were brought in queſtion by her delations, eſpecially at *Glaſgow*, where divers innocent women, through the credulity of the Miniſter Mr. *John Cowper*, were condemned and put to death. In end ſhe was found to be a mere deceiver, (for the ſame perſons that the one day ſhe had declared guilty, the next day being preſented in another habit ſhe cleanſed) and ſent back to *Fife*, where firſt ſhe was apprehended. At her Trial ſhe affirmed all to be falſe that ſhe had confeſſed, either of her ſelf or others, and perſiſted in this to her death: which made many forthink their too-great forwardneſs that way, and moved the King to recal the Commiſſions given out againſt ſuch perſons, diſcharging all proceedings againſt them, except in caſe of voluntary Confeſſion, till a ſolid order ſhould be taken by the Eſtates touching the form that ſhould be kept in their Trial.

A diſcovery of Witches.

A diſcharge of proceedings againſt Witches, except in caſe of Voluntary Confeſſion.

In the Borders at the ſame time great Troubles were raiſed by the broken men of *Tindale* and *Rheadſdale*, who made Incurſions on the *Scots* ſide, and waſted all the Countrey of *Liddiſdale*. The Laird of *Bacleugh*, that had the keeping of thoſe parts, to be repaired of that wrong, made a road into *England*, and apprehending 36 of the doers put them all to death, and brought away a great ſpoil. Sir *William Bowes* being ſent to complain of this, after much debating it was agreed, that for keeping peace in the Borders Hoſtages ſhould be delivered of either ſide, *Engliſh*-men into *Scotland*, and as many *Scots* into *England*. But *Bacleugh* failing to deliver his in due time was commanded, for ſatisfying the Queen, to enter himſelf into *England*, as he did, remaining there from *October* to *February* next.

Troubles in the Borders.

In the moneth of *December* a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, for reſtoring of the forfeited Lords to their Lands and Honours. Amongſt the Articles preſented to this Meeting by the Commiſſioners of the Church, one was, "That the Miniſters, "as repreſenting the Church, and Third Eſtate of the Kingdome, might be admit-"ted to give voice in Parliament, according to the Acts made in favours of the "Church,

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

Articles preſented in the name of the Church.

"Church, and the Liberty and freedome thereof. The King was earneſt to have the Article granted, and at laſt obtained an Act to be made, whereby it was declared, *That ſuch Paſtors and Miniſters as his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to provide to the place, Title and Dignity of a Biſhop, Abbot, or other Prelate, at any time ſhould have voice in Parliament as freely as any other Eccleſiaſtical Prelate had at any time by-paſt. And that all Biſhopricks then in his Majeſtie's hands, and undiſponed to any perſon, or which ſhould happen to fall void thereafter, ſhould be only diſponed to actual Preachers and Miniſters in the Church, or to ſuch other perſons as ſhould be found apt and qualified to uſe and exerce the office of a Preacher or Miniſter, and who in their proviſions to the ſaid Biſhopricks ſhould accept in and upon them to be actual Paſtors and Miniſters, and according thereto ſhould practiſe and exerce the ſame.* *An.* 1598. Voice in Parliament granted to ſuch Miniſters as ſhould be provided to the places, as Biſhops, Abbots, or other Prelates.

As concerning the Office of the ſaid perſons in the Spiritual Policy and Government of the Church, the ſame was remitted to his Majeſty to be adviſed and agreed upon with the General Aſſembly, at ſuch time as his Highneſs ſhould think expedient to treat with them thereupon; without prejudice in the mean time of the Juriſdiction and Diſcipline of the Church, eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament, and permitted to General and Provincial Aſſemblies, and other Presbyteries and Seſſions of the Church. The Office for the Spiritual Government remitted to the Aſſembly.

This Act gave occaſion to the indicting of a General Aſſembly, which convened at *Dundee* in *March* next; where the King being preſent did ſhew, *That he had anticipated the time of the Aſſembly*, (for the appointment was at *Striveling* the firſt Tueſday of *May*) *that he might be reſolved touching their acceptation of the place in Parliament, with the form, manner, and number of perſons that ſhould be admitted to have voice; and thereupon deſired them to enter into a particular conſideration of the whole points of the Act; and firſt to reaſon whether it was lawful and expedient that the Miniſters, as repreſenting the whole Church within the Realm, ſhould have voice in Parliament or not.* *An.* 1598. A General Aſſembly at *Dundee*.

This Queſtion being long debated, firſt in private by ſome Brethren ſelected to that purpoſe, then in the hearing of the whole Aſſembly, it was concluded, *That Miniſters might lawfully give voice in Parliament, and other publick Meetings of the Eſtate, and that it was expedient to have ſome alwaies of that number preſent, to give voice in name of the Church.* Miniſters might give voice in Parliament.

A ſecond Queſtion being moved, touching the number of thoſe that ſhould have voice; it was agreed, *That ſo many ſhould be appointed to give voice as of old had place in the Papiſtical Church*, to wit, 51 *perſons, or thereby.* The number to be alſe many as of old in the Papiſtical Church.

Thirdly, touching the Election of thoſe that ſhould have voice, it was reſolved, *That the ſame did appertain partly to his Majeſty, and partly to the Church.* And becauſe time could not permit the diſcuſſing of the reſt of the Points, as *De modo eligendi*, What Rent thoſe Miniſters ſhould have, Whether they ſhould continue in that Office *ad vitam*, or not, What their Title ſhould be, and the cautions to preſerve them from corruption, with other the like circumſtances; the Presbyteries were deſired to conſider the ſame throughly, and thereafter to meet in their Synods all upon one day, to wit, the firſt Tueſday of *June*; and having reaſoned upon theſe Heads, to direct three of their number to convene with his Majeſty, (the advertiſement being upon a moneth at leaſt) and with the Doctors of the Univerſities, namely, Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, Mr. *Iohn Iohnſton*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Robert Howy*, Mr. *Patrick Sharp*, and Mr. *James Martin*, at ſuch time and place as his Majeſty ſhould think moſt convenient; with power to them being ſo convened to treat, reaſon and confer upon the ſaid Heads, and others appertaining thereto; and in caſe of agreement and uniformity of opinions, to conclude the whole Queſtion touching Voice in Parliament; otherwiſe in caſe of diſcrepance, to remit the concluſion to the next General Aſſembly. The Election of thoſe that ſhould give voice to be made by the King and Church. Commiſſion for diſcuſſing the reſt of the Points.

The Commiſſioners proceedings in planting the Church of S. *Andrews* were at the ſame time ratified; but the proviſion of *Edinburgh*, which they had likewiſe concluded, made greater buſineſs. The King had been induced by the humble intreaty of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, to ſuffer the old Miniſters preach again in their places, upon their faithful promiſes to obſerve the Conditions following. Miniſters of *Edinburgh* permitted to preach, upon condition.

An. 1598. 1. That they ſhould not in Pulpit make any Apology for themſelves farther then to ſay, that they had ſatisfied his Majeſty touching their intentions in the day of the Tumult, and that they condemned the raiſers thereof, and all that took Arms, or gave command or allowance thereunto, praiſing the calm and clement courſe his Majeſty hath taken in cenſuring the ſame.

2. That they ſhould at no time thereafter tax, quarrel or reproach, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, any inhabitant of *Edinburgh* that did ſhew themſelves affectionate to his Majeſty; and if any of them ſhould happen to fall in any offence meriting the cenſure of the Church-Diſcipline, they ſhould in the trial and cenſuring thereof uſe them indifferently, as if they had never kithed contrary to the ſaid Miniſters.

3. That they ſhould not in Pulpit ſpeak otherwiſe then reverently of his Majeſtie's Council and their proceedings, and in their Sermons labour to imprint in the peoples hearts a reverent conceit of his Majeſty and his actions, ſo far as in them lies; and whenas they ſhould hear any ſlanderous or offenſive reports of his Majeſty or of any of his Counſellors, his or their intentions or proceedings, they ſhould addreſs them in all humility to his Majeſty, and with due reverence make him acquainted with the reports, receiving his Majeſtie's own declaration therein, whereunto they ſhould give credit, and generally ſhould conform themſelves to the order ſet down in the late General Aſſembly thereanent.

4. That they ſhould never hereafter refuſe to give accompt of any of their ſpeeches in Pulpit, or of their proceedings elſewhere; but when his Majeſty ſhould require the ſame, they ſhould plainly declare the truth of that they ſhould be asked, in all humbleneſs and ſimplicity, without claiming to the general warrant of Conſcience not founded upon Reaſon.

Four others named to be joyned with the *Edinburgh* Miniſters.

The Miniſters upon theſe conditions being licenced to Preach, and the Town going on in dividing themſelves in Pariſhes, as they had promiſed, a lite was preſented of twelve perſons, out of which number the Commiſſioners of the Church were to elect four, beſides the old Miniſters, to bear charge in that Miniſtery, having his Majeſtie's approbation. The four on whom the choice fell were, Mr. *Robert Rollock* Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Iohn Hall* Miniſter at *Leith*, Mr. *Peter Hewat*, and Mr. *George Robertſon*. Againſt the two laſt exception was taken

Exception taken at two of the number.

becauſe of their youth, and that they were not men of that gravity which was required in Miniſters of ſuch a place. Yet the Commiſſioners, after trial taken of their Qualification, proceeded, and decerned all the four to be admitted.

The providing of the Commiſſioners in the planting of *Edinburgh* allowed.

Hereof the old Miniſters complained, with whom the Synod of *Lothian* joyned, who repaired in great numbers to the Aſſembly, thinking to carry the matter by voices; but when after a long conteſtation it came to be judged, the Decreet of the Commiſſioners was approved, and a new Commiſſion given to Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Iames Nicolſon*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, and Mr. *Iohn Duncanſon*, to place the Miniſters in their ſeveral Pariſhes; or if any ſhould refuſe to accept, to depoſe them from the Function of the Miniſtery, and plant the Church with ſuch others as they ſhould think meet.

An Act defining the nnmber of Commiſſioners from Presbyteries to Aſſemblies.

Meanwhile, becauſe of the number that came from *Lothian*, an Act was made, *That no Presbytery ſhould thereafter ſend above two or three Miniſters at moſt in Commiſſion to the Aſſembly, with one Baron of the bounds, and one Commiſſioner from every Burgh,* Edinburgh *excepted, who in all publick Meetings were allowed to have two.*

His Majeſty pleaſeth to remit all offences paſt of the Miniſters.

About the end of the Aſſembly, a motion was made for removing all offences conceived by his Majeſty againſt any of the Miniſters, and particularly againſt the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*; whereupon the King was pleaſed to declare, "That for "any offences paſt he did freely remit them, and ſhould never at any time call the "ſame to mind, in hope they would ſo behave themſelves in time coming, as they "ſhould ſtill deſerve his good opinion. And ſo did this Meeting cloſe with the

Mr. *John Davidſon* proteſteth againſt the Concluſions of the Aſſembly.

great content of all: Mr. *Iohn Davidſon* only, a man given to contention, finding that things went not to his mind, eſpecially in the planting of *Edinburgh*, to the Miniſtery

Miniſtery whereof he was alwaies aſpiring, did proteſt in his own name and in the name of certain other brethren, "That none of the Concluſions taken in that "Aſſembly ſhould be of any force, in regard the ſame was not a free Aſſembly, but "over-awed by the King. The Moderator enquiring if any of the Brethren would adhere to this Proteſtation, none was found, all condemning it, and the uncivil form he uſed in making the ſame. He himſelf, as his cuſtom was when he made any ſuch trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made. *An.* 1598.

It was now thought that the planting of *Edinburgh* ſhould receive no more delay, yet a new impediment caſt in made no leſs adoe then the former. Mr. *Robert Bruce* had preached ordinarily in the Town ſome ten years, but had not received Ordination to the Miniſtery; and being urged therewith, refuſed, pretending the Approbation of the General Aſſembly to be equivalent to an Ordination. It was replied, *That the Approbation he had of the Church was a Licence only to preach; but being now to receive an Office, it concerned them to obſerve the form preſcribed by divers Acts.* But this not ſatisfying, he denied to yield a jot to that which might queſtion his former Calling. And albeit it was offered to be declared at his entry, *That the Ordination they uſed was not to queſtion his former Calling, but rather to allow and confirm the ſame;* he would not be content, except the Declaration was given him in writing. This alſo yielded unto, a new difference aroſe among them upon the form of the Declaration: the Commiſſioners offering *to declare the lawfulneſs of his Calling, and that the Impoſition of hands they were to uſe was not given him as a new intrance to the Miniſtery, but as one that was taken to be entred to the charge of a particular Flock*; he requiring to have it expreſly ſaid, *That they did acknowledge him a lawful Paſtor of* Edinburgh, *as being called by the Generyl Aſſembly thereto.* Queſtion moved for Mr. *Robert Bruce*; who refuſed the Impoſition of hands.

Ten daies and more were ſpent in the ſetting down this form; and after many alterations at laſt they came to agree on this, *That the Commiſſioners did acknowledge his calling to be a Paſtor in* Edinburgh *lawful, and that the Impoſition of hands was not uſed as a Ceremony of his Ordination to the Miniſtery, but of his Ordination to a particular Flock.* The Declaration thus formed, a day was appointed for his Admiſſion, and Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* and Mr. *Iames Nicolſon* choſen to perform the ſame. Mr. *Robert Pont* having preached, and beginning to ſhew what was the buſineſs they met for; Mr. *Robert Bruce* aroſe, and ſtepping into the Pulpit, fell a complaining of the ſtrict forms wherewith the Commiſſioners had uſed him: which the people hearing, ſuch a Tumult was raiſed, as to all appearance the Miniſtery that was to uſe the Impoſition of hands had been in danger, if the Commiſſioner Mr. *Iohn Nicolſon*, a man well reſpected, (being there as one of the Elders, to teſtifie the Church's conſent to his Admiſſion) had not by his wiſe and grave ſpeeches reduced them to quietneſs. Alwaies the buſineſs was put off for that day. A Declaration made for his ſatisfaction. A Tumult in the Church at his admiſſion.

The King advertiſed of this was greatly offended, and commanded the Commiſſioners to cite Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and cenſure him for the trouble he had made. He compeiring excuſed himſelf, laying the blame on the people; and being charged under pain of Deprivation to give obedience, and accept the Charge after the form preſcribed, was upon the 9 of *May*, the day aſſigned for his acceptation, admitted by Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *Alexander Douglas* with Impoſition of hands. Thus ended that buſineſs, which made more noiſe then was needful, and was judged to proceed rather of wilfulneſs on his part then of any good zeal. Mr. *Robert Bruce* cited before the Commiſſioners purgeth himſelf of the tumult. He is admitted, and receives Impoſition of hands.

The day appointed of the Synod's drawing near, the King ſent *William Melvill* Commendator of *Tungland* and Sir *Patrick Murray* to attend the Aſſembly of *Fife*, where it was ſuppoſed ſome new Stirs ſhould be made. The Commiſſion given them was, not to ſuffer any of the Concluſions taken in the laſt General Aſſembly to be drawn in queſtion, and to ſee that in the other Heads left undecided nothing ſhould be concluded *definitivé*. But they found the Synod more peaceable then was expected, and all things carried therein to the King's mind, Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves* and Mr. *Iohn Fairfoul* being choſen Commiſſioners for meeting with theſe that ſhould be ſent from the other Synods. Commiſſioners directed to the Synod of *Fife*.

The report of this gave the King hopes of a good iſſue to the Conferenee intended; whereupon Letters were ſent, deſiring the Doctors of the Univerſities and Com- A meeting at *Falkland* for determining the Vote of Parliament.

An. 1598. Commiſſioners of the Synod to be at *Falkland* the 29 of *July*. There, after a long deliberation, it was with an unanime conſent agreed,

1. Touching the manner of his Election who ſhould have Voice in Parliament, that the Church ſhould name for each Prelacy that was void ſix of their number, of whom the King ſhould take one; or if his Majeſty did not like any of thoſe ſix, that as many others ſhould be recommended by the Church, of which number he ſhould accept one, without any more refuſal.

2. That the Nomination ſhould be made by the General Aſſembly, with advice of the Synods and Presbyteries, who ſhould preſent the General Aſſembly in writing the names of the perſons as well without as within the bounds of their Juriſdiction: providing if there was any perſon within the bounds meet and qualified, he ſhould be preferred, *cæteris paribus*.

3. Concerning his Rent, that the Churches being ſufficiently planted, and no prejudice done to Schools, Colleges and Univerſities already erected, he ſhould be provided to all the reſt of the Prelacy whereunto he is preferred.

4. The Cautions to preſerve him ſhould be theſe.

Caveats for eſchewing of corruption.

1. That he ſhould not propone to Council, Convention or Parliament, in name of the Church, any thing without expreſs warrant and direction from the Church; neither ſhould he conſent nor keep ſilence in the ſaid Conventions, if any thing was moved prejudicial to the weal and liberty thereof, under pain of Depoſition from his Office.

2. Next, he ſhould be bound to give an accompt of his proceedings in the diſcharge of his Commiſſion to every General Aſſembly, and obtain their Ratification of the ſame; ſubmitting himſelf to their judgement, without making any Appeal, under the pain of infamy and Excommunication.

3. He ſhould content himſelf with that part of his Benefice which ſhould be given him for his living, and not hurt nor prejudice the reſt of the Miniſters within his Benefice, planted or to be planted, nor any other Miniſter in the Countrey whatſoever; and this Clauſe to be inſerted in his Proviſion.

4. He ſhould not dilapidate his Benefice in any ſort, nor make any ſet or diſpoſition thereof, without the ſpecial advice or conſent of his Majeſty and the General Aſſembly: and, for the greater warrant, ſhould interdict himſelf and be content that inhibition be raiſed againſt him to that effect.

5. He ſhould be bound to attend the Congregation faithfully at which he ſhould be appointed Miniſter, in all the points of a Paſtor, and be ſubject to the trial and cenſure of his own Presbytery or Provincial Aſſembly, as any other of the Miniſters that bear no Commiſſion.

6. In the adminiſtration of Diſcipline, Collation of Benefices, Viſitation, and other points of Eccleſiaſtical Government, he ſhould neither uſurp nor claim to himſelf any more power or juriſdiction then any of his Brethren, except he be imployed, under pain of Deprivation; and in caſe he do uſurp any part of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, the Presbytery, Synod or General Aſſembly oppoſing and making impediment thereto, whatſoever he ſhould do thereafter ſhould be null *ipſo facto*, without any Declarator.

7. In Presbyteries, Provincial and General Aſſemblies, he ſhould behave himſelf in all things as one of the Brethren, and be ſubject to their cenſure.

8. At his admiſſion to the Office of Commiſſionary he ſhould ſwear and ſubſcrive all theſe and other Points neceſſary, otherwiſe he ſhould not be admitted.

9. If it ſhould happen him to be depoſed from the Miniſtery by the Presbytery, Synod or General Aſſembly, he ſhould loſe his place in Parliament, and the Benefice be void *ipſo facto*.

10. That he ſhould be called Commiſſioner of ſuch or ſuch a place, if ſo the Parliament be induced by his Majeſty to accept that Title; otherwiſe the General Aſſembly ſhould conſider and determine the ſame; as alſo how long he ſhould

continue

continue in Office, whether *ad vitam*, except ſome offence make him unworthy, or for a ſhorter ſpace, at pleaſure of the Church. *An.* 1598.

It was neither the King's intention nor the minds of the wiſer ſort to have theſe Cautions ſtand in force, (for to ſubject the Decrees of Parliament to the Aſſembly, as in the Second Caution; or to interdict Churchmen, as in the Fourth, and ſerve Inhibitions upon them, were things abſurd) but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the Policy made without any noiſe, the King gave way to theſe conceits, knowing that with time the Utility of the Government which he purpoſed to have eſtabliſhed would appear, and truſting that they whom he ſhould place in theſe rooms would by their care for the Church, and their wiſe and good behaviour, purchaſe to themſelves the Authority which appertained. His Majeſtie's purpoſe in giving way to theſe Concluſions.

He had alſo matters of greater importance in hand, which made him deſire to be ſetled in ſome ſort with the Church: from *June* preceding he had directed an Ambaſſage to the Princes of *Germany*, wherein *David* Biſhop of *Aberdene* and Sr. *Peter Young* his Elemoſynar, men of good abilities and learning, were employed. Their Commiſſion was, to inform the Princes of his Right and Title to the Crown of *England* after the death of the Queen, *Elizabeth*, and to requeſt their aſſiſtence, if he ſhould ſtand in need thereof. The Queen was then ſtricken in years, and divers Libels and Pamphlets divulged againſt his Title to that Crown, which made him careful to have his friends rightly informed, and to underſtand what aid he might expect if oppoſition ſhould be made. "Not that he minded (this they were willed to "declare) to wrong or offend the Queen in any ſort, whom he loved and honour-"ed as his Mother, wiſhing her many and happy daies, but only to ſtrengthen him-"ſelf againſt injuſt Pretenders; and if in the mean time they ſhould be pleaſed by "a common Ambaſſage to entreat the Queen to declare in her own time the Right "Succeſſor, for preventing the Plots and practices of enemies, he would take it for "a ſingular friendſhip at their hands. Ambaſſadors directed to the Princes of *Germany*.

It was a painful Ambaſſage, and by them faithfully diſcharged; for taking their journey by *Denmark*, as they were directed, and receiving Letters commendatoy from that King to the Princes, they travelled to *Udalrick* Duke of *Mechlenburg*, *Maurice Lantgrave* of *Heſſe*, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* and Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *John Adolph* Duke of *Sleſwick*, and *Joachim* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and having communicated their Meſſage to them all ſeverally, returned not before the end of the year. Of all the Princes they obtained one Anſwer in ſubſtance, which was, *That albeit his Majeſty's Right was not unknown unto them, they did eſteem it an act of great wiſdom in him, to make his friends acquainted with the Exceptions taken againſt his Title, that when occaſion required nothing might be wanting that lay in their power. But to move the Queen for declaring her Succeſſor, they held it dangerous, and feared it ſhould not ſo much promove the buſineſs as offend her. Always they ſhould adviſe, and take counſel with their Confederates and Allies, and follow the courſe which was moſt likely for his benefit.* This was the ſum of the Anſwer they returned. The ſucceſs of that Ambaſſage.

The 24 of *December* the Queen was brought to the bed of another Daughter, who was chriſtned in the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe* the 15 of *April*, by Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter of *Leith*, and named *Margaret*. The Earl of *Montroſs* (created Chancellor in *January* preceding) with the Lord *Hamilton* and Earl of *Huntley* aſſiſted as Witneſſes. Theſe laſt two were at the ſame time preferred to the honour and dignity of Marqueſſes. The Queen brought to bed of a Daughter. *Hamilton* and *Huntley* created Marqueſſes.

There died within the compaſs of this year divers worthy men, amongſt whom Mr. *John Lindeſay* of *Batharres*, Secretary to the King, ſhall firſt be named; a man honourably deſcended, of exquiſite learning, and a ſound judgment, held worthy by all men of the place he had in the Senate, both for his wiſdome and integrity: he died of the Stone, wherewith he had been pained many years. Mr. *John Lindeſay* Secretary dieth.

Next to him Mr. *David Carnegy* of *Colluthy*, a wiſe, peaceable and ſober man, in good credit and eſtimation with the King, and taken into his Privy Council for his skill and knowledge in civil affairs. The Lord of *Colluthy* his death.

And

An. 1598. And in the Church Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, Provoſt of *Kirkhench* and Miniſter of *Syres*; a man learned, wiſe, and a ſtrong defender of the Churches Rights: having attained to a good age, he died of a bruiſe which he received of a fall from his horſe.

Mr. *Thomas Buchannan* his death.

David Ferguſon his death.

David Ferguſon Miniſter of *Dunfermlin*, of the age of 65, departed alſo this life the ſame year; a good Preacher, wiſe, and of a jocond and pleaſant diſpoſition, which made him well regarded both in Court and Countrey.

The death of Mr. *Robert Rollock* moſt lamented.

But the death of Mr. *Robert Rollock*, taken away in the 43 year of his age, and in the time when the Church had greateſt need of his ſervice, was beyond all the reſt lamented. This man was born not far from *Striveling*, and trained up in Letters under Mr. *Thomas Buchannan*, who did then keep a famous School in that time. He paſſed his courſe in Philoſophy at S. *Andrews*, and no ſooner received the Degree of a Maſter in Arts, then he was choſen Regent of the College of S. *Salvator*, where he had ſtudied. In the year 1583 he was removed to *Edinburgh*, and made Principal of a College which the Town had there erected; where by his Lectures of Divinity in the Schools, and his Sermons to the people, (in both which he was aſſiduous) he came to be greatly eſteemed. But the 17 daies Tumult and troubles that followed thereupon withdrawing him againſt his mind to the keeping of Aſſemblies and other Commiſſions of the Church, he was thereby much weakned; for he was of an infirm body, and grievouſly pained with the Stone, whereof at laſt he died. In his ſickneſs being viſited by his brethren of the Miniſtry, amongſt other pious exhortations, he did earneſtly beſeech them, *to carry themſelves more dutifully towards the King, lamenting he ſhould be ſo ill uſed by ſome of their number:* and gave them a moſt comfortable farewel. His torments were extreme, yet was he not heard to uſe an impatient word, but was ſtill calling on God, with theſe and the like ſayings, *Haſt, Lord Jeſus, and tarry not, put in thy hand and take this Soul away to thy ſelf.* At other times, *Go out ſilly life, that the better life of God may enter in.* Drawing near his end, he repeated a part of the 6 Pſalm, and framing a moſt pithy Prayer out of the ſame, as one exulting after victory, he cried aloud, *Chriſt hath taken my yoak to bear, and now ſtrengthened by his grace I will follow:* with which words he yielded up his ſpirit. A rare example of Holineſs he was both in his life and death; albeit now dead, ſtill Preacheth by his learned Works, which it is pity ſhould not be collected in one Volume, and preſerved to poſterity. He deceaſed the laſt of *February*, and had his corps honourably interred in the Burial-place, an innumerable multitude accompanying the ſame to the grave.

His behaviour in the time of his ſickneſs, and at his dying.

An. 1599. To return to the Eſtate: The neceſſities of the King by forein Ambaſſages, and other extraordinary employments daily encreaſing, he was forced to look the more narrowly to the adminiſtration of his Rents; for the ill managing whereof the Laird of *Wedderburn* was put from his place, and the Office of Controllery given to Sir *David Murray*, who was afterwards preferred to the Lordſhip of *Scone*. The Prior of *Blantire*, who was Treaſurer, for that he had offended the King by his partial behaviour in an action betwixt Mr. *Robert Bruce* and the Miniſters of *Angus*, was committed to the Caſtle, and forced to reſign his Office, which was conferred upon the Earl of *Caſſils* by his Ladie's procurement. She was the Widow of the Lord *Thirlſtan*, and ſaid to be wealthy, which induced him to take her to Wife, againſt the counſel of all his friends, who could not away with the imparity of their age, he being a young Nobleman never matched to any, and ſhe a woman paſt childbirth. But the deſire he had to keep his Eſtate made him take that courſe; and ſhe loving to ſtay at Court and have her Husband a ruler of affairs, made offer to advance ſome moneys, ſo as he might carry the place, which was readily accepted. Yet was it not long before they did both forthink the bargain, being preſſed with a multitude of precepts for the laying forth of money, and ſo were glad to quit the Office, with the loſs, as was ſaid, of Forty thouſand Marks, which he did advance at his entry. In his place was the Lord *Elphinſton* choſen by the recommendation of his brother, then Secretary.

Alteration of ſome Officers of State.

The Earl of *Caſſils* made Treaſurer.

Lord *Elphinſton* ſucceeded Treaſurer.

Sir *William Bowes* Ambaſſador from *England*.

Whileſt theſe things were a-doing in Court, Sir *William Bowes* came Ambaſſadour from *England*, upon ſome rumours that the King was declining to Popery, and

and had offered his obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome* by a Letter, the Copy where- *An.* 1599.
of was brought by the Maſter of *Gray* from *Rome*, and ſhewed the Queen, of purpoſe to divide the two Princes, and diſſolve the Amity which was amongſt them.

The Queen, though ſhe did take the Letter to be feigned, and that the ſame was deviſed to breed a jealouſie between her and the King, thought meet to advertiſe what was rumoured, and to adviſe him not to build upon the friendſhip of *Rome*. The King did take the advertiſement well, and made the Ambaſſadour very welcome, aſſuring him that they were falſe and feigned Calumnies, neither did the King think any other at that time. Such a Letter indeed was ſent to the Pope, and the King's hand ſurreptitiouſly gotten thereto, for which the Secretary Mr. *Elphinſton* was ſome years after, upon his own confeſſion, convicted, as we ſhall hear.

One *Aſhfield* conveighed privately to *Berwick* by two of the Ambaſſador's ſervants.

Whileſt this Ambaſſador remained in the Countrey, there fell out an accident which had almoſt wrought great trouble. An *Engliſh*-man called *Aſhfield*, who had brought ſome hunting-horſes to the King, and cunningly abuſed the *Engliſh* Warden, did make his aboad at Court, and was there well entertained. The Ambaſſador, whether deſired by the Queen or the Warden it is uncertain, cauſed ſome of his ſervants keep company with the man; and allure him one day to *Leith*, where having drunk liberally, he was by Coach, in ſtead of returning to Court, carried to *Berwick*. This being told the King, he was greatly offended, and giving order to watch the Ambaſſador's lodging, ſent to *Berwick* to bring back the man. The Governor prayed the King to have him excuſed, for that the man being come within his charge, he could not dimit him without the Queen's knowledge.

The King receiving this anſwer, did challenge the Ambaſſador as not having carried himſelf dutifully, and wronged both him and the Countrey: but he denying the fact, affirmed the ſame to have been contrived by two of his ſervants without his knowledge and direction. This none did believe, neither did the King vouchſafe him any more countenance. Whereupon he parted in a great diſcontent.

A Viſitation of the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*.

Soon after the King went to S. *Andrews* for a new Viſit of the Univerſity, where it was ordained, *That there ſhould be yearly upon the* 3 *of* March *a Dean of faculty of Theologie elected by the Doctors, the Miniſters reſident within the City, and the principal Maſters of the Colleges; which Dean ſo choſen ſhould have the like privilege and juriſdiction upon the Students and Profeſſors of Theologie, that the Deans of Philoſophy had by the Foundation over the Profeſſors thereof: with expreſs proviſion, that he who was elected Dean, ſhould not till after three years ſpace be received again into the Office.*

A Dean in faculty appointed in *Theologie*.

Other Concluſions were taken for diſtributing the Students of Theologie in Claſſes, and their yearly examination; but were ill obſerved.

Diſcourſe of his Majeſty's Title to the Crown of *England*.

At this time came forth ſundry Diſcourſes touching the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*, ſome oppugning, ſome maintaining the King's Title: amongſt others Mr. *John Colvill* taking upon him one of the oppoſite Treatiſes, did publiſh a Recantation, wherein having confuted all the contrary Reaſons, he profeſſed, *that in malice in time of his Exile he had penned the Treatiſe, which then out of Conſcience he refuted.* This was believed of many, and helped greatly to diſcredit the adverſary writings; yet was he not the Author of that which he oppugned; only to merit favour at the Kings hands he did profeſs the Work that came forth without a name to be his: and indeed a more pithy and perſuaſive Diſcourſe was not penned all that time in that ſubject.

The King publiſheth his *Baſilicon Doron* by occaſion of a Libel.

The ſame year did the King publiſh his *Doron Baſilicon* upon this occaſion. Sir *James Semple*, one of his Majeſty's ſervants, (whoſe hand was uſed in tranſcribing that Treatiſe) upon an old familiarity with Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, did give it him to read, who offending with ſome paſſages that touched the Miniſtery and preſent Diſcipline, took copies thereof, and diſperſed the ſame amongſt the Miniſters: thereupon a Libel was formed, and caſt in before the Synod of S. *Andrews*, wherein the

An. 1599. the paſſages at which they excepted being firſt ſet down, it was asked, *What Cenſure ſhould be inflict upon him that had given ſuch Inſtructions to the Prince,* (for that Treatiſe was directed to Prince *Henry*) *and if he could be thought well-affected to religion, that had delivered ſuch Precepts of Government.* Sir *Patrick* ℳ*urray* and Mr. *James Nicolſon* being preſent in the Synod as Commiſſioners for the King, and apprehending the Libel to concern his Majeſty, made diligent enquiry to find out the preſenters. The whole number pretending ignorance, the Commiſſioners commanded the doors to be ſhut, and the Roll of the Miniſters names to be called, who being put to their Oath one by one did purge themſelves; yet was it tried the very next day to be laid on the table by Mr. *Iohn Dikes* Miniſter at *Anſtruther*, who being therefore cited before the Council was fugitive and denounced Rebel. The rumor by this occaſion diſperſed, that the King had left certain Directions to his Son prejudicial to the Church and Religion, he took purpoſe to publiſh the Work; which being come abroad, and carried to *England*, it cannot be ſaid how well the ſame was accepted, and what an admiration it raiſed in all mens hearts of him, and of his Piety and Wiſdom. Certain it is that all the Diſcourſes that came forth at that time (and thoſe were not a few) for maintaining his Right to the Crown of *England*, prevailed nothing ſo much as did the Treatiſe againſt which ſuch Exceptions had been taken.

Mr. *John Dikes* fugitive for the Libel.

The Book well received in *England*.

A trouble for receiving ſome *Engliſh* Comedians.

In the end of the year happened ſome new jarrs betwixt the King and the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, becauſe of a Company of *Engliſh* Comedians whom the King had licenſed to play within the Burgh. The Miniſters offending with the liberty given them, did exclaim in their Sermons againſt Stage-players, their unrulineſs and immodeſt behaviour; and in their Seſſions made an Act *prohibiting people to reſort unto their Plaies under pain of the Church-Cenſures.* The King taking this to be a diſcharge of his Licence, called the Seſſions before the Council, and ordained them to annul their Act, and not to reſtrain the people from going to theſe Comedies: which they promiſed, and accordingly performed; whereof publication was made the day after, and all that pleaſed permitted to repair unto the ſame, to the great offence of the Miniſters.

A General Aſſembly of the Church.

The next year, which by publick Ordinance was appointed to have the beginning at the Calends of *Ianuary*, and from thenceforth ſo to continue (for before that time, the year with us was reckoned from the 25 of ℳ*arch*) there was an Aſſembly kept at *Montroſſe* the 28 of ℳ*arch*, where the King himſelf was preſent. Therein that great buſineſs of the Church's Voice in Parliament was determined; and firſt the Concluſions taken at *Falkland* in *Iuly* 1598 were ratified. Then touching the continuance of thoſe that ſhould be choſen to give voice for the Church, it was after much debating concluded, *That he who was admitted ſhould yearly render an account of his Commiſſion to the General Aſſembly, and laying the ſame down at their foot, ſhould be therein continued; or if his* ℳ*ajeſty and the Aſſembly did think fit to employ another, he ſhould give place to him that was appointed.* Two points more were adjoyned to the former. One was, *That they who had voice in Parliament ſhould not have place in the General Aſſembly, unleſs they were authoriſed by a Commiſſion from the Presbyters, whereof they were* ℳ*embers.* The other Caveat was, *That* crimen ambitus *ſhould be a ſufficient reaſon to deprive him both of his place and Office.* And now there reſted no more but to nominate perſons to the Biſhopricks that were void. *Aberdene* and *Argile* had their own incumbents at the time, both actual Preachers; S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow* were in the hands of the Duke of *Lennox*; ℳ*urray* poſſeſſed by the Lord *Spinie*; *Orkney* by the Earl of *Orkney*; *Dunkeld*, *Brichen* and *Dumblane*, had their own Titulars, but theſe were not ordinary Preachers; *Galloway* and *Iſles* were ſo dilapidated, as ſcarce they were remembred to have been. Only in *Roſſe* and *Cathnes* ſome proviſion was left, whereunto by conſent of the Church Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *George Gladſtaves* were preſented; the firſt to the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe*, the other to *Cathnes*; who nottheleſs continued ſtill ſerving in their Churches at *Leith* and S. *Andrews*, for as yet they could not find any ſetling in their Dioceſes. Beſides the concluſion taken in this buſineſs, divers other good Acts were concluded at that time, as may be ſeen in the Book of Records.

Two Caveats more added.

The ſtate of Biſhopricks at that time.

Biſhops appointed for *Roſſe* and *Cathnes*.

Some

Some three weeks before this Convention *John Dury* Miniſter at *Montroſſe* departed this life. He was born at *Machline* a little village in the Countrey of *Kyle*, and trained up a while in letters in the Town of *Aire*; after which he was ſent to *George Dury* his Couſin, Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and placed by him among the Monks of that Abbey, where he lived three years: then falling in ſome ſuſpicion of that which they called Hereſie, and delated thereof to the Abbot, after trial taken he was condemned to be immured, that is, to be ſhut up between two walls till he died. Yet by the means his friends made with the worthy Nobleman the Earl of *Arran*, he was delivered, and ſhortly after the Reformation admitted to the Miniſtery; in which he ſerved firſt at *Hales* near to *Edinburgh*, then at *Leith*, & when the Civil Troubles ceaſed, tranſlated to *Edinburgh*, where he continued Miniſter the ſpace of 10 years. A man earneſt and zealous in every thing he gave himſelf unto, but too credulous (a fault incident to the beſt natures) and eaſily abuſed by thoſe he truſted; which bred him great trouble whileſt he remained at *Edinburgh*. In *Montroſſe*, where he was firſt confined, and whereof ſoon after he became Miniſter, he lived well reſpected and in great quietneſs, making it appear, that the many conteſts and ſtrifes he had in former times proceeded not from his own diſpoſition, ſo much as from the ſuggeſtion of others; For all the ſixteen years he lived there, no man did carry himſelf with greater modeſty, nor in a more dutiful obedience, and was therefore well beloved and eſteemed by the King. He wiſhed earneſtly to have lived unto the meeting of the Aſſembly, that he might have declared his mind touching the matters then in hand; but when he perceived his ſickneſs increaſing, and that he ſhould not continue ſo long, he intreated ſome Brethren to viſit him, to ſhew the Aſſembly as from him, *That there was a neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient Government of the Church, becauſe of the unrulineſs of young Miniſters, that could not be adviſed by the elder ſort nor kept in order; and ſince both the eſtate of the Church did require it, and that the King did labor to have the ſame received, he wiſhed them to make no trouble therefore, and to inſiſt only with the King, that the beſt Miniſters and of greateſt experience might be preferred to places.* This as he directed was reported to the Aſſembly, and of the greateſt part well received: for he was certainly a ſound-hearted man, and far from all diſſimulation, ever profeſſing what he thought, and following the courſe he thought moſt expedient for the Church. To the poor he was exceeding helpful, compaſſionate of thoſe that were in any diſtreſs, and merciful even when he ſeemed moſt ſevere. He died the laſt of *February*, in the 63 year of his age.

An. 1600.

John Dury Miniſter at *Montroſſe* his death, with a ſhort deſcription of his life.

It was in *Auguſt* this year that the Conſpiracy of *Gowry* fell forth; a Conſpiracy plotted by him alone, and only communicated to Mr. *Alexander* his Brother; two youths of great hope, at whoſe hands no man could have expected ſuch an attempt. Their Father had been taken away by form of Juſtice in the year 1584, whileſt the King was yet Minor, and forced he was unto it as unto many other things that agreed not with his mind. But the care he took of the Nobleman's Children and kindneſs wherewith he uſed them, did ſhew how much he diſliked that proceeding; for he reſtored the eldeſt to his Father's Honor and Living, his Brother *Alexander* he made one of his Bed-chamber, a Siſter of theirs he preferred to be chief Maid about his Queen, and had a purpoſe to advance the Earl himſelf to a principal Office of the Kingdom. Such and ſo great Benefits might have endeared the moſt barbarous and hard-hearted. But Benefits are no benefits to the malicious, and thoſe that are ſet for revenge. The device was, to allure the King to the Earl's Houſe in *Perth*, and there to kill him. The King was then remaining in *Falkland*, and one day early in the morning, (it was the fifth of *Auguſt*) as he was going to take his ſport in the Park, *Alexander* meets him, and telleth that his Brother had intercepted a man, a *Jeſuite* as he ſuppoſed, with a great quantity of Gold, and that he kept the man faſt in his Houſe at *Perth*, and ſent him with the news, praying the King to make haſte, for that he doubted not he ſhould learn things worthy of his travel. The King moving ſome queſtions touching the man's ſtature and habit, and the place where he was taken, received no other anſwer, but that his Brother would ſatisfie all thoſe things at his coming; which put

The conſpiracy of the Earl of *Gowry*.

The King's kindneſs to his Brethren and Siſter.

The plot contrived for entrapping the King.

An. 1600. him in a ſuſpicion that the Gentleman was diſtracted, for he obſerved in him ſome perturbation: yet becauſe of the inſtance he made he yielded to go, willing him to ride back, and ſhew that he would be with his Brother before Dinner.

The King goeth to *Perth.*

After a ſhort chace and a Buck killed the King made towards *Perth*, accompanied with the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Marre*, and a few Gentlemen more, all in their hunting-coats. By the way the King did ask the Duke of *Lennox*, if he had known Mr. *Alexander* (for the Duke had married his Siſter) at any time troubled or diſtempered in his wits. The Duke anſwering that he had never known any ſuch thing in him; the King inſiſted no farther. Being come to the Town the Earl did meet him, and was noted by all the company to be in ſome trouble of mind, the very imagination of the fact he went about perplexing his thoughts. But he coloured all with the want of entertainment, ſaying, that he did not expect the King, and that his Dinner was not prepared. The King wiſhing him not to trouble himſelf with thoſe thoughts, becauſe a little thing would content him, and for the Noblemen a part of his dinner would ſuffice them; they diſcourſed of hunting and other common matters till meat was dreſſed. How ſoon the King had taken a little refreſhment, and the Lords were placed at a Table in another room, Mr. *Alexander* did ſound in the King's ear, that the time was fit whileſt the Lords were at dinner to go and examine the Stranger. At which word the King aroſe, and went up ſtairs, Mr. *Alexander* going before him. The King did call Sir *Thomas Areskin* (afterwards Earl of *Kelly*) to follow him; but Mr. *Alexander* turning at the door, after the King was entered, ſaid that the King willed him to ſtay below, whereupon Sir *Thomas* went back. Thus the door was ſhut, and Mr. *Alexander* guiding him to an inner room, the King did perceive a man ſtanding alone, whereupon he asked if that was the man. Nay, ſaid Mr. *Alexander*, there is another buſineſs in hand: and with that word covering his head, You remember, ſaid he, how you uſed my Father, and now muſt you anſwer for it. *Your Father?* anſwered the King, *I was not the cauſe of his death; it was done in my Minority by form of Juſtice. But is this your purpoſe, and have you trained me hither to murther me? Did you learn this leſſon of Mr.* Robert Rollock *your Maſter? or think you when you have done your will to go unpuniſhed?* Mr. *Alexander* ſtricken with the ſpeeches, and the man who was placed there to aſſiſt him, trembled for fear, deſired the King to be quiet, and make no noiſe, for that he would go ſpeak with his Brother, and pacifie him. This ſaid he went down a back way, as it ſeemed, to the Court below.

Gowry meeting the King was much troubled.

M. *Alexander* did move the King to go with him:

M. *Alexander* profeſſeth what he was about.

Whether he did meet with his Brother at that time or not is unknown, but his ſtay was ſhort, and when he returned, he ſaid to the King, There is no remedy, you muſt die. Then making as though he would tie the King's hands, they fell a wreſtling, and the King drawing him by force to a window in the corner that look'd toward the ſtreet, as he eſpied the Earl of *Marre*, cried, *Help, Earl of* Marre, *help*. The voice and words were diſcerned by all the Lords and Gentlemen, who thereupon ran to ſeek the King by the way that went up: but the doors being ſhut, there was no entry that way till the ſame was broke by force, which took up a large time. Upon the firſt cry Sir *Thomas Areskin* ſuſpecting Treaſon did flee upon *Gowry*, and taking him by the gorge ſaid, *Thou art the Traitor:* but they were quickly ſundered by his ſervants that ſtood by. The firſt that came to the King was a Page called *John Ramſey*, who falling upon a back paſſage by which the Traitors after the deed committed had purpoſed to eſcape, found the King and Mr. *Alexander* ſtrugling. The King calling to him and bidding him ſtrike the Traitor, he gave Mr. *Alexander* two or three wounds with his Dagger, and ſo parted him from the King. The man who was placed there to aſſiſt Mr. *Alexander* did ſteal away ſecretly; and he himſelf perceiving that the Treaſon was diſcovered made down the ſtairs, where being encountred by Sir *Thomas Areskin*, and ask'd how the King was, becauſe he gave no direct anſwer, and only ſaid, *that he took God to witneſs that he was not in the fault*, he thruſt him through the body, and killed him outright.

The King's voice heard, and is diſcerned.

Sir *Thomas Areskin* challengeth *Gowry.*

John Ramſey doth firſt relieve the King.

Sir

Sir *Thomas* was followed by *Hugh Hereiſe* Doctor of Medicine, and a Foot-boy named *Wilſon*, who ſeeing the King ſafe were not a little joyed, and placing him in a little room, and ſhutting the door, they prepared to defend the entry. *Gowry* accompanied with three or four ſervants breaketh preſently into the Chamber, and with his two Swords, one in each hand, puts them all to their ſhift, and had undoubtedly overthrown them, but that one of the company crying, *You have killed the King our Maſter, and will you alſo take our lives?* he became aſtoniſhed, and ſetting the points of his two Swords to the earth, as if he minded to ceaſe from any more fight, he was inſtantly ſtricken by the Page with a Rapier which pierced the heart, ſo as he fell down dead. The ſervants ſeeing him fall made away; only Maſter *Thomas Granſton* being ſore wounded, and not able to ſhift for himſelf, was apprehended. In this fight Sir *Thomas Areskin* and Doctor *Hereiſe* were both hurt, but nothing dangerouſly.

An. 1600.

The King's ſervants prepare to defend.

Gowrie entereth, and after a little ſpace is killed.

By this time the doors of the other paſſage being made open, the Lords and a number with them entred into the room, who hearing what happened went all to their knees, and the King himſelf, conceiving a Prayer, gave thanks to God for his deliverance, and that the device of thoſe wicked Brothers was turned upon their own heads. The danger that enſued was not much leſs, for the people of the Town taking up arms did inviron the houſe, crying *to give them out their Provoſt, otherwiſe they ſhould blow them all up with powder.* The rage of the multitude was great, (for they loved the Earl, as being their Provoſt, beyond all meaſure) and with great difficulty were they kept back from uſing violence: at laſt the Bayliffs and certain of the Citizens being admitted to enter and brought to the King, when they were informed of the truth of things, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horſe and returned to *Falkland*, where he was welcomed (the rumour of the danger having prevented his coming) with great acclamations of joy.

The Lords come to the King.

The danger by the people of the Town.

It was obſerved, not without ſome wondering, that after *Gowrie* was killed there iſſued no bloud for a good ſpace from his body, till his Girdle being looſed and taken from him the ſame guſhed from him in abundance: this was ſuppoſed to be the effect of ſome characters that he did alway carry in a little bag at his Girdle, which being viewed, were found to be certain ſpells of Necromancers, and added much to the infamy of his death.

The Characters found at the Earls girdle.

A diligent ſearch was made the daies following for the man the King ſaw ſtanding in the room, and large rewards promiſed to thoſe that ſhould find him out. In this ſearch one of the Earl's ſervants, called *Henry Younger*, hiding himſelf out of an idle fear among ſome growing corns, was killed, and for ſome daies was ſuppoſed to have been the man; till *Andrew Henderſon*, Chamberlain to *Gowrie*, diſcovering himſelf to the Controller, did offer upon promiſe of his life to enter and ſhew all that he knew in that buſineſs. Another of *Gowrie*'s ſervants ſurnamed *Craigengelt* was ſome 2 daies after apprehended, and both he and M. *Tho. Granſton* executed at *Perth*; though at their dying they declared that they knew nothing of the Earl's purpoſe, and had only followed him as being their Maſter unto that room, where if they had known the King to have been, they would have ſtood for him againſt their Maſter and all others.

Some ſervants of *Gowrie* executed.

Henderſon at his Examination declared, That the night preceding the attempt the Earl had directed him to attend his Brother Mr. *Alexander*, and do what he commanded. That accordingly he accompanied him the next morning to *Falkland*; and when they were returned, being commanded by Mr. *Alexander* to dreſs himſelf in armour, and go wait till he came unto him in an upper room, he obeyed. But that he could not imagine any purpoſe againſt the King, either in him or in the Earl, nor would have believed it unleſs he had ſeen the ſame with his eyes. Being demanded why he did not take the King's part when he did ſee them fall a wreſtling, he excuſed himſelf by a ſudden fear that overtook him in the time; and indeed he look'd ever after that time as one half diſtracted. It was much marvelled that in ſo high an attempt the Earl ſhould have made choice of ſuch a one: but the man was of a ſervile ſpirit, and apt enough to do miſchief; and many have conjectured

Andrew Henderſon his confeſſion.

An. 1600. that if the Treaſon had taken effect, it was in the Earl's purpoſe to have made away both his Brother and him, that he might not be ſuppoſed to have had any knowledge thereof. I remember my ſelf that meeting with Mr. *William Cowper* then Miniſter at *Perth* the third day after in *Falkland*, he ſhewed me that not many daies before that accident, viſiting by occaſion the Earl at his own Houſe, he found him reading a Book entituled, *De conjurationibus adverſus Principes:* and having asked him what a Book it was, he anſwered, "That it was a Collection of the Conſpira-"cies made againſt Princes, which he ſaid were fooliſhly contrived all of them, and "faulty either in one point or other; for he that goeth about ſuch a buſineſs ſhould "not (ſaid he) put any man on his counſel. And he not liking ſuch diſcourſes, deſired him to lay away ſuch Books, and read others of a better ſubject. I verily think he was then ſtudying how to go beyond all Conſpirators recorded in any Hiſtory; but it pleaſed God, *who giveth ſalvation to Kings*, as the Pſalm ſpeaketh, to infatuate his counſels, and by his enſample to admoniſh all diſloyal and traitorous ſubjects to beware of attempting againſt their Sovereigns.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* required by the Council to give thanks for his Majeſtie's deliverance. Their excuſe, and refuſing to obey.

Advertiſement ſent the next day to the Council, which then remained at *Edinburgh*, the Miniſters of the Town were called and deſired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for his Majeſtie's deliverance. They excuſing themſelves, *as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how thoſe things had fallen out*; it was anſwered, that they were only to ſignifie how the King had eſcaped a great danger, and to ſtir up the people to thankſgiving. They replied, *That nothing ought to be delivered in Pulpit but that whereof the truth was known, and that all which is uttered in that place ſhould be ſpoken in faith.* When by no perſuaſion they could be moved to perform that duty, it was reſolved that the Council ſhould go together to the Market-croſs, and that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* ſhould after a narration of the King's danger and deliverance conceive a publick Thankſgiving which was done, the multitude applauding and expreſſing a great joy.

The Biſhop of *Roſſe* giveth thanks at the Market-croſs.

The King cometh to *Edinburgh*.

Maſter *Patrick Galloway* his preaching at the Croſſe.

The Munday following the King came to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with divers Noblemen and Barons, and heard a Sermon preached at the Croſs by Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, who chuſing the 124 Pſalm for his Theme, did take occaſion to diſcourſe of all the particulars of that Conſpiracy, and gave the people great ſatisfaction: for many doubted that there had been any ſuch Conſpiracy, *The condition of Princes being*, as the Emperor *Domitian* ſaid, *herein miſerable, that even when Conſpiracies made againſt their Perſons are diſcovered, yet they are not credited, unleſs they be ſlain.* The next day the King in a ſolemn Council kept at *Halirudhouſe*, to teſtifie his thankfulneſs for his Deliverance, and to perpetuate the memory thereof, did mortifie for the entertainment of ſome poor men the rent of 1000 pounds yearly to be taken of the readieſt fruits of the Abbacy of *Scone*, and ordained an honourable reward to be given to the three Gentlemen that had been the inſtruments of his Preſervation, and the cauſe of the reward to be ſpecified in their Patents.

1000 l. mortified to the poor at *Scone*.

A ſolemn Thankſgiving appointed for the King's Deliverance.

After this order was taken for a publick and ſolemn Thankſgiving to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and the laſt Tueſday of *September* with the Sunday following appointed for that exerciſe.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* removed from their places.

Three of the number acknowledging their fault, are pardoned.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who gave the refuſe, were commanded to remove themſelves out of the Town within 48 hours, aud inhibited to Preach within his Majeſtie's Dominions under pain of death. Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, Mr. *William Watſon*, and Mr. *John Hall*, three of that number, compeiring at *Striveling* the 10 of *September*, and declaring, *That they were throughly reſolved of the truth of* Gowrie's *Conſpiracy, and willing to amend their former fault*, were pardoned, upon condition *that before their return to* Edinburgh *they ſhould in the Churches appointed to them publickly preach, and declare their perſuaſion of the truth of that Treaſon, craving God and his Majeſty forgiveneſs for the queſtion they made thereof, and rebuking all ſuch as continued in that doubtfulneſs.* The Churches deſigned to them were *Tranent*, *Muſſilburgh* and *Dalkeith* for Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*; *Dunbar* and *Dunſ* for Mr. *William Watſon*; and for Mr. *John Hall*, *Dunfermlin*, S. *Andrews* and *Perth*.

Mr. *James Balfour* remitted.

Mr. *James Balfour*, the day following, upon the like confeſſion was remitted, and ordained to publiſh his reſolution in the Churches of *Dundee*, *Montroſſe*, *Aberbrothock* and *Brichen*.

But

But Mr. *Robert Bruce*, taking a course by himself, and saying, *He would reverence his Majestie's reports of that accident, but could not say he was perswaded of the truth of it*, was banished the King's Dominions, and went into *France*. *An.* 1600. Master *Robert Bruce* banished.

The 15 of *November* a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, wherein sentence of Forfeiture was pronounced against *Gowry* and Mr. *Alexander* his Brother, their Posterity disinherited, and, in detestation of the Parricide attempted, the whole Surname of *Ruthven* abolished. But this last was afterwards dispensed with, and such of that name as were known to be innocent tolerated by the King's clemency to enjoy their surnames and titles as in former times. The bodies of the two Brothers being brought to the Parliament-house were after Sentence given hanged upon a Gibbet in the publick street, and then dismembred, their heads cut off and affixed upon the top of the Prison-house. This done, the Estates, in acknowledgment of the favors and grace they all had received of God, by the miraculous and extraordinary Preservation of his Majesty from that Treasonable attempt, did ordain, *That in all times and ages to come the fifth of* August *should be solemnly kept with Prayers, Preachings and Thanksgiving for that benefit, discharging all work, labor and other occupations upon the said day, which might distract the people in any sort from those Pious exercises*, A Parliament wherein *Gowry* and his Brother are forfeited; The fifth of *August* to be kept yearly in remembrance of his Majesties delivery.

Divers other good and profitable Acts, as well for the Church as Kingdom were concluded in this Parliament: as the Act decerning *all Marriages contracted betwixt persons divorced for Adultery to be null, and the children begotten by such unlawful conjunction incapable of succession to their parents inheritance*; as also the Act made for *removing and extinguishing of deadly Feuds*, which the King had ever striven to abolish, was in that time confirmed by the whole Estates. Acts concluded in this Parliament.

Upon the close of the Parliament the King went to *Dunfermlin* to visit the Queen, who was brought to bed of a Son. The Christening was hastned because of the weakness of the Child, and that his death was much feared. He was named *Charles*, and, contrary to the expectation of most men, grew unto years and strength, and survived Prince *Henry* his elder Brother, reigns happily this day over these Kingdoms; which that he may long do is the desire and wish of all good subjects. The King goeth to *Dunfermlin* to visit the Queen. Prince *Charles* born at *Dunfermlin*.

In the end of the year Mr. *John Craig*, that had been Minister to the King, but through age was compelled to quit the Charge, departed this life. This man whilest he lived was held in great esteem, a great Divine and excellent Preacher, of a grave behavior, sincere, inclining to no Faction, and, which increased his reputation, living honestly, without ostentation or desire of outward glory. Many tossings and troubles he endured in his time: for being left yong and his Father killed at *Flowdon*, after that he had got an entrance in Letters, and passed his course in Philosophy in S. *Andrews*, he went to *England*, and waited as Pedagogue on the Lord *Dacres* his children the space of two years. Wars then arising betwixt the two Kingdoms, he returned home, and became one of the *Dominican* Order; but had not lived long among them when, upon suspicion of Heresie, he was put in prison. Being cleared of that imputation, he went back again into *England*, and thinking by the Lord *Dacres* means to have got a place in *Cambridge*, because that failed, he went to *France*, and from thence to *Rome*. There he wone such favor with Cardinal *Pole*, as by his recommendation he was received among the *Dominicans* of *Bononia*, and by them first appointed to instruct the Novices of the Cloister: afterwards, when they perceived his diligence and dexterity in businesses, he was employed in all their affairs throughout *Italy*, and sent in Commission to *Chios*, an Isle situated in the *Ionick* Sea, to redress things that were amiss amongst those of their Order. The death of Mr. *John Craig*, with a description of his life.

Therein he discharged himself so well, that at his return he was made Rector of the School, and thereby had access to the Libraries, especially to that of the Inquisition; where falling on the *Institutions* of *John Calvin*, he was taken with a great liking thereof; and one day conferring with a reverend old man of the Monastery, was by him confirmed in the opinion he had taken, but withal warned in any case not to utter himself, or make his mind known, because the times were perillous:

An. 1600. yet he neglecting the counsel of the aged man, and venting his Opinions too freely was delated of Heresie, and being sent to *Rome*, after examination imprisoned nine moneths, he lay there in great misery; at the end whereof, being brought before the Judge of the Inquisition, and giving a clear Confession of his Faith, he was condemned to be burnt the next day, which was the 19 of *August*.

It happened the same night Pope *Paul* the Fourth to depart this life; upon the noise of whose death the people came in a Tumult to the place where his Statue in marble had been erected, and pulling it down, did for the space of three days drag the same through the streets, and in the end threw it in the River of *Tiber*. During the Tumult all the Prisons were broke open, the Prisoners set free, & among those Mr. *Craig* had his liberty. As he sought to escape, (for he held it not safe to stay in the City) two things happened unto him not unworthy of relation. First, in the Suburbs, as he was passing, he did meet a sort of loose men, whom they called *Banditi*: one of the company, taking him aside, demanded if he had been at any time in *Bononia*. He answered that he had been some time there. Do ye not then remember, said he, that walking on a time in the fields with some young Noblemen, there came unto you a poor maimed Soldier, entreating some relief? Mr. *Craig* replying that he did not well remember. But I do, said he, and I am the man to whom ye shewed kindness at that time: be not afraid of us, ye shall incur no danger. And so conveying him through the Suburbs, and shewing what was his safest course, he gave him so much money as might make his charge to *Bononia*; for he intended to go thither, trusting to find some kindness with those of his acquaintance: yet at his coming he found them look strange, and fearing to be of new trapped, he slipped away secretly, taking his course to *Millain*.

Accidents that befel Mr. *Craig* in his flight.

By the way another accident befel him, which I should scarce relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place he himself had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of God's care of him; and this it was. When he had travelled some days, declining the high-ways out of fear, he came into a Forest, a wild and desert place, and being sore wearied lay down among some bushes on the side of a little brook to refresh himself: lying there pensive and full of thoughts, (for neither knew he in what part he was, nor had he any means to bear him out the way) a Dog cometh fawning with a purse in his teeth, and lays it down before him. He stricken with a fear riseth up, and construing the same to proceed from God's favorable providence towards him, followed his way till he came to a little Village, where he met with some that were travelling to *Vienna* in *Austria*, and changing his intended course went in their company thither,

A strange accident and singular testimony of God's care over him.

Being there, and professing himself to be one of the *Dominican* Order, he was brought to preach before *Maximilian* the Second, who, liking the man and his manner of Teaching, would have retained him, if by Letters from Pope *Pius* the Third he had not been required to send him back to *Rome*, as one that was condemned for Heresie. The Emperor not liking to deliver him, and on the other part not willing to fall out with the Pope, did quietly dimit him with Letters of safe conduct. So travelling through *Germany* he came to *England*, and being there informed of the Reformation begun at home, he returned into *Scotland*, and made offer of his service to the Church: but his long disuetude of the Countrey-language, (which was not to be marvelled, considering that he had lived abroad the space of 24 years) made him unuseful at first; now and then to the Learned sort he preached in Latine in *Magdalen*'s Chappel at *Edinburgh*, and in the year 1561, after he had recovered the Language, was appointed Minister at *Halirudhouse*. The next year he was taken to *Edinburgh*, and served as Collegue with Mr. *Knox* the space of nine years; then by the ordinance of the Assembly he was translated to *Montross*, where he continued two years, and upon the death of *Adam Heriot* was removed to *Aberdene*, having the inspection of the Churches of *Marre* and *Buqhan* committed to his care. In the year 1579 he was called to be the King's Minister, and served in that charge till born down with the weight of years he was forced to retire himself: after which time forbearing all publick exercises he lived private at home, comforting himself with the remembrance of the mercies of God that he had

He preacheth to *Maximilian* the Emperor, but is forced to leave those parts.

He cometh to *Scotland* and is appointed Minister at *Halirudhouse*.

had tasted in his life past; and this year, on the 12 of *December*, without all pain died peaceably at *Edinburgh* in the 88 year of his age. *An.* 1601.

In the beginning of the next year there happened a great Stir in the Court of *England*, which concerning the King in some sort I must needs touch. The Earl of *Essex*, who had been a long time in special favour with the Queen, and was then upon some displeasure kept from the Court, not enduring to be thrust down (as he complained) by his adversaries into a private life, did resolve to make his way unto the Queen by force, to seise upon her Person, and remove from her company those he judged to be his adversaries. But the purpose failing, he was taken himself and committed to the Tower. A little before he had written Letters to the King full of respect, informing that they who had the managing of all affairs under the Queen were inclining to the Infanta of *Spain*, and advising him to send Ambassadors into *England*, and urge the declaration of his Title of Succession. The King, though he could have wished his Title to be declared, did not think that time fitting for such Propositions; yet upon the report of his Apprehension he resolved to employ some in Commission to the Queen. And to this effect made choice of the Earl of *Marre*, joyning with him the Abbot of *Kinlosse*; who coming to the Court some days after the Execution of *Essex*, and having access to the Queen, did congratulate her good success in repressing that audacious attempt. This she took well, and was glad to hear so much from them, because of the rumors which were then dispersed, *That* Essex *was made away for favouring the King of Scots Title, and that if the Ambassadors had come in time they would have dealt for him.* A good Answer was hereupon given to all their Instructions: and whereas, among other points of their Commission, they were willed to seek an assignment of some portion of land in recompence of the lands belonging to the Lady *Lennox*, the King being her lawful Heir; the Queen excusing her self touching the lands, was content to add to the annuity formerly paid the sum of 2000 pounds yearly, as long as he kept fast and held one course with her. Besides this satisfaction obtained of the Queen, they did so work with the principal Noblemen and Counsellors, as they wone them to be the Kings friends, and at their return gave his Majesty assurance of a peaceable Reception of that Crown after the decease of the Queen, which was some two years after really performed.

A Trouble in the Court of *England*.

The Earl of *Marre* sent Ambassador to *England*.

Much about this time had Pope *Clement* the Eighth sent his *Breves* (as they call them) into *England*, warning all the Clergy and Layety that professed the *Roman* Faith, not to admit after the Queen's death any man, how near soever in blood, to be King, unless he should bind himself by Oath to promove the Catholick *Roman* Religion at his power. And at the same time came Mr. *John Hamilton* and Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Jesuites, into *Scotland*, two factious and working spirits, and therefore much suspected by the King; the first especially, for that he was known to have been a chief instrument of the Seditions raised in the City of *Paris* in the time of the League. How soon the King understood of their repairing into the Countrey, a Proclamation was given out inhibiting their resort under the pain of Treason. In this Proclamation, to make them the more odious, they were compared to *Bothwell* and *Gowry*, the King declaring that he would judge no otherwise of their receptors then of those that did treasonably pursue his own life. This notwithstanding, they found lurking-holes amongst the Papists in the North, and kept the Countrey till, after some years, that Mr. *John Hamilton* was apprehended and carried to the Tower of *London*, where he died.

Pope *Clement* sends his *Breves* to *England* for excluding the King.

A Proclamation against some Jesuites.

The Church of *Edinburgh* remained all this while destitute of a number of their Ministers, the Conditions prescribed unto them when they were pardoned not being performed: of the four only Mr. *John Hall*, having given obedience, was licenced to return to his Charge; the other three, upon I know not what pretext, deferred to make their Declaration, as was appointed, and were thereupon in the Assembly convened at *Brunt-Island* the 12 of *May* ordained to be transported from the Ministery of *Edinburgh*, and placed in such parts of the Countrey as the Commissioners of the Countrey should think meet. This Assembly was called by his Majestie's Proclamation, partly for taking order with the Church of *Edinburgh*, partly

An Assembly at *Brunt-Island*.

for

An. 1601. for repreſſing the growth of Popery, which was then increaſing; and where it ſhould have held at S. *Andrews*, was, in regard of the King's indiſpoſition, brought to *Brunt-Iſland*.

Mr. *John Hall* elected Moderator.

Mr. *John Hall* being elected to moderate the meeting, did begin with a regrate of the general defection from the purity and practice of true Religion, which he ſaid *was ſo great, that it muſt of neceſſity at laſt conclude either in Popery or Atheiſm, except a ſubſtantious remedy were in time provided. And becauſe the ill could not be well cured unleſs the cauſes and occaſions thereof ſhould be ript up; he exhorteth thoſe that were aſſembled, to conſider ſeriouſly both of the Cauſes of the Defection, and the Remedies that were fitteſt to be applied.*

The Defection in Religion complained of, and the Cauſes ſearched.

After long conference, the Cauſes were condeſcended to be, The wrath of God kindled againſt the Land for the unreverent eſtimation of the Goſpel, and the Sins in all Eſtates, to the diſhonor of their profeſſion; Lack of care in the Miniſtery to diſcover Apoſtates; Too haſty admiſſion of men unto the Miniſtery, Miniſters framing themſelves to the humors of people; The deſolation of the Churches of *Edinburgh*; The advancing of men to places of credit that were ill-affected to Religion; The Education of his Majeſtie's Children in the company of Papiſts; The training up of Noblemens children under ſuſpect Pedagogues; The decay of Schools; and The not urging of the reconciled Lords to perform their Conditions.

The Remedy of the evils.

For Remedy of the foreſaid evils it was ordained, *That a publick Humiliation ſhould be kept throughout the Realm the laſt two Sundays of* June, *with Faſting and Prayer, for appeaſing the wrath of God kindled againſt the Land; That the Miniſters of every Preſbytery ſhould after the diſſolving of the Aſſembly take up the names of the Recuſants within their bounds, and ſend them to the King's Miniſters; That places of greateſt need ſhould be furniſhed with learned and wiſe Preachers, and in the mean time, till that might take effect by a conſtant proviſion of Miniſters to thoſe places, that the meeteſt for that purpoſe ſhould be appointed to attend for a certain time in the families of the reconciled Lords, for their better confirmation in the Truth.* The reſt of the remedies reſolved all in Petitions to his Majeſty, *for the planting of Churches, the not permitting of thoſe who were under proceſs for Popery to have acceſs to Court, and a care to be taken of the good education of the children of Noblemen.* To all which the King gave favorable anſwers; and for the removing of the Princeſs his Daughter from the Lady *Levingſton*, which was earneſtly entreated by the whole Aſſembly, his Majeſty did promiſe to bring her to his own Houſe before the Term of *Martinmas* next.

Mr. *John Davidſon* his Letter to the Aſſembly.

Whileſt matters were thus proceeding, there was delivered a Letter ſent by Mr. *John Davidſon* to the Aſſembly, wherein, as if he would awake his Brethren fallen aſleep, he began with a ſtrong cry, *How long ſhall we fear or favor fleſh and blood, and follow the counſel and command thereof? Should our Meetings be in the name of man? Are we not yet to take up our ſelves, and to acknowledge our former errors, and feebleneſs in the Work of the Lord?* And a little after, *Is it time for us now, when ſo many of our worthy Brethren are thruſt out of their Callings without all order of juſt proceeding, and Jeſuites, Atheiſts and Papiſts are ſuffered, countenanced and advanced to great rooms in the Realm, for the bringing in of Idolatry, and Captivity more then* Babylonical, *with an high hand, and that in our chief City; Is it time for us, I ſay, of the Miniſtery to be inveigled and blind-folded with pretence of Preferment of ſome ſmall number of our Brethren to have voice in Parliament, and have Titles of Prelacy? Shall we with* Samſon *ſleep ſtill on* Dalilah's *knees, till ſhe ſay,* The Philiſtines be upon thee, Samſon? Then ſcoffing at the King's doings, he ſaid, *But* Bonyton *is executed, an infamous Thief in the higheſt degree: what is that to the cauſe of Religion, whereof no queſtion was moved? Is there no Papiſt, nor favorer of Papiſts in* Scotland *but* Bonyton? *But the King is ſound in Religion, what can the adverſaries do? Being ſound, the danger were the leſs; but there is nothing either in Church or King according to our calling,* &c. In Poſtſcript to the ſame Letter he wiſhed them to be wary of determining any thing touching the planting of *Edinburgh*, in reſpect of any promiſes againſt Papiſts, and to remember that *Melius & optabilius eſt bellum pace impia, & à Deo diſtrahente.*

The Letter offended greatly the wiſer ſort.

This Letter laughed at by ſome did greatly offend the wiſer ſort, who would have proceeded to cenſure the man as he had deſerved, but that the King interceded, willing

willing to leave the punishment to him, and go on with their own affairs as they had begun. So the Letter being cast by, the planting of *Edinburgh* was next handled; and after some reasoning it was concluded, that the three Ministers, Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, M. *James Balfour* and Mr. *William Watson* should be transported, and others placed in their rooms. The care of this among other things was entrusted to certain Commissioners deputed by the Assembly, who had power given them for all matters that concerned the Church unto the next General Meeting. *An.* 1601.

A Combustion touching the Ministers of *Edinburgh*.

After this a Proposition was made for a new Translation of the Bible, and the correcting of the Psalms in Metre: his Majesty did urge it earnestly, and with many Reasons did persuade the undertaking of the Work, shewing the necessity and the profit of it, and what a glory the performing thereof should bring to this Church: speaking of the necessity, he did mention sundry escapes in the common Translation, and made it seen that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures then they whose profession it was; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre and the discrepance from the Text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole Assembly, who approving the motion did recommend the Translation to such of the Brethren as were most skill'd in the Languages, and the revising of the Psalms particularly to Mr. *Robert Pont*; but nothing was done in the one or the other: yet did not the King let this his intention fall to the ground, but after his happy coming to the Crown of *England* set the most learned Divines of that Church a work for the Translation of the Bible; which with great pains and the singular profit of the Church they perfected. The reviſing of the Psalms he made his own labour, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majestie's expectation.

A Proposition was made for a new Translation of the Bible, and correcting the Psalms.

The Act for restraining the liberty of Application in Exercises was of new ratified, and an Ordinance made against the Preaching of young men not admitted to the Ministery in the chief places of the Countrey; which done, and the next Assembly being appointed to be held at S. *Andrews* the last Tuesday of *July*, *Anno* 1602, the meeting dissolved.

The liberty of Application restrained.

Soon after the King, by the advise of the Commissioners of the Church, received in favour the three Ministers of *Edinburgh* that were ordained to be translated to other places, and licensed them to return to their Charges. Mr. *John Dikes* also, who had lurked all this time, having composed some Eucharistick Sonnets (as he called them) for his Majestie's preservation, was pardoned, and permitted to return to his place. But Mr. *John Davidson* presuming to find the like favour, and appearing in publick without warrant, was taken and committed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained some moneths, till by the intercession of the King's Ministers he was also put to liberty.

The Ministers of *Edinburgh* received in favour.

In the State the Lord *Maxwell* began to make new Troubles, and notwithstanding he was prohibited to repair within the bounds of *Nidisdale* and *Galloway*, he went home without license, having contrived the death of Sir *James Johnston* then Warden; but the purpose failing, he made an Incursion upon *Annandale*, raising fire, and committing slaughter: whereupon, great Stirs were moved in these parts, which were not pacified till the *February* after; at which time the King, going in person to *Dumfreis*, made him leave the Countrey, and put in Sureties for his remaining within the bounds of *Cluidsdale*.

New Troubles by the Lord *Maxwell*.

In *July* thereafter *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* was sent in an Ambassage to *France*, rather for confirming the old Amity and friendship, then for any business else. There went with him Sir *Thomas Ereskin* and Sir *William Levinston* of *Kilsithe*, two of his Majestie's privy Council; Mr. *John Spotswood*, then Parson of *Calder*, was directed to attend him as his Chaplain or Preacher. The Duke taking his journey by sea arrived at *Diep* the 24 of that moneth, and upon the 10 day after entered into *Paris*, accompanied by *James* Archbishop of *Glasgow* and a great train of Scotishmen, who did meet him at S. *Denis*: he had presence of the French King at S. *Germans* some seven leagues from *Paris*, and was very kindly accepted. A

The Duke of *Lennox* directed Ambassador to *France*.

few

An. 1601. few daies after the King went to *Fountain-bleau*, where the Queen was to lie of Child-birth. Thither the Duke did follow him, and was entertained with hunting and the like ſports unto the Queen's delivery, which fell out the 17 of *September*. Going then unto the Countrey to ſalute his Mother Madam *D' Aubigney* and other his friends, whileſt he was about theſe offices of kindneſs, the King went by poſt to *Calais* upon ſome intelligence, as it was ſaid, from *England*, that the Queen was fallen ſick: he himſelf gave out that the affairs of *Flanders* did occaſion his journey, for as then the Archduke was beſieging *Oſtend*. But whatſoever the buſineſs was, no man doubted but that he had an eye upon the Succeſſion of *England*; and if he could have found a Faction, would have foiſted in another *Baſtard* of *Normandy*, which oftentimes in a merriment and gallantry he ſpared not to utter.

The Queen of *France* lying of her firſt-born.

The Duke after his return to *Paris* made no long ſtay, but taking his leave of the *French* King, who was then come back from *Calais*, took journey towards *England*, and came to *London* in the beginning of *November*. A Parliament was then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, (the laſt that Queen *Elizabeth* held) which with his coming upon that inſtant gave many to think that he was come to urge a Declaration of the King's Right of Succeſſion; and not a few they were, nor of ſmall note, that offered to aſſiſt, if he ſhould move any ſuch buſineſs: but he told them, that neither had he any ſuch Commiſſion, nor would the King ever agree to any thing that might breed a jealouſie in the Queen. And his Commiſſion indeed was no other but to ſalute the Queen in the King's name, and let her know the kind and filial affection he carried unto her, whereof he ſhould be willing to give proof at all occaſions. And for that he was given to underſtand that the *Iriſh* Rebels had drawn in ſome *Spaniſh* forces into *Ireland*, to fortifie themſelves in their Rebellion, he would, if his aid ſhould be thought neceſſary, employ the ſame for their expulſion. The Queen giving the King many thanks, ſaid, That if thoſe Troubles continued, ſhe would take his help, and hire ſome of his High-landers and Iſles-men; but ſhe truſted to hear other news ſhortly, and not be vexed long with thoſe ſtrangers. As alſo it came to paſs, for the very next moneth the Lord *Montjoy* her Deputy did, in a Battel fought near *Kinſail*, defeat the *Iriſh* utterly, and afterwards forced the *Spaniards* that had taken the Town to render upon condition of their lives ſaved, and that they might be tranſported again into their Countrey.

The Duke returneth to *Edinburgh*.

The Duke after three weeks ſtay, being feaſted by the Queen and entertained with all complements of amity, returned home, and came to *Edinburgh* in the end of *December*; where having related his proceedings in Council, they were all approved. The Lord *Elphinſton* had in his abſence reſigned the Office of Treaſury upon an offence, as was thought, he conceived for adjoyning ſome others unto him in the componing of Signators; and now was Sir *George Hume*, one of the Maſters of the Quirie, preferred to the Office, which he diſcharged by his Deputy, Sir *John Arnot*, both to his Majeſty and the Countrey's content.

An. 1602. Certain Undertakers conquer the Iſles.

The next Summer the King having reſolved to plant Lowland-men in the Iſles, and tranſport the Inhabitants into the main land, where they might learn civility, made a beginning at the Iſle of *Lewis*. The Undertakers were *Patrick* Abbot of *Lendors*, Colonel *William Stewart*, Captain *William Murray*, Mr. *James Lermouth*, of *Balcolmy*, Mr. *James Spence* of *Wormeſton*, Sir *James Anſtruther* of that ilke, and *James Forret* of *Fingaske*. Theſe Gentlemen furniſhing themſelves with arms and ſhipping, and having conduced a number of ſouldiers, took ſea, and in the third or fourth day arrived in the Lake of *Sternoway* within the ſame Iſle. *Murdach Macklowd*, baſe Son to old *Macklowd*, who carried himſelf as Lord of the Iſle, made at the firſt ſome reſiſtence; but after a little conflict diſtruſting the people, for he had uſed them with great tyranny, he fled and forſook the Iſle, leaving the Indwellers to the diſcretion of the Invaders: they, how ſoon he was gone, did all ſubmit themſelves, and accept ſuch Conditions as were offered by the Undertakers.

Being thus peaceably poſſeſſed, the Laird of *Balcolmy*, either ſent by the reſt to ſignifie their good ſucceſs, and to make preparation againſt the Winter, or for ſome private buſineſs of his own, took purpoſe to return home, and being lanched a little from the coaſt, and by reaſon of the Calm forced to caſt anchor, was ſuddenly

ly invaded by the ſaid *Murdach Macklowd* with a number of Birlings, (ſo they call the little veſſels thoſe Iſles-men uſe) the ſhip boarded, the marriners killed, and himſelf made priſoner. The Gentleman being detained ſome days, and hourly threatned with death, was afterwards ranſomed by one of his friends, and conveyed to *Orkney*, where contracting a Feaver he died. The reſt of the Gentlemen, to repair this injury, conduced *Neill Macklowd*, brother to the ſaid *Murdach*, to betray and deliver him in their hands; which he performed ſhortly after, having by an Ambuſh laid for his Brother apprehended him, and ſome twelve more that were in his company. The twelve he preſently beheaded, *Murdach* he delivered to the Gentlemen, as he had promiſed, who was afterwards tranſported to S. *Andrews*, and there executed. *An.* 1602.

The Laird of *Balcolmy* taken priſoner, and dieth in *Orkney*.

Neill betrayeth his Brother *Murdach*.

The Undertakers thinking themſelves now ſecured, began to build, and made a partition of lands, letting the ſame to the Countrey-people, who did all ſwear fidelity to them: but whileſt they expected no trouble, *Norman Macklowd* Son to old *Macklowd* did on the ſudden beſet them, put fire to their lodgings, and force them to the Conditions following.

The *Lewis* loſt by the Undertakers ſecurity.

Firſt, that they ſhould purchaſe to them a Remiſſion from the King of all crimes and offences paſt.

Next, that they ſhould reſign to *Norman* all the right that they had acquired of the Iſle of *Lewis*.

And thirdly, that Sir *James Spence*, with his Son-in-law *Thomas Monypenny* of *Kinkell*, ſhould remain as Pledges until the Remiſſion was brought unto him, and ſuch a Surety given of the Iſle as he could deviſe.

This condeſcended unto, Sir *James Anſtruther* departed with the whole company that was left, (for many were killed before their yielding) and for relief of the Pledges obtained of the King both the Remiſſion and Security of the Iſle that was deſired, which was ſent to *Norman* by *James Lermouth* ſon to the Laird of *Darcie*. By this mean were the Pledges freed, and for that time the whole enterpriſe defeated. Some three years after the ſame was of new attempted, with what ſucceſs we ſhall hear in the own place.

M. *Rob. Bruce* licenced to return upon promiſe of ſatisfaction.

Maſter *Robert Bruce*, who as we ſhewed before was exiled in *France*, obtained licence to return in the beginning of this Summer by the interceſſion of the Earl of *Marre*, whom he had intreated to mediate his peace, upon promiſe at his return to ſatisfie the King, and declare his reſolution in that matter of *Gowrie*'s. The King, who never ſhewed himſelf difficile, (eſpecially to Miniſters that profeſſed penitency for their errors) gave warrant to recall him; and he appearing before the Commiſſioners of the Church at *Pert* the 25 of *June*, where his Majeſty was preſent, acknowledged his error, profeſſed his reſolution touching the guiltineſs of thoſe unhappy Brothers, and promiſed, if his Majeſty ſhould licence him to return to his place, to declare the ſame publickly in the firſt Sermon he ſhould have to the people. The King doubting his performance, (for he had often in other matters tried his inconſtancy) cauſed the ſame to be ſet down in writing upon the back of the Letter he had ſent to the Earl of *Marre*, and after he had ſubſcribed the ſame, made all the Commiſſioners that were preſent (eleven in number) to ſet their hands thereto as Witneſſes. This done, he was admitted to kiſs his Majeſtie's hand, & licenced to return to his place. But as the King had conjectured, ſo it fell out; for coming to *Edingburgh*, where it was expected he ſhould have done what he had both promiſed and ſubſcribed, he left the Town, pretending that his Miniſtery ſhould thereby be diſcredited, and he eſteemed to Preach by Injunction. The General Aſſembly of the Church meeting in *November* following, the King, to remove this pretext, after he had ſhewed all the particulars of his proceeding with Mr. *Robert*, and produced the Letter ſent by him to the Earl of *Marre*, together with his Subſcription in the meeting of *Perth*, deſired the voices of the Aſſembly, whether or not he ought to utter his reſolution in Pulpit as he had promiſed. They all, not one gainſaying, declared, *That he was bound both in duty and conſcience to fulfil his promiſe, ſo much the rather, that by his diſtruſt and diſobedience to the Council's charge he had confirmed ill-diſpoſed people in their ſuſpicions.* Yet this Ordinance did not content him,

Mr. *Robert Bruce* his inconſtancy.

A General Aſſembly in the Chappel of *Halirud-houſe*.

An. 1602. him, and ſo delaying to give ſatisfaction, he was by the Commiſſioners of the Church diſcharged from the Miniſtery of *Edinburgh* the year following.

Petitions to his Majeſty in name of the Church.

In this Aſſembly Mr. *Patrick Galloway* being choſen to preſide, he made a Speech to the King, wherein he ſhewed, "That the Church was oppugned by two ſorts "of enemies, to wit, Papiſts and Sacrilegious perſons; and therefore in the name "of the whole Church entreated his Majeſty, that as he had with great travel and "happy ſucceſs made the principals of the Popiſh profeſſion to conform themſelves "in outward obedience, ſo he would uſe his Princely Authority towards the other "ſort, and compel them, if not to reſtore all, at leaſt to grant a competent allow-"ance to Miniſters forth of the Tithes they poſſeſſed. The King accepting the Petition graciouſly, ſaid, *That it ſhould not be well with the Church ſo long as Miniſters were drawn from their Charges to attend the yearly modification of Stipends, and that he held it fitteſt once to condeſcend upon a competent proviſion for every Church, and deal with thoſe that poſſeſſed the Tithes to beſtow a part thereof to the foreſaid uſes: and ſeeing that buſineſs would require a longer time then they could well continue together, that they ſhould do well to make ſome overtures to thoſe that had the Commiſſion for Stipends, promiſing for himſelf that he ſhould ſtand for the Church, and be an advocate for the Miniſters.*

Overtures for proviſion of the Miniſters.

After a long deliberation theſe Overtures were proponed. "Firſt, That the Mi-"niſters having Stipends aſſigned to them forth of the Tithes of the Churches "where they ſerved, a perpetual ſecurity ſhould be made to the Takeſmen, and a "certainer greſſome condeſcended on for every chalder of victual, which ſhould "be paid for nineteen years leaſe; at the expiring whereof, another leaſe upon the "like conditions ſhould be renewed for as many years, the principal Takeſmen be-"ing obliged to grant the like ſecurity for his Subtakeſmen. 2. That the Prela-"cies ſhould be diſponed to actual Miniſters, the Churches annexed thereto being "ſufficiently provided, and the tenth of the ſuperplus paid to the King; or other-"wiſe, that all the great Benefices ſhould be diſſolved, the Prelate enjoying the "principal Church and temporal lands, and the Churches annexed diſponed to "Miniſters, both they and the Prelate paying a yearly duty to the King. And 3. "that all inferior Benefices ſhould be provided to the Miniſters ſerving the "Cure.

The Overtures deferred to another time.

The Firſt of theſe Overtures the King held reaſonable and moſt advantageous to the Church; but the Aſſembly eſteeming it dangerous to make Tithes heretable, deferred to give their conſent, ſo as nothing at that time was concluded, and the Overtures remitted to a more deep conſideration.

Grievances of the Synod of *Fife*.

The Synod of *Fife* did after this preſent ſome Grievances, complaining, "That "the General Aſſemblies were not kept at the ordinary times, and both places and "days altered, without the knowledge of Presbyters and Synods. That Miniſters "were called before the Council *in prima inſtantia*, for matters of Doctrine and "Diſcipline. That the Government of the Church continued in the hands of a few "Miniſters under the name of a *Commiſſion*, to the prejudice of the Liberty of the "Church. That Doctors, being an ordinary calling in the Church, were debarred "from coming to Aſſemblies. That no trial was taken concerning the obſervation "of Caveats. That the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, being the principal Watch-tower "of the Church, were not permitted to attend their Charge. That the land was "polluted with the *French* Ambaſſador's Maſs, and Excommunicates ſuffered to "abide in the Countrey. And laſtly, that the Letters and practices of Papiſts "were kept ſecret, and not communicated to the Watchmen.

An Anſwer to the Grievances.

Theſe Complaints, being known to proceed from the private diſcontents of ſuch as grieved to ſee the affairs of the Church carried by others then themſelves, were not much regarded; yet to ſhew that they had no juſt cauſe to complain, a particular Anſwer was made to every one of them. And firſt it was ſaid, "That the Aſ-"ſemblies both were and ſhould be kept according to the Act of Parliament. "That Miniſters ſhould not be called before the Council but upon juſt grounds. "That Commiſſions given by the Aſſembly and rightly diſcharged were lawful. "That Doctors authorized with a Commiſſion from the Univerſity, where they "lived,

"lived, were not denied a voice in Aſſemblies; and that if the Caveats were not "obſerved, they might inſtance the point, and have the perſon after trial cenſured. To the reſt of the Heads his Majeſty by himſelf made this reply: "That the *French* "Ambaſſador's Maſſe was private, and could not be refuſed to him, conſidering "that the Miniſter directed with his own Ambaſſadors the year before was per-"mitted to Preach within the City of *Paris*. And for the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, "they had received all the favor they deſired. As to him that lay back, it was his "own fault, and no mans elſe. But where, ſaith he, it is craved that the Letters "and practices of Papiſts ſhould be communicate to Miniſters; as that were the "ready way to procure the eſcape, and no puniſhment of the practices, ſo the pro-"poners would remember, that Secrets muſt be imparted at the King's pleaſure, "and not otherwiſe. *An.* 1602.

Some other Acts were concluded in the ſame Aſſembly: as, *That in memory of his Majeſtie's Deliverance there ſhould be Sermons in all the Burghs every Tueſday, and the fifth of* Auguſt *ſolemnly kept as the Parliament had preſcribed in all the Churches of the Kingdom. That Miniſters ſhould not refuſe the Sacrament of Baptiſm to Infants, nor delay the ſame upon whatſoever pretext, the ſame being required by the parents, or others in their name*: for as then, except at ordinary hours of Preaching, Miniſters denied to baptize. And becauſe they had taken a cuſtom not to celebrate Marriage upon the Sunday, pretending that the day was profaned by Feaſting, Dancing, and the like; it was ordained, *They ſhould hereafter at the parties deſire celebrate the ſame either on the Sunday or Week-day*. Theſe things concluded, and Commiſſioners choſen to attend the common affairs of the Church, the Aſſembly diſſolved, having appointed the next Meeting at *Aberdene* the laſt Tueſday of *July*, *Anno* 1604. Acts concluded in the Aſſembly.

All this time were the enemies of our Religion, the Jeſuites, eſpecially buſied to ſtir up a party againſt the King and his Title to *England*. They had loſt all hope of gaining his affection, or obtaining any promiſe of Toleration when he ſhould come to that Crown; and had found their Writings and Pamphlets for the *Infanta* of *Spain* her Right to move few or none. Thereupon they fell to treat of a Marriage betwixt Lady *Arabella* and *Robert* Prince of *Savoy*: and that not ſucceeding, to ſpeak of a Match betwixt her and a Grandchild of the Earl of *Hartford*'s, judging that their Pretenſions being conjoyned, many would befriend them, to the excluding of the King of *Scots*. But the Queen, who truly favoured his Right, though ſhe would not openly profeſs ſo much, daſhed all thoſe projects, and cauſed an eye to be kept upon that Lady and ſuch as reſorted unto her. The buſineſs of Jeſuites in *England*.

About the ſame time the King had intelligence given him, that one *Francis Mowbray* Son to the Laird of *Barneborgall*, who had lived a while in the *Infants Court* at *Bruxells*, had undertaken to kill him. This brake out firſt at *London* by an *Italian*, a Fencer, whoſe name was *Daniel*; which coming to the Queen's ears, ſhe commanded Sir *Robert Cecill* her Secretary to call the perſons (for they were both in the City) and examine them. The *Italian* abode by his ſpeeches; *Mowbray* denied, and offered to prove him a Liar in combat; which the other accepted. Both being ſent into *Scotland*, they were tried firſt ſeverally, then confronted before certain of the Council. The *Italian* produced Witneſſes, who verified all that he had deponed: whereupon *Mowbray* was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where ſeeking to eſcape by night at a window of the chamber where he was detained, the ſheets proving too ſhort by which he thought to deſcend, he fell from a great precipice, and was found the next morning dead at the foot of the rock. The corps was the ſame day, being the laſt of *January*, preſented to the Juſtice, and ſentence of Forfeiture pronounced againſt him; his body hanged for a ſpace upon the Gibbet, and afterwards quartered, and affixed on the Gates and moſt open places of the Town. His friends (for he was well born, and a proper young Gentleman) gave out that he had been ſtrangled, and his corps thrown down at the window. But this carried no appearance, and was believed of few. The ſtory of *Francis Mowbray* and an *Italian*.

The Queen of *England* in the Winter being perceived to wax heavy and dull, and the rumor thereof diſperſed, (as there is nothing that can be worſe concealed The Queen of *England* groweth ſick.

An. 1602. then the Sickneſs or Death of a Prince) there was much buſineſs every where, and ſhe held for the moſt part dead. The *French* King had ſent the Summer preceding two Ambaſſadors, one to reſide in *England* and another in *Scotland*, under colour of impeaching the courſes of *Spain*, but in effect to obſerve the ſtrength and affection of both people. He that was ſent into *England* brought a Letter from the *French* King to Secretary *Cecill* of infinite kindneſs; and breaking with him one day upon the Miſeries of the Kingdom when it ſhould pleaſe God to tranſlate the Queen, fell to ſpeak of the loſs he ſhould ſuſtain by the exchange, and the caſe wherein he would be if the *Scottiſh* King did ſucceed; which to his apprehenſion ſhould be more hard and miſerable then any others, being likely to undergo the revenge of faults laid upon his Father about matters concerning the King's Mother, and other courſes that he was eſteemed to have run himſelf ſince the death of his Father. The Secretary, that was no child, knowing that the Ambaſſador did but ſound him, for making ſome other project, anſwered, *That this was the reward of unſpotted duty, when Miniſters did only regard the ſervice of their Sovereigns, without reſpect of their own particular; and that for himſelf he ſhould never grieve to endure trouble for ſo juſt a cauſe, the ſame being to a man that valued his credit more then his ſecurity a kind of Martyrdom: notwithſtanding he ſuppoſed that things paſſed would not be called to mind; or if ſo were, and that he ſaw his caſe deſperate, he ſhould flee to another City, and take the benefit of the King's royal offer.*

A Conference betwixt the French Ambaſſador and Secretary *Cecill.*

The Ambaſſador being ſo anſwered, made a fair retreat, ſaying, *That in caſe the King of* Scots *did carry himſelf towards the King of* France *with the reſpect which was due, he was not purpoſed to impeach his Intereſt.* The Secretary replying, *That it was a wiſe reſolution his Maſter had taken.* The Ambaſſador ceaſed to tempt him any farther in that buſineſs. Hereof the King was advertiſed by Letters from the Secretary, who therein did aſſure him of his true and honeſt ſervice when occaſion required; howbeit he would not, as ſome others had done, needleſly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time.

The King advertiſed of this Conference.

It ſhall not be amiſs to hear what was the King's anſwer to the Secretary. *As I do heartily thank you* (ſaid he) *for your plain and honeſt offer; ſo may you aſſure your ſelf, that it would do me no pleaſure that you ſhould hazard either your fortune or reputation, ſince the loſs of either of theſe would make you the leſs vailable to me. No, I love not to feed upon ſuch fantaſtical humors, although I cannot let buſie-bodies to live upon their own imaginations. But for my part I hold it the office of a King, as ſitting on the throne of God, to imitate the* Primum mobile, *and by his ſteady and ever-conſtant courſe to govern all the other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferior Planets. And I proteſt in God's preſence, that for your conſtant and honeſt behavior in your Sovereign's ſervice, I loved your Vertues long before I could be certain that you would deſerve at my hand the love of your Perſon: wherefore go on, and ſerve Her truly that reigneth, as you have done; for he that is falſe to the preſent, will never be true to the future.*

His Majeſtie's Letter to the Secretary.

In another Letter directed to the Earl of *Northumberland* (that we may know the wiſdom and piety of the King) who had ſent him advertiſement of the Queen's weakneſs, and adviſed him to make ſure his Title by apprehending poſſeſſion in time, he ſaid, *That man can neither be Religious nor Juſt, that dealeth worſe with his Neighbor then he would be dealt withall; and in a man of quality it can be no wiſdom to leap hedge and ditch, and adventure the breaking of his neck for gathering forbidden fruit before it be ripe; whenas by attending the due time, he may be ſure to find all the gates of the Orchard open, and with free ſcope enter, take and taſt at liberty. Sure it were a great weakneſs and unworthineſs in me to come in as an Uſurper, with offence and ſcandal to the Laws and preſent eſtate of Government, when I may in the right time claim the Crown as neareſt Heir to the Prince deceaſed, and poſſeſs with equity. Should I out of untimely ambition fall to break the long-continued and faithfully preſerved Amity, that by the proof of many kind offices hath taken root among us, it were an error inexcuſable. And howbeit I do acknowledge your kind affection in the offers you make of aſſiſtence, I muſt tell you freely, that no Prince can preſume of any Subjects Loyalty to himſelf, that hath been unſound and unfaithful to his own Sovereign; nor would I ever look to be ſecure in a Kingdom ſo traiterouſly diſpoſed.* In end, he adviſed the Earl to forbear ſuch writing, and when he

A Letter from the King to the Earl of *Northumberland.*

he wrote (which he wiſhed him to do rarely, and not but upon great occaſions) to beware of any thing that might juſtly offend the Queen, leſt by interception or other miſadventure he might be diſabled to ſerve him another day. *An.* 1603.

This was the King's reſolution, which God ſo bleſſed as it brought him within a ſhort time after, againſt the opinions and deſires of many, to the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his Right and Inheritance; for in the Spring the Queen's Diſeaſe encreaſing, (which was judged to be a Melancholy incorrigible, and by ſome conceived to proceed from a ſorrow for *Eſſex*; others aſcribed it to the accepting of the Rebel *Tyrone* to peace) and all apprehending it to be deadly, the hearts of people did ſo incline to the King, as a great many in that State did write unto him, *That all* England *was grown to be* Scotiſh. The Queen her ſelf continuing conſtant in her affection, when ſhe was ask'd a little before her death by the Lord Keeper and Secretary, (who were directed by the Council to underſtand her will touching her Succeſſor) anſwered, *None but my Couſen, the King of* Scots. After which words ſhe ſpake not much: only being deſired by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom ſhe would not ſuffer to go from her all that time) to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe ſaid, *So I do, neither doth my mind wander from him:* and then commending her Soul to God in devout manner, died moſt patiently and willingly. A Queen incomparable for wiſdom and fidelity of Government; ſhe departed this life the 24 of *March*, in the 70 year of her age, and 44 of her Reign. The ſame day in the forenoon the King of *Scots* was proclaimed King firſt at the Palace of *Whitehall*, next at the Croſs in *Cheapſide* within the City of *London*, with an infinite applauſe of all ſorts of people. The Queen of *England* her Death.

The end of the Sixth Book.

An. 1603.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH of SCOTLAND.

The Seventh Book.

The Contents.

The Proceedings after his Majeſtie's going into England, *unto his Death.*

THE news of the Queen's Death were brought the third day after by Sir *Robert Cary*, a Son of the Lord *Hunſdon*; after whom Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas Somerſet*, Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, were directed from the Council of *England* with the Letter following. The King adviſed of the Queen's Death.

RIght High, Right Excellent and Mighty Prince, and our Dread Sovereign Lord; As we cannot but confeſs unto Your Majeſty, that the Grief we have conceived by the Loſs of our late Sovereign Lady, whoſe Soul in Your Palace of Richmond paſſed from Her earthly Body to the Joys of Heaven betwixt two and three of the clock this morning, was nothing leſs then our Loyalty and Love to her whileſt ſhe lived, being a Princeſs adorned with Vertues meet for Government, proſperous in the ſucceſs of her affairs, and under whoſe Obedience we have lived in greater Tranquillity theſe many years then commonly happeneth to Princes; ſo we muſt acknowledge that our Sorrow is extinguiſhed by the impreſſion we have of thoſe Heroical Vertues of Wiſdom, Piety and Magnanimity, which we know to be in Your Majeſtie's Perſon, to whoſe Right the lineal and lawful Succeſſion of all our late Sovereign's Dominions doth juſtly and only appertain: wherein we preſume to profeſs this much, as well for the honor which will thereby remain to our poſterity, as for Your Majeſtie's Security of a peaceable poſſeſſion of your Kingdoms, that we have never found, either of thoſe of the Nobility, or of any other of the Eſtates of this Realm, any divided humor about the receiving and acknowledging Your Majeſty to be the only Head that muſt give life to the preſent maimed Body of this Kingdom, which is ſo happy, as with an univerſal conſent to have received one ſole, uniform and conſtant impreſſion of bright Blood, as next of kin to our Sovereign deceaſed, and conſequently by the Laws of this Realm true and next Heir to Her Kingdoms and Dominions; whereof we have made outward demonſtration by publick Proclamation this very day afore noon, firſt in the City of Weſtminſter, at Your Majeſtie's Palace-gate at White-Hall, and next at the Croſs of Cheap- A Letter from the Council and Nobility of *England* to the King.

An. 1603. Cheap-ſide, *within Your Majeſtie's City of* London, *with an infinite applauſe of Your people, and with ſuch Solemnity as the ſhortneſs of time would permit. Of all which we have thought it our Duty immediately to advertiſe Your Majeſty by theſe two Gentlemen, Sir* Charles Piercy, *Brother to the Earl of* Northumberland, *and* Thomas Somerſet *Eſq; Son to the Earl of* Worceſter, *of whom we have made choice to be the bearers of our Letters; humbly beſeeching Your Highneſs to accept the ſame as the firſt-fruits and offering of our tender and Loyal affections towards You our Gracious Sovereign, and to reſt aſſured that the ſame ſhall be ever hereafter ſeconded with all Faith, Obedience and humble Service, which ſhall be in our power to perform, for maintaining that which we have begun with the ſacrifice of our Lives, Lands and Goods, which we with all our other means do here humbly preſent at Your Majeſtie's feet: craving of Your Highneſs, that ſeeing hereby You may perceive in what eſtate we remain, as Body without a Head, or rather without that Spirit here amongſt us, which from the Head might give vigor to every Member to exerciſe the duty to it belonging, thereby to keep the whole Body from confuſion, You will be pleaſed to enter into conſideration, how ſoon and in what manner it ſhall ſeem beſt to Your Majeſtie's Excellent Wiſdom, to inſpire a new Life into this languiſhing Body, the circumſtances whereof are wholly to be left to Your Majeſty, holding it enough for us humbly to acknowledge our ſelves Your true Subjects, ready to obey all Your Commandments: aſſuring You with all, that as we have hereby, as many of us as have underwritten this Letter, declared our Recognition and humble Submiſſion to Your Majeſtie's Sovereign Power and Right, ſo we do know by all good proofs, that the mind of the reſt of the Nobility, and all others who are abſent, in their ſeveral qualities, places and charges, whom the time permitted not without the prejudice of Your affairs to aſſemble ſo ſoon as we were deſirous this ſhould be performed, are wholly and abſolutely with us in all Zeal and Duty for all things that ſhall be impoſed upon them by Your Royal Will and pleaſure.*

Farther we have thought meet and neceſſary to advertiſe Your Highneſs, that Sir Robert Cary *this morning departed from hence towards Your Majeſty, not only without the conſent of any of us who were preſent at* Richmond *at the time of our late Sovereign's* Deceaſe, *but alſo contrary to ſuch commandment as we had power to lay upon him, and to all decency and good manners and reſpect, which he ought to ſo many perſons of our Degree, whereby it may be that Your Majeſty hearing by a bare report only of the Death of the late Queen, and not of our care and diligence in eſtabliſhment of Your Majeſtie's Right here, in ſuch manner as is above ſpecified, may conceive doubts of other nature then (God be thanked) there is cauſe You ſhould; which we would have clearly prevented, if he had born ſo much reſpect to us as to have ſtayed for a common relation of our proceedings, and not thought it better to anticipate the ſame: for we would have been loath that any Perſon of quality ſhould have gone from hence, who ſhould not with the report of her Death have been able to declare the firſt effects of our aſſured Loyalties.*

And laſtly, it may pleaſe Your Majeſty to receive this Advertiſement, that of late there was made ready by the commandment of the Queen our Miſtreſs a good Fleet of eight or ten of her Ships well manned and furniſhed under the charge of Sir Richard

Richard Lawſon, *Knight, to have been employed upon the coaſt of* Spain; *which employment by her Deceaſe is ceaſed for want of Commiſſion to exerciſe the ſame, and now is kept together in the narrow Seas to prevent any ſudden attempt againſt the* Low-Countreys; *and that now there is nothing either of Land or Sea that is not Yours, it may pleaſe Your Majeſty to ſignifie Your pleaſure concerning that Fleet, and whether You will have it or any part thereof reſort to your coaſt of* Scotland, *where it may ſerve You, either for the ſafe convoy of Your Perſon to this Realm, if there ſhall be cauſe to uſe it in this manner, or to tranſport any of Yours, whileſt You come by Land, or any other ſervice. In which point we humbly beſeech you to make known under whoſe charge it ſhall be Your pleaſure the whole Fleet or any part thereof ſhall come unto You. And this being all that for the preſent doth occurre to be advertiſed to Your Majeſty by us whoſe minds are occupied about the conſervation of this your Realm in Peace, as far forth as, by any power for Your Majeſtie's ſervice only aſſumed, the interruption thereof may be prevented, ſaving that we have ſent a Copy of the Proclamation made here to your Majeſtie's Deputy of* Ireland, *to be publiſhed in that Kingdom, we will, and with our humble prayers to Almighty God, that we may be ſo happy as ſpeedily to enjoy the comfortable preſence of your Highneſs Royal Perſon amongſt us, the only object of that glory and thoſe Felicities which in the Earth we have propoſed to our ſelves. Written in Your Majeſtie's City of* London, *the* 24 *of* March 1603, *at ten hours of the clock at night.* An. 1603.

This Letter was ſubſcribed by

Robert Leigh, *Mayor.*	Pembroke.	R. Riche.
John Canterbury.	Clanrickard.	Lumley.
Thomas Egerton.	G. Hunſdon.	Chandois.
Thomas Buckhurſt.	Tho. Howard.	W. Compton.
Nottingham.	Richard London.	W. Knolles.
Northumberland.	Robert Hartford.	Edward Wootton.
Gilbert Shrewsbury.	John Norwich.	John Stanhop.
William Darby.	Morley.	Raleigh.
Edward Worceſter.	Henry Cobham.	John Forteſcue.
Geo. Cumberland.	Thomas Laware.	*and* John Popham.
R. Suſſex.	Gray.	
Henry Lincoln.	Edward Cromwell.	

The Contents of the Letter publiſhed.

The King having imparted this Letter to the Council, it was thought meet that the Contents thereof ſhould be publiſhed, for begetting a greater kindneſs betwixt the people and the two Kingdoms: whereupon a Proclamation was made, ſhewing, "That the Queen before her Death, continuing in that loving "affection which ſhe profeſſed to his Majeſty all the courſe of her life, had de- "clared him her only true Heir and Succeſſor in the Imperial Crowns of *Eng- "land, France* and *Ireland,* and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſiſt- "ed by the Lord Mayor of *London,* and others of the Gentry of good quality, "had upon the 24 of *March* laſt proclaimed him their only liege Lord and un- "doubted Sovereign; which being the moſt clear demonſtration that a people "could give of their Affection, and a ſure pledge of their future Obedience, ought "to move all true-hearted ſubjects to account of them no otherwiſe then as their "brethren

An. 1603. "brethren and friends, and to forget and bury all quarrels and grounds of former "diſſenſions: That therefore none ſhould pretend ignorance, nor carry themſelves in any unkind ſort towards the inhabitants of *England*, his Majeſty, with "the advice of the Lords of Council, had ordained Proclamation to be made of "the premiſſes, aſſuring them that ſhould ſo apply themſelves of his gracious favor when occaſion preſented, and certifying ſuch as did in the contrary, that "they ſhould incur his wrath and extreme diſpleaſure.

The Borders make Incurſions upon the report of the Queen's Death.

This notwithſtanding, the word no ſooner came of the Queen's Death, then the looſe and broken men in the Borders aſſembling in companies made Incurſions upon *England*, doing what in them lay to divide the two Kingdoms; which the year following was ſeverely puniſhed, the principals that were tried to have been partners in that buſineſs being all executed to the death.

The King giveth order for his Journey.

The King in the mean time giving order for his Journey, did appoint the Queen to follow him ſome twenty days after; and for his Children, ordained the Prince to remain at *Striveling*, the Duke of *Albany* his Brother to abide with the Lord *Fyvie* Preſident of the Seſſion, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* their Siſter with *Alexander* Earl of *Linlithgow*. To the Lords of Council an ample Commiſſion was given for the Adminiſtration of all affairs, receiving Reſignations, hearing the Accounts of the Exchequer, continuing days of Law, adjoyning Aſſeſſors to the Juſtice, granting of Licences to depart forth of the Realm, altering the place of their reſidence as they ſhould find it convenient, repreſſing the Troubles of the Borders, and for creating Lieutenants, one or more, upon occaſions.

The Perſons he chuſed to attend him in the Journey were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Marre*, *Murray* and *Argile*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treaſurer, Mr. *James Elphinſton* Secretary, Sir *David Murray* Comptroller, Sir *Robert Ker* of *Cesford*, with the ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber; and of the Clergy, *David* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, Mr. *John Spotſwood*, Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Miniſters.

The Perſons chuſed to attend the King in his Journey.

Things thus ordered, the King went the next morning to S. *Giles* to hear a Sermon; Mr. *John Hall* (whoſe courſe it was) preaching, took occaſion to remember the great mercies of God towards his Majeſty, reckoning the peaceable Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* none of the leaſt. *This*, he ſaid, *was God's own proper work, for who could elſe have directed the hearts of ſo numerous a people with ſuch an unanime conſent to follow the way of right?* Thereupon he did exhort his Majeſty *to thankfulneſs, to the maintenance of God's Truth, and that he would ſend home ſome of thoſe commendable orders he would find whither he was going.*

He goeth to S. *Giles* to hear a Sermon.

The King, accepting his Exhortation in good part, did upon the end of the Sermon make a Speech to the people, which at the time were frequently convened, and promiſing to have care of them and their good, gave them a moſt loving and kind farewel. This was followed with ſuch a Mourning and Lamentation of all ſorts, as cannot be well expreſſed. For albeit they joyed not a little at firſt to hear of that acceſſion of Honor to their King; yet conſidering they ſhould be deprived of his Preſence, and have no more a reſident King among them, they were grieved out of all meaſure. This affection of the people moved alſo the King greatly: therefore when the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and others of the better ſort came to receive his Commandments, he ſpake graciouſly unto them; willing them *not to be troubled with his departing, for that they ſhould find the fruits of his Government as well afar off, as when he was near at hand; and as his Power was now encreaſed and made greater, ſo his Love towards them ſhould not be a whit diminiſhed.*

The King makes a Speech to the People, which is followed with a great Lamentation of the hearers.

In this ſort did he part, and beginning his Journey on Wedneſday the fourth of *April*, came the day to *Berwick*, there he was welcomed with a moſt eloquent Sermon by *Toby Matthew* Biſhop of *Durham*, (for he went firſt to the Church;) which finiſhed he was conveyed to the Palace by the Governor and Garriſon, the Munition playing from the walls, and the Citizens with ſhowts

The King cometh to *Berwick*.

ſhowts and acclamations teſtifying their gladneſs. The ninth of that moneth he went to *Newcaſtle*, where he aboad ſome few daies; and becauſe multitudes of people from all quarters were daily coming to ſee the King, and offer their ſervice, order was taken that no Strangers ſhould have acceſs granted, till the Chamberlain or Maſter of the Guard was acquainted with their buſineſs. At *York* he was met with the Councellors, and from thence, by eaſie journeys, travelled to *London*. How his Majeſty was there received, and what other things happened in the time, I remit to the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, my purpoſe being only to relate the things paſſed in *Scotland*, or that had ſome reference to matters of that Church and Kingdom. *An.* 1603. The Councellors meet him at *York*.

Being at *Burleigh-houſe* near unto *Stamford*, the King was advertiſed of the death of *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who deceaſed at *Paris* in the ſame moneth. This man was deſcended of the houſe of *Balfoure* in *Fife*, and conſecrate Biſhop at *Rome* in the year 1552, and at the time of Reformation forſook the Countrey, out of the hatred he bare to thoſe that had hand in that Work, and carried with him all the Writs and Evidents of the Sea of *Glaſgow*, with the Veſſels and Ornaments of the Cathedral Church, things of exceeding great worth: for, beſides thoſe of ordinary uſe, there belonged to that Church the Image of our Saviour in beaten Gold, and the pourtraits of the twelve Apoſtles in Silver. The Queen returning from *France* did eſtabliſh him Ambaſſador in theſe parts for her affairs: under the Government of the Regents he was forfeited, and deprived of his living, which, as we ſhewed before, was conferred upon Mr. *James Boyd* of *Trochrig*, and after him went through divers hands, till the King at his Majority did reſtore him to his dignity, honour, and living, employing him likewiſe for his Ambaſſador in *France*. A man honourably diſpoſed, faithful to the Queen while ſhe lived, and to the King her Son, a lover of his Countrey, and liberal according to his means to all his Countreymen. In his laſt Will he bequeathed all his means to pious uſes, leaving as was ſaid ten thouſand Crowns for the education of poor Scholars, being *Scotiſh*-men born. The evidents, veſſels and ornaments of the Sea of *Glaſgow* he conſigned in the hands of the *Carthuſians* of *Paris*, appointing the ſame to be re-delivered how ſoon *Glaſgow* ſhould become Catholick; and this year, being the 66 of his age, departed peaceably this life. The death of Mr. *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.

The King having deſtinated Mr. *John Spotſwood* for his Succeſſor, ſent him back to attend the Queen in her Journey, and ſerve her for Elemoſynar. Soon after his coming her Majeſty went to *Striveling*, of mind to bring away the Prince her Son, and carry him along with her ſelf to *England*; but being denied by the friends of the Houſe of *Marre* ſhe became ſo incenſed, as falling into a Fever ſhe made a pitiful Abortion. The Queen falleth ſick at *Striveling*.

Advertiſement of this being ſent unto the King, he cauſed the Earl of *Marre* to return; and after him ſending the Duke of *Lennox* with a Warrant to receive the Prince, and deliver him to the Queen, he was brought unto her at *Halirudhouſe*, about the end of *May*: yet ſhe not ſatisfied herewith complained bitterly of the diſhonour ſhe had received, and by a Letter written to the King, full of paſſion and anger, which ſhe gave her Elemoſynar to carry, required a publick reparation, by the puniſhment of the Earl of *Marre* and his ſervants. The King, who knew the Earl himſelf to be blameleſs, and deſired not to be troubled with ſuch buſineſs, eſpecially at that time, returned this Anſwer, "That ſhe ſhould do wiſely to "forget the grudges ſhe carried to the Earl of *Marre*, and thank God of the peace-"able poſſeſſion they had obtained of theſe Kingdoms, which next unto God his "goodneſs he aſcribed to the laſt negotiation of the Earl of *Marre* in *England*. This reported to the Queen (for the Meſſenger was commanded to ſpeak ſo much) ſhe in a great choler replied, "That ſhe rather would have wiſhed never ſee *Eng-*"*land*, then to be in any ſort beholden to him for the ſame. Yet as ſhe was a moſt mild Princeſs, and very careful to pleaſe the King in every thing, at her coming to *Windſor*, which was about the end of *June*, ſhe was reconciled to the Earl of *Marre*, and he by Act of Council declared to have done nothing in that accident at *Striveling* that might touch her in Honour. The Prince delivered to the Queen.

At

An. 1603. At the ſame time was the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who was brought alongſt with the Queen, taken from the Earl of *Linlithgow*, and given to the cuſtody of the Lady *Harrington*; the Earl his ſervice in her education being by Act of Council approved.

The King and Queen inaugurated at *Weſtminſter*.

All this Summer the Sickneſs was reigning at *London*, which made the Coronation to be deferred unto *July*, on the 27 day whereof the King and Queen were ſolemnly inaugurated in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* performing the Ceremonies. There had been few daies before a Conſpiracy was detected againſt the King, plotted by two Prieſts, the one called *William Watſon*, the other *William Grey*, and *George Brook* Eſquire.

A Conſpiracy detected againſt the King.

There joyned with them upon ſome diſcontents the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Griffin Marcham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This laſt had ſerved the late Queen a long time, as Captain of her Guard; and being put from the place, and the ſame beſtowed upon Sir *Thomas Areskin* Lord *Fenton* in *Scotland*, he grudged exceedingly. The Treaſon being diſcovered, (which came by this occaſion; *Raleigh* parting with his Siſter at *London* had commended himſelf to to her prayers, ſaying *That he was going whence he thought not to return*; which ſhe did interpret of ſome Combat he had undertaken, and breaking the ſame to her neighbours, the words were carried to Court, where they received another conſtruction) they were all apprehended, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. Being brought to their Trial in *Wincheſter* about the beginning of *December*, they were found guilty, and condemned to die. *George Brook* and the two Prieſts were executed as Traitors; the reſt, while they expected nothing but death, (for they were brought all, one after another, to the place of Execution, and their Heads laid under the Axe to be cut off) were ſpared, and the Execution of the Sentence pronounced ſuſpended.

George Brook and two Prieſts executed.

The Noblemen and others ſpared.

The people that were aſſembled in great numbers hearing the Mandate read, (which was publiſhed by the Sheriff, and was to this effect, "That his Majeſty unwilling to have the beginning of his Reign ſtained with the bloud of Noblemen, "though convicted of a moſt hainous crime, was pleaſed to extend his Clemency "towards them; and having ſpared the L. *Cobham* and *Grey*, becauſe in the diſpenſing "of mercy regard muſt be taken of inferiors, had beſtowed the ſame favour on the "other two) did greatly extol his Majeſtie's Clemency, promiſing to themſelves much happineſs under his Government, that could ſo temper his Juſtice and Mercy. *Cobham* and *Grey*, lifting up their hands to Heaven, "did thank God, who had "thus inclined his Majeſtie's heart, profeſſing they were unworthy of life, and that "they ſhould be aſhamed ever to ſhew their faces amongſt men, having wronged "ſo good and gracious a King.

An. 1604. The next year began with a Conference of the Clergy at *Hampton-Court*. Divers Petitions had been exhibited to his Majeſty for reformation of Abuſes in the Church: whereupon he took purpoſe to call certain of the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors together, and with them ſome of the moſt grave and modeſt among the Complainers. The Biſhops were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, S. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carlile*, and *Peterborough*; the Deans of the Chappel, *Chriſts-Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Pauls*, *Cheſter*, *Windſor*, Dr. *Field*, and Dr. *King*: for the Petitioners, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chatterton* were preſent.

The Conference at *Hampton-Court*.

His Majeſtie's Propoſition at the meeting.

Theſe being called into the Privy-Chamber, the King ſpake unto them to this effect; *That following the enſample of all Chriſtian Princes, who in the Commencement of their Reign do uſually begin with the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, he had now at his entrance to the Crown taken courſe to aſſemble them, for ſetling an Uniform order in the ſame, for planting Unity, removing Diſſenſions, and reforming Abuſes which* (he ſaid) *were naturally incident to all Politick Bodies. And yet that he ſhould not be miſtaken, and his purpoſe in aſſembling them miſconſtrued, he declared that his meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government eſtabliſhed, which he knew was approved of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the occaſions thereof; whereof he willed the Petitioners to begin, and ſhew what the things were that grieved them.*

Doctor

Doctor *Reynolds* with the other three, falling upon their knees, after a ſhort gratulatory preamble, reduced the matters queſtioned to two Heads; ſome he ſaid concerned the matters of the Church, and others the Government. *An.* 1604.

Doctor *Reynold's* ſpeech in behalf of the Petitioners.

Touching the Doctrine, that in the Book of Articles of Religion ſome things were obſcure, and ſome things defective, which they wiſhed to be ſupplied and explained. Being deſired to name the particulars, he condeſcended upon ſome Articles; whereof after they had conferred a while, and he profeſſed to have received ſatisfaction, the King ſaid, *That if theſe were the greateſt matters that grieved them, ſuch importunity needed not as was uſed to him, and that a more private courſe had been better.* Then falling to ſpeak of the Government of the Church, the want and ſcarcity of ſufficient Miniſters in every Pariſh was much complained of, with the Subſcription urged to the Communion-book, the Cenſures inflicted by Lay Chancellors, and other moe points, which are to be ſeen in the Conference imprinted. After ſome three hours debating, they were commanded to meet again in the ſame place the 18 of *January*, at which time they ſhould know his Majeſtie's pleaſure in theſe matters.

The particulars complained of.

The Meeting continued to 18 of *January*.

At the day the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors of the Arches being firſt called, the Archbiſhop preſented certain notes of explanation of the Liturgy, which the King had commended to the Biſhop's care: and thereafter his Majeſty queſtioning them touching the exerciſe of the High Commiſſion, the Oath *Ex officio*, the cenſure of Excommunication, and the matter of Subſcription; whenas they had anſwered in all theſe points to his Majeſtie's content, Doctor *Reynolds* and the others were deſired to come into the Chamber, and the foreſaid Explanations read unto them, wherewith they profeſſed to be ſatisfied. The King upon this expreſſing a great contentment with that which had paſſed among them, did ſeriouſly exhort them to the preſervation of Unity, willing the Biſhops to uſe their inferiors with all lenity, and take the faireſt ways for reclaiming thoſe that were otherwiſe minded; warning theſe others alſo to beware of obſtinacy in their Opinions, and diſobedience to the Orders of the Church: *Obedience*, ſaid he, *and Humility are the marks of good and honeſt men; ſuch I believe you to be, but it feareth me that many of your ſort are humorous, and too buſie in the perverting of others. The Exceptions taken againſt the Communion-book, as I perceive, are matters of meer weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be gained with time, by gentle perſuaſions; or if they be undiſcreet, better it is to remove them, then to have the Church troubled with their Contentions. For the Biſhops I will anſwer, that it is not their purpoſe preſently and out of hand to enforce Obedience, but by Fatherly Admonitions and Conferences to induce ſuch as are diſaffected. But if any be of an oppoſite and turbulent ſpirit, I will have them inforced to a Conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing of a Surplice or uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm will diminiſh the credit of Miniſters that have formerly diſallowed the ſame; for that is juſt the* Scottiſh *Argument, when any thing was concluded that ſorted not with their humor, the only reaſon why they would not obey was, that it ſtood not with their credit to yeild, having been ſo long of a contrary opinion. I will none of that, but that a time be limited by the Biſhops of every Dioceſe to ſuch, and they that will not yield, whatſoever they are, let them be removed; for we muſt not prefer the credit of a few private men to the general Peace of the Church.*

The effect of the Meeting, and his Majeſtie's Exhortation to the Clergy.

Throughout all this Conference in every point that was moved, or came to be talked of, the King did ſhew ſuch knowledge and readineſs, as bred not a ſmall admiration in the hearers. Chancellor *Egerton*, wondering to ſee him ſo expedite and perfect in all ſort of Divinity, ſaid, *That he had often heard and read that* Rex eſt mixta perſona cum Sacerdote; *but that he ſaw never the truth of it until that day.* Let me add that which I was afterward told by *Richard Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (for *Whitgift* died the next moneth after the Conference, one of the great glories of the *Engliſh* Church) that when the Rolls were brought in of thoſe that ſtood out and were depoſed, which was ſome years after, they were found to be forty nine in all *England*, whenas the Miniſters of that Kingdom are reckoned nine thouſand and above: ſuch a noiſe will a few diſturbers cauſe in any Society where they are tolerated.

The Chancellor of *England* his judgement of the King.

The number depoſed for Diſconformity.

In

An. 1604. In the *March* thereafter a Parliament was kept in *England*, where the King, after he had given thanks to the State for the general applauſe they ſhewed in receiving him to the place which God by birthright and lineal deſcent had provided for him, did earneſtly move the *Union of the two Kingdoms*, that *as they were made one in the Head, ſo among themſelves they might be inſeparably conjoyned, and all memory of by-paſt Diviſions extinguiſhed.* A motion that took well at firſt, and ſeemed to be generally deſired of both Nations, but did not ſucceed as was wiſhed. The Parliament always at his Majeſtie's deſire, and for a demonſtration of their obedience, did nominate *Thomas Elleſmore* Lord Chancellor of *England*, *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet* Theſaurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord high-Admiral, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, *Toby* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Anthony* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, *Robert* Lord *Cecill* principal Secretary to his Majeſty, *Edward* Lord *Souch* Lord Preſident of *Wales*, *William* Lord *Monteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*, *Edmond* Lord *Sheffeild* Lord Preſident of the Council of the North, Lords of the Higher Houſe; And *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Francis Haſtings* Knight, Sir *John Stanhop* Knight, Vice-chamberlain to the King's Majeſty, Sir *George Carew* Knight, Vice-chamberlain to the Queen's Majeſty, Sir *John Herbert* Knight, ſecond Secretary to his Majeſty, Sir *Thomas Strickland* Knight, Sir *Edward Stafford* Knight, Sir *Henry Nevill* of *Barkſhire* Knight, Sir *Richard Buckly* Knight, Sir *Henry Billingſly* Knight, Sir *Daniel Dunne* Knight, Dean of the Arches, Sir *Edward Hobby* Knight, Sir *John Savile* Knight, Sir *Robert Wroth* Knight, Sir *Thomas Challoner* Knight, Sir *Robert Manſell* Knight, Sir *Thomas Ridgway* Knight, Sir *Thomas Holcroft* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hasketh* Knight, his Majeſtie's Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Sir *Francis Bacon* Knight, Sir *Lawrence Cawfield* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *Henry Hobart* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *John Bennet* Knight, Doctor of the Laws, Sir *Henry Witherington*, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Lake* Knights, *Robert Aſhwith*, *Thomas James*, and *Henry Chapman*, Merchants, Knights and Burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons: "giving them, or any eight or more of the ſaid Lords of the "Higher Houſe, and any twenty of the ſaid Knights and Burgeſſes of the ſaid "Houſe of Commons, full power, liberty and Commiſſion to aſſemble and meet, "at any time or times before the next Seſſion of Parliament, for treating and "conſulting with certain ſelected Commiſſioners, to be nominated and authori- "zed by authority of the Parliament of the Realm of *Scotland*, of and concerning "ſuch an Union of the ſaid Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, and of and concern- "ing ſuch other matters, cauſes and things whatſoever, as upon mature delibera- "tion and conſideration the greateſt part of the ſaid Lords, Knights, Citizens "and Burgeſſes, being aſſembled with the Commiſſioners to be nominated by the "Parliament of *Scotland*, ſhall in their wiſdom think and deem convenient and "neceſſary for the Honor of his Majeſty, and the weal and common good of both "the ſaid Realms, during his Majeſtie's life, and under all his progeny and Roy- "al poſterity for ever; which Commiſſioners of both the ſaid Realms ſhall, ac- "cording to the tenor of their ſaid Commiſſions, reduce their doings and pro- "ceedings into Writings, or Inſtruments tripartite, every part to be ſubſcribed "and ſealed by them, to the end that one part thereof may in all humility be pre- "ſented to his moſt Excellent Majeſty, the ſecond part to be offered to the con- "ſideration of the next Seſſion of Parliament for the Realm of *England*, and the "third to be offered to the conſideration of the next Parliament for the Realm of "*Scotland*; that thereupon ſuch farther proceeding may be had, as by both the ſaid "Parliaments may be thought fit and neceſſary for the weal and common good "of both the ſaid Realms.

A Parliament in *England* for the Union.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

The power given them by the Parliament.

A Parliament in *Scotland* to that purpoſe.

A Parliament in *Scotland* for the ſame purpoſe was indicted to the tenth of *April*, and thereafter prorogated to the eleventh of *July*; at which time the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled by virtue of his Majeſtie's Commiſſion, did ordain the perſons following; they are to ſay, *John* Earl of *Montroſſe* Chancellor of *Scotland*, *Francis* Earl of *Arrol* High-Conſtable of *Scotland*, *James* Earl of *Glencarn*,

Glencarn, Alexander Earl of *Linlithgow, Iohn* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow, David* Biſhop of *Roſſe, George* Biſhop of *Cathnes, Walter* Prior of *Blantire, Patrick* Lord *Glammis, Alexander* Lord *Elphinſton, Alexander* Lord *Fyvie* Preſident of the Seſſion of *Scotland, Robert* Lord *Roxbrough, Iames* Lord *Abircorn, Iames* Lord *Balmerinoh* Principal Secretary of *Scotland, David* Lord of *Scone,* Sir *Iames Scrimgeour* of *Dudop* Knight, Sir *Iohn Cockburn* of *Ormſton* Knight, Sir *Iohn Hume* of *Couldenknowes* Knight, Sir *David Carnegie* of *Kinnard* Knight, Sir *Robert Melvill* elder of *Murdocarmie* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* of *Binnie* Knight, Sir *Iohn Lermouth* of *Balcony* Knight, Sir *Alexander Straton* of *Lawriſton* Knight, Sir *Iohn Sheen* of *Curry-hill* Knight, Mr. *Iohn Sharp* of *Howſton* Lawyer, Mr. *Thomas Craig* Lawyer, *Henry Nisbit, George Bruce, Alexander Rutherford,* and Mr. *Alexander Wedderburn,* Merchants, or any twelve of them, to aſſemble and convene themſelves, after the ending of the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and before the next Seſſion thereof, at ſuch time and in ſuch place as it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to appoint, with certain ſelected Commiſſioners nominated and authorized by the Parliament of *England,* according to the tenour of their Commiſſions in that behalf, to confer, treat, and conſult upon a perfect Union of the Realms of *Scotland* and *England,* and concerning ſuch other matters, things and cauſes whatſoever, tending to his Majeſtie's Honour and contentment, and to the weal and tranquillity of both the Kingdoms, during his Majeſtie's life, and his Royal poſterity for ever, as upon mature deliberation the greater part of the ſaid Commiſſioners, aſſembled, as is aforeſaid, with the Commiſſioners authorized by the Parliament of *England,* ſhall in their wiſdome think moſt expedient and neceſſary, not derogating from any fundamentall Laws, ancient Privileges and Rights, Offices, Dignities and Liberties of the Kingdom. This laſt clauſe was added becauſe of the Narrative of the *Engliſh* Act, wherein it was ſaid, *That it was not his Majeſtie's mind to alter or innovate the Fundamental Laws, Privileges and good Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of* England; by the aboliſhing or alteration whereof it was impoſſible but that a preſent Confuſion ſhould fall upon the whole ſtate and frame of that Kingdom. In all other things the Statute in ſubſtance was the ſame with the *Engliſh.*

An. 1604.

The Scottiſh Commiſſioners.

The power granted them.

Soon after this the King reſolving to have *Weſtminſter* at *London* the place of the Meeting, Letters were directed to the Noblemen and others nominated for *Scotland,* willing them to addreſs themſelves to the journey, and to be ready to meet with the other Commiſſioners the 20 of *October;* and leſt any diſorder ſhould fall out in the abſence of the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord *Newbottle* was appointed to attend and reſide in Council unto their return.

Weſtminſter appointed for the place of meeting.

The day and place of meeting was preciſely obſerved by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, who after many daies Conferences agreed unto certain Articles to be preſented to his Majeſty and to the Courts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, there to receive ſuch ſtrength and approbation as in their wiſdoms ſhould ſeem expedient. The Articles were as followeth.

Articles of the Union.

"It is agreed by the Commiſſioners of *England* and *Scotland* to be mutually "proponed to the Parliament of both Realms at the next Seſſions, That all Ho- "ſtile Laws made and conceived expreſly, either by *England* againſt *Scotland,* or "*Scotland* againſt *England,* ſhall in the next Seſſions be abrogated and utterly ex- "tinguiſhed.

Hoſtile Laws extinguiſhed.

"It is alſo agreed, that all Laws, Cuſtomes, and Treaties of the Borders betwixt "*England* and *Scotland* ſhall be declared by a general Act to be abrogated and abo- "liſhed, and that the ſubjects on either part ſhall be governed by the Laws and "Statutes of the Kingdoms where they dwell, and the name of the Borders ex- "tinguiſhed.

The name of Borders aboliſhed.

"And becauſe by aboliſhing the Border-Laws and Cuſtoms it may be doubted "that the Executions ſhall ceaſe upon thoſe Sentences that have heretofore been "given by the oppoſite Officers of thoſe Borders, upon wrongs committed before "the death of the late Queen of happy memory; it is thought fit that in caſe

Order for Sentences not ſatisfied.

An. 1604. "the Commiſſioners or Officers to be appointed by his Majeſty before the time "of the next Seſſions of Parliament ſhall not procure ſufficient redreſs of ſuch "filed Bills and Sentences, that then the ſaid Parliaments may be moved to "take ſuch order as to their wiſdoms ſhall ſeem convenient, for ſatisfaction of "that which hath been decerned by ſome Officers; as alſo how diſorders and in- "ſolencies may be hereafter repreſſed, and the Countrey which was lately of the "Borders kept in peace and quietneſs in time to come. As likewiſe to preſcribe "ſome order, how the purſuits of former wrongs, preceding the death of the late "Queen and ſince the laſt Treatiſe of the Borders in the years 1596 and 1597, "which have never as yet been moved, may be continued and proſecuted to a de- "finitive Sentence.

Participation of Commodities to be mutual.

"And foraſmuch as the next degree to the abolition of all memory of Hoſtility "is the participation of mutual Commodities and Commerce; It is agreed, Firſt, "concerning importation of Merchandiſe into either Realm from forein parts, "that whereas certain Commodities are wholly prohibited by the ſeveral Laws of "both Realms to be brought into either of them by the Natives themſelves or by "any other, the ſaid Prohibitions ſhall now be made mutual to Both, and neither "an *Engliſh*-man bring into *Scotland*, nor a *Scotch*-man into *England*, any of theſe "prohibited Wares and Commodities: Nevertheleſs if the ſaid Commodities "be made in *Scotland*, it ſhall be lawful to bring them out of *Scotland* to *England*; "and ſo reciprocally of the Commodities made in *England*, and carried to *Scot-* "*land*.

Inequality of Privileges to be tried.

"Whereas a doubt hath been conceived againſt the equal Communication of "Trade betwixt *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* ſubjects in matter of Importation, grounded "upon ſome Inequality of Privileges which the *Scots* are reported to have in "forein parts, and namely in *France*, above the *Engliſh*, whereby the *Engliſh* "might be prejudged; and that after a very deliberate conſideration had of the "ſaid ſuppoſed Inequalities, both private and publick examination of divers "Merchants of either ſide touching all Liberties, Immunities, Privileges, Impoſts "and payments on the part of the *Engliſh*, and on the part of the *Scottiſh*, either "at *Bordeaux* for their trade of Wines, or in *Normandy* or any other part of "*France* for other Commodities, it appeared that in the Trade of *Bordeaux* "there was and is ſo little difference, in any advantage of privileges or immuni- "ties, or in the impoſts and payments, all being reckoned and well weighed on ei- "ther ſide, as it could not juſtly hinder the communication of Trade; in the trade "of *Normandy* likewiſe, or any other parts of *France*, the advantage that the *Scot-* "*tiſh* ſubjects by their privilege is acknowledged to have is ſuch, as without "much difficulty may be reconciled and reduced to an equality with the *Engliſh*, by "ſuch means as is hereafter declared; It is agreed that the *Scottiſh*-men ſhall be free "for the tranſporting of Wine from *Bordeaux* into *England*, paying the ſame Cu- "ſtomes and duties that the *Engliſh*-men do pay, and the *Engliſh*-men ſhall be like- "wiſe free for tranſporting of Wine or other Commodities from *Bordeaux* in- "to *Scotland*, paying the ſame Cuſtomes and duties that the *Scottiſh*-men do pay "there.

Importation to be free to both people.

"And likewiſe for clearing and reſolving the doubts touching the advantage "that the *Scots* are ſuppoſed to have above the *Engliſh* in buying and tranſporting "the Commodities of *Normandy*, and of other parts of the Kingdom of *France*, "(excepting the buying of Wine in *Bordeaux*, which is already determined,) "It is agreed that there ſhall be ſent ſome meet and diſcreet perſons into *France*, "two for either ſide, to take perfect notice of any ſuch advantage as either the "*Engliſh* have above the *Scots*, or the *Scots* above the *Engliſh*, in the buying or "tranſporting of any Commodities of *Normandy* or any parts of *France*, (ex- "cepting the Wine of *Bordeaux*) and as the ſaid perſons ſhall find the advantage "to be, ſo for making the Trade equal, the Cuſtome ſhall be advanced to the "King in *England* and *Scotland*. And for the part of thoſe that have the advan- "tage, and according to the proportion of the ſaid advantage, the advancement "of the Cuſtome to continue no longer then the privilege having ſuch advantage

ſhall

"ſhall continue; and that generally for all other Trade from any parts the *Engliſh* *An.* 1604.
"and *Scottiſh* ſubjects, each in others Countrey, ſhall have liberty of Impor-
"tation as freely as any of the native ſubjects themſelves having ſpecial Privi-
"lege.

"Next concerning Exportation, It is agreed that all ſuch Goods as are prohi- Exportation
"bited and forbidden to *Engliſh* men themſelves to be tranſported forth of *England* of Goods
"to any forein part, the ſame ſhall be unlawful for any *Scottiſh*-men or any other prohibited
"to tranſport to any forein Nation beyond ſea, under the ſame penalties and for- made unlaw-
"feitures that the *Engliſh* are ſubject unto; and reciprocally that forth of *Scotland* ful to both.
"no *Engliſh*-men ſhall tranſport to any forien part the Goods or Commodities that
"are prohibited in *Scotland* to *Scottiſh*-men themſelves: Nevertheleſs ſuch Goods
"and Commodities and Merchandiſes as are licenſed to *Engliſh*-men to tranſport
"out of *England* to any forein part, the ſame may be likewiſe tranſported by *Scot-*
"*tiſh*-men thither, they certifying their going into forein parts, and taking a
"Cocquet accordingly, and paying the ordinary Cuſtom that *Engliſh*-men do pay
"themſelves at the exporting of ſuch Wares: The like liberty to be for *Engliſh*-
"men in *Scotland*.

"As for the Native Commodities which either of the Countreys do yield, and Order for
"may ſerve for the uſe and benefit of the other, It is agreed that mutually there Native Com-
"may be tranſported forth of *England* to *Scotland*, and forth of *Scotland* to *Eng-* modities.
"*land*, all ſuch Wares as are either of the growth or handy-work of either of
"the ſaid Realms, without payment of any impoſt, cuſtom or exaction, and
"as freely in all reſpects as any Wares may be tranſported either in *England*
"from part to part, or in *Scotland* from part to part; excepting ſuch particular
"ſorts of Goods and Merchandiſes as are hereafter mentioned, being reſtrained
"for the proper and inward uſe of each Countrey: And for that purpoſe it is de-
"clared, That both in this communication of benefit and participation of the
"native Commodities of the one Countrey with the other, there ſhall be ſpeci-
"ally reſerved and excepted the ſorts hereafter ſpecified; That is to ſay, Wool,
"Sheep, Sheepfell, Cattel, Leather, Hides and Linnen yarn, which are ſpecl-
"ally reſtrained within each Countrey, not to be tranſported from the one to the
"other; excepting alſo and reſerving to the *Scottiſh*-men their trade of Fiſhing
"within their Loches, Forthes and Bayes, within land, and in the Seas within
"fourteen miles of the Coaſts of the Realm of *Scotland*, where neither *Engliſh*-
"men nor any Strangers have uſed to fiſh; and ſo reciprocally in the point of Fiſh-
"ing on the behalf of *England*. All which exceptions and reſtrictions are not to
"be underſtood or mentioned in any ſort for a mark or note of ſeparation or diſu-
"nion, but only as matters of policy and conveniency for the ſeveral eſtate of each
"Country.

"Furthermore it is agreed that all forein Wares to be tranſported forth of Order for
"*Scotland* to *England*, or out of *England* to *Scotland*, by any of the King's ſubjects Cuſtoms.
"of either Kingdoms, having at their firſt entry once pai'd cuſtom in either of the
"Kingdoms, ſhall not pay outward cuſtom therein afterwards, ſave only inward
"cuſtom at that Port whereunto they ſhall be tranſported: But the owner of the
"Goods, or the Factor or Maſter of the ſhip, ſhall give Bond not to tranſport the
"ſame into any forein part.

"It is alſo agreed that *Scottiſh*-men ſhall not be debarred from being aſſociates un- *Scots* may be
"to any *Engliſh* company of Merchants, as Merchant-venturers or others, upon aſſociated in
"ſuch conditions as any *Engliſh*-man may be admitted; and ſo reciprocally for *Engliſh* Com-
"*Engliſh*-men in *Scotland*. panies.

"It is nevertheleſs agreed by mutual conſent, and ſo to be underſtood, that the Order for
"mutual liberty aforeſaid of Exportation and Trade in each part from the one to tranſporta-
"the other ſhall ſerve for the inward uſe only of either Realm; and order taken on.
"for reſtraining and prohibiting the tranſportation of the ſaid Commodities
"into forein parts, and for due puniſhment of thoſe that ſhall tranſgreſs in that
"behalf.

"And for the better aſſurance and caution herein, it is agreed that every

An. 1604. "Merchant ſo offending ſhall forfeit his Goods; the Ships wherein the ſaid Goods "ſhall be tranſported, confiſcated; the Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other Officers "of the Cuſtome whatſoever, in caſe of conſent or knowledge on their part, to "loſe their Offices and Goods, and their bodies to be impriſoned at his Majeſtie's "pleaſure. Of which Eſcheats and Forfeitures two parts ſhall appertain to his "Majeſty, if the Cuſtoms be unfarmed, and the third to the Informer: and if the "Cuſtoms be farmed, one third of the Forfeiture ſhall belong to his Majeſty, a "third to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and the other third to the Informer. The "trial of the offence to be ſummar in either Countrey in the Exchequer Chamber "by Writ, ſufficient Witneſſes, or Oath of party, or before the Juſtice by Jury or "Aſſize; and his Majeſties Officers in either Countrey to convene with the "Complainers that intereſt in the purſuit.

Puniſhment of ſuch as ſhall tranſgreſs.

"As alſo for the more ſurety that there ſhall be no tranſportation of ſuch "Goods, it is agreed, that at the ſhipping of all ſuch native Commodities there be "taken by the Cuſtomer of the Port where the Goods or Wares are imbarked, a "Bond or Obligation ſubſcribed by the Owner of the ſaid Goods, and Maſter of "the Ship; by the Owner, if he be preſent, and in caſe of his abſence, by the "Maſter of the Ship, and Factor or party that ladeth the ſame: which Bond ſhall "contain a ſum of money anſwerable to the value of the Goods, with condition "of relieving the party obliged, and diſcharging him of the ſaid Bond in caſe "return be made of a due certificate to the Cuſtom where the Goods were laden, "from any part within *England* or *Scotland*: The Certificate to be ſubſcribed and "ſealed by the Officers of the Cuſtoms of the part where the ſaid Goods ſhall "arrive, and be unladen; or if there be no ſuch Officers there, by the chief "Magiſtrate and Town-Clerk of that Harbor or Town, under their hand and "Seal.

Caution to be given by the owners and Maſters of Ships.

"It is farther agreed touching the indifferent fraighting of Commodities either "in *Engliſh* or *Scottiſh* Bottoms, that *Engliſh*-men and *Scottiſh*-men fraight and laden "their goods each in others Ships & Bottoms indifferently, paying only *Engliſh* & "*Scottiſh* cuſtom, notwithſtanding any contrary laws or prohibitions. And that a "Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *England* for eſtabliſhing ſome good or- "ders for upholding and maintaining the great Fiſhing of *England*; as likewiſe that "a Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *Scotland* for the making of their "Shipping more proportionable in burthen to the Shipping of *England*, the better "to ſerve for equality of trade, and a common defence for the whole Iſle.

Indifferency of Fraighting.

"And becauſe it is requiſite that the mutual communication aforeſaid be not "only extended to matter of Commerce, but to all other benefits and privileges of "natural born ſubjects; It is agreed that an Act be proponed to be paſſed in man- "ner following: That all the ſubjects of both Realms born ſince the deceaſe of the "late Queen, and that ſhall be born hereafter under the obedience of his Majeſty "and of his Royal Progeny, are by the common Laws of both Realms and ſhall be "for ever enabled to obtain, ſucceed, inherit and poſſeſs all goods, lands and cat- "tels, honors, dignities, offices, liberties, privileges and benefices Eccleſiaſtical "or Civil, in Parliament and all other places of the Kingdoms, & every one of the "ſame, in all reſpects and without any exception whatſoever, as fully and amply "as the ſubjects of either Realm reſpectively might have done, or may do in any "ſort within the Kingdom where they are born.

Poſtnati declared free.

"Farther, whereas his Majeſty out of his great judgment and providence hath not "only profeſſed in publick and private ſpeech to the Nobility and Council of both, "but hath alſo vouchſafed to be contented that, for a more full ſatisfaction & com- "fort of all his loving ſubjects, it may be compriſed in the ſaid Act, that his Majeſty "meaneth not to confer any Office of the Crown, any Office of Judicature, place, "voice, or Office in Parliament of either Kingdom upon the ſubjects of the other, "born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, until time and converſation have en- "creaſed & accompliſhed an Union of the ſaid Kingdoms, as well in the hearts of all "the people and in the conformity of Laws & Policies in theſe Kingdoms, as in the "knowledge and ſufficiency of particular men, who being untimely imployed in ſuch

Exception for Offices of the Crown.

"ſuch authorities could no way be able, much leſs acceptable, to diſcharge ſuch du- *An.* 1604.
"ties belonging to them; It is therefore reſolved by us the Commiſſioners afore-
"ſaid, not only in regard of our deſires and endevours to farther the ſpeedy con-
"cluſion of this happy work intended, but alſo as a teſtimony of our love and
"thankfulneſs for his gracious promiſe, on whoſe ſincerity and benignity we build
"our full aſſurance, even according to the inward ſenſe and feeling of our own loyal
"and hearty affections, to obey and pleaſe him in all things worthy the ſubjects of
"ſo worthy a Sovereign, that it ſhall be deſired of both the Parliaments, to be en-
"acted by their Authority, that all the ſubjects of both Realms, born before the de-
"ceaſe of the late Queen, may be enabled and capable to acquire, purchaſe, inherit,
"ſucceed, uſe and diſpoſe of all lands, goods, inheritances, offices, honours, digni-
"ties, liberties, privileges, immunities, benefices and preferments whatſoever, each
"ſubject in either Kingdom, with the ſame freedom and as lawfully and peaceably
"as the very natural and born ſubjects of either Realm, where the ſaid rights,
"eſtates or profits are eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding whatſoever Law, Statute, or
"former Conſtitutions heretofore in force to the contrary; other then to acquire,
"poſſeſs, ſucceed or inherit any Office of the Crown, Office of Judicatory, or any
"voice, place or Office in Parliament, all which ſhall remain free from being
"claimed, held or enjoyed by the ſubjects of the one Kingdom within the other,
"born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, notwithſtanding any words, ſenſe or
"interception of the Act, or any circumſtance thereupon depending, until there
"be ſuch a perfect and full accompliſhment of the Union as is deſired mutually by
"both the Realms. In all which points of reſervation, either in recital of the words
"of his Majeſtie's ſacred promiſe, or in any clauſe or ſentence before ſpecified from
"enabling them to any of the aforeſaid places or dignities, it hath been and ever
"ſhall be ſo far from the thoughts of any of us, to preſume to alter or impair his Ma- Reſervation of his Maje-
"jeſtie's Prerogative Royal, (who contrariwiſe do all with comfort and confidence ſtie's Prero-
"depend herein upon the gracious aſſurance which his Majeſty is pleaſed to give in gative.
"the declaration of his ſo juſt and Princely care and favour to all his people) as for
"a farther laying open of our clear and dutiful intentions towards his Majeſty in
"this and in all things elſe which may concern his Prerogative, we do alſo herein
"profeſs and declare, that we think it fit there be inſerted in the Act to be propo-
"ned and paſſed, in expreſs terms, a ſufficient reſervation of his Majeſtie's Prero-
"gative Royal to denizate, enable and prefer to ſuch offices, honours, dignities and
"benefices whatſoever in both the ſaid Kingdoms, and either of them, as are here-
"tofore excepted in the preceding reſervation of all *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* ſubjects
"born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, as freely, ſovereignly and abſolutely,
"as any of his Majeſtie's moſt noble progenitors or predeceſſors, Kings of *England*
"or *Scotland*, might have done at any time heretofore, and to all other intents
"and purpoſes in as ample manner as no ſuch Act had ever been thought of or
"mentioned.

"And foraſmuch as the ſeveral Juriſdictions and Adminiſtrations of either Remanding
"Realm may be abuſed by Malefactors, by their own impunity, if they ſhall com- of Malefa-
"mit any offence in the one Realm, and afterwards remove their perſon and abode factors.
"unto the other; it is agreed, that there may be ſome fit courſe adviſed of by the wiſ-
"doms of the Parliaments for trial and proceeding againſt the perſons of offen-
"ders remaining in the one Realm, for and concerning the crimes and faults com-
"mitted in the other Realm: And yet nevertheleſs that it may be lawful for the Ju-
"ſtice of the Realm where the fact is committed, to remand the offender remain-
"ing in the other Realm to be anſwerable unto Juſtice in the ſame Realm where
"the fact was committed, and that upon ſuch remand made the offender ſhall be
"accordingly delivered, and all farther proceeding, if any be, in the other Realm
"ſhall ceaſe, ſo as it may be done without prejudice to his Majeſty or other Lords
"in their Eſcheats and Forfeitures. With proviſion nevertheleſs, that this be not
"thought neceſſary to be made for all criminal offences, but in ſpecial caſes only;
"as namely in the caſes of wilful Murther, falſifying of Moneys, and forging of

An. 1604. "Deeds, Inſtruments and Writings, and ſuch other like caſes as upon farther ad-
"vice in the ſaid Parliaments may be thought fit to be added.

A Scroll of the Articles preſented to the King.

Theſe were the Articles agreed upon, which written in their ſeveral Scrolls of Parchment were ſubſcribed and ſealed at *Weſtminſter* the ſixth of *December* by the Commiſſioners of both Parliaments, and one thereof preſented the ſame evening to his Majeſty by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who, in name of the whole number there preſent, having ſhewed what pains they had taken in that buſineſs, and how after many Conferences they were grown to the reſolution contained in that Scroll, beſought his Majeſty to accept graciouſly that which was done, and made offer of their beſt ſervice in perfecting that Work as they ſhould be imployed.

The King's ſpeech to the Commiſſioners.

The King profeſſing a great content did ſpecially thank them for reſerving his *Prerogative* in the *preferment of men to Offices and Honours*, in either Kingdom; *For inequality*, ſaid he, *of Liberties and Privileges is not the way to effect the Union I deſire; capacity of Offices ought to be equal to both people: but the moderation of that Equality muſt be left to me; neither you to ſuſpect that I will offer any manner of grievance to either of the Countreys, or do any thing that may kindle emulation among them, conſidering the deſire I have to ſee you united in a faſt and indiſſolveable amity.* This ſaid, he recommended the proſecution of that buſineſs in the ſeveral Parliaments to their fidelity and truſt; wiſhing them to lay aſide all jealouſies, needleſs fears and other worſe paſſions, in a matter that ſo nearly concerned the good and benefit of both Kingdoms.

The title of Great *Britain* aſſumed.

Some moneths before the King had aſſumed by virtue of his Prerogative the Title of *THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN*, commanding the ſame to be uſed from thenceforth in all Proclamations, Miſſives and Treaties, and the names of *England* and *Scotland* to be diſcontinued, (except in Inſtruments of private parties, and where legality of Proceſs would not admit the ſame.) This ſame in both Kingdoms took ill; but his Majeſty eſteeming thoſe names whereby they had been called no better then names of Hoſtility, would needs have the ancient name of *Britain* received, and theſe of *Scotland* and *England* aboliſhed. In like manner he did prohibit the name of the *Borders* to be uſed, and ordained all places of ſtrength in theſe parts (the Houſes of Noblemen and Barons excepted) to be demoliſhed, their Iron gates to be turned into Plow Irons, and the inhabitants to betake themſelves to labour and the excerciſes of Peace; for the ſame purpoſe he did break the Garriſons at *Berwick* and *Carlile*.

Pieces of Gold and Silver coined.

And in memory of the Union ſo happily begun made divers pieces of Gold and Silver to be coined, upon ſome whereof were engraven theſe Inſcriptions; *Quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo ſeparet*; and, *Tueatur unita Deus*: on others, *Faciam eos in gentem unam*; and, *Henricus roſas, Regna Jacobus.*

The Earl of *Montroſſe* made Commiſſioner of the Kingdom.

During this Conference the Lord *Fyvie* Preſident of the Seſſion ſupplied the place of the *Scottiſh* Chancellor, and was ſhortly after preferred to the ſame Office by the Earl of *Montroſs* his diſmiſſion, who in ſtead thereof was made Commiſſioner and Deputy of *Scotland* during life: Secretary *Elphinſton* was choſen Preſident of the Seſſion, and all affairs truſted by his Majeſty to the Chancellor and him; with a ſpecial direction, that they ſhould be aſſiſting to the Church, and maintain thoſe whom his Majeſty had preferred in the places of Biſhops in the ſame. How they anſwered the truſt committed to them in this particular, we ſhall hear.

The Lord *Fyvy* received Chancellor.

An. 1605. The General Aſſembly continued.

But leaving the matter of State let us now ſee how things went at that time in the Church. The General Aſſembly, that ſhould have kept at *Aberdene* in *July* 1604, was continued, becauſe of the Union, to the ſame moneth in the year following. The King being informed of a great preparation that the Miniſters made for keeping that Meeting, and that they intended to call in queſtion all the Concluſions taken in former Aſſemblies for the Epiſcopal Government, directed the Commiſſioners of the Church to deſert the Diet, and make no Indiction of another till he ſhould be advertiſed. They accordingly did intimate his Majeſtie's pleaſure to all the Preſbyters, and therewith, as they were deſired, declared that his Majeſty did purpoſe to call a number of the Biſhops and diſaffected Miniſters to Court, and, for preventing ſuch diſorderly Meeting, hear the differences that were among them debated in his own perſon.

The

The greater part reſolved to obey; Nine Presbyteries only of Fifty (ſo many there are reckoned in the whole Kingdom) ſent their Commiſſioners to keep the Meeting. The chief leaders of this Stir were Mr. *John Forbes* Miniſter of *Anford*, and Mr. *Iohn Welch* Miniſter at *Aire*. Theſe two having encouragement given them in private by ſome principally in the State, uſed all means to bring the Miniſters together, and were in expectation of a frequent Aſſembly; yet, when the day appointed came, there convened 13 only, and after ſome 2 or 3 days 7 or 8 more. *An.* 1605. A number convene notwithſtanding the diſcharge.

The names of the Miniſters that convened were, Mr. *Charles Farum* Miniſter of *Fraſerburgh*, Mr. *Robert Youngſon* Miniſter at *Clat*, Mr. *James Mill* Miniſter at *Innerury*, Mr. *Alexander Straughon* Miniſter at *Creich*, Mr. *David Robertſon* Miniſter at *Feterangus*, Mr. *Robert Rid* Miniſter at Mr. *James Irwyn* Miniſter at *Towch*, Mr. *John Monro* Subdean at *Roſſe*, Mr. *William Forbes* Miniſter at *Rinbothock*, Mr. *William Davidſon* Miniſter at *Ruthven*, Mr. *Thomas Abernethy* Miniſter at *Hawick*, Mr. *James Grey* Miniſter at *Lowdon*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis* Miniſter at *Cragy*, Mr. *James Roſſe* and Mr. *Archbold Blackburn* Miniſters at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Roſſe* Miniſter at *Blare*, Mr. *John Sharp* Miniſter at *Kilmeny*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan* Miniſter at *Gruill*, Mr. *Robert Dury* Miniſter at *Anſtruther*, with the ſaid Mr. *Iohn Forbes* and Mr. *Iohn Welch*, Sir *Alexander Straiton* of *Lowreſton*, Commiſſioner for his Majeſty in Church affairs, upon a rumour he heard of a Meeting to be kept, leſt any imputation of negligence ſhould be laid on him, prevented the ſame, and by Letters he had obtained from the ſecret Council cauſed diſcharge the Aſſembly at the Market-Croſſe of *Aberdene*. They nevertheleſs convened the next day, which being reported to the Commiſſioner, he went to the place, and in his Majeſtie's name commanded to diſſolve. They replying, "That they were warranted by the Laws of "the Countrey, and that they could not betray the Liberties of the Church by giving way to ſuch unlawful Prohibitions; he ſhewed them "that the liberty gran-"ted for keeping Aſſemblies could not annul his Majeſties Power, nor denude him "of his Prerogative in the continuing or diſcharging theſe Meetings, when he "ſhould find cauſe: For even the Parliament, which is the higheſt Court of the "Kingdom, ſaid he, is diſpoſed as the King thinketh meet, at his pleaſure it is called, "prorogued, diſmiſſed and deſerted, as he judgeth moſt convenient. And you will "not, I truſt, equal your Aſſemblies to the Parliament of the three Eſtates. Beſides, "you are not a number, you want the ordinary Clerk; neither is the Moderator "of the laſt Aſſembly preſent, and can do nothing orderly. After a little debating they requeſt him to remove, till they ſhould deliberate among themſelves what were beſt for them to do; but he was no ſooner gone, but then they choſe Mr. *Iohn Forbes* Moderator, and that done continued the Aſſembly to the laſt day of *September*, thinking by this means to preſerve their Liberty. The names of them convened. The King's Commiſſioner diſchargeth the Meeting.

Lowreſton finding himſelf in this abuſed, cauſed to execute the Letters, and denounced them Rebels. And, leſt they ſhould make a new buſineſs in *September*, complained to the Council of the diſobedience given to their charge. Order was taken hereupon to ſummon them before the Council, and a beginning made with the two Leaders of the reſt, Mr. *Forbes* and Mr. *Welch* being charged to a certain day of the ſame moneth. They appeared, and ſtanding to the defence of that which they had done, were committed to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*; direction was likewiſe given for citing the reſt to the third of *October*. The Miniſters denounced and cited by the Council for their diſobedience.

At the day all appeared, and being charged for diſobeying his Majeſtie's Letter, thirteen of the number acknowledging their offence, and proteſting that what they did was not out of diſobedience, intreated the Lords to intercede with his Majeſty for their Pardon. The reſt taking contrary courſe, and maintaining their proceedings, were committed to ſeveral Priſons: their names were, Mr. *Charles Farum*, Mr. *Iohn Monro*, Mr. *Iames Irwyn*, Mr. *William Forbes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *Iames Grey*, and Mr. *Iohn Sharp*. Some of theſe being ſent to *Dunbarton*, others to *Blackneſs*, and ſome to the Caſtle of *Down*; the others that had confeſſed their offence were dimitted, and ſuffered to return to their Charges. Some confeſs their fault, and are pardoned. Others maintain their Meeting, and are committed. The proceeding of the Council condemned by the Miniſtery.

Theſe proceedings of the Council were openly condemned by divers Preachers; and to make them more odious, it was every where given out that the ſuppreſſing

of

An. 1605. of Assemblies and present Discipline, with the introduction of the Rites of *England*, were the matters intended to be established: whereupon the Declaration following was by his Majestie's command published.

His Majestie's Declaration touching some rumours dispersed.

"Whereas we have ever since it pleased God to establish us in the Imperial "Crown of Great *Britain* equally regarded the good of both Kingdoms, now happily united in our Royal Person in one Monarchy, ever minding to maintain and "continue the good and laudable Customs and Laws whereby each of them hath "been these many Ages so worthily governed; nevertheless some malicious spirits, "enemies to common tranquillity, have laboured to possess the minds of our well-affected subjects with an opinion that we do presently intend a change of the authorized Discipline of the Church, and by a sudden and unseasonable laying on of "the Rites, Ceremonies and whole Ecclesiastical Order established in this part of "our Kingdom of *Britain*, to overturn the former Government received in these "parts; which none of our good subjects we trust will be so credulous to believe, "knowing how careful we have been to maintain both Religion and Justice, and to "reform the evils that did in any sort prejudice the integrity of either of the two, "whereby Justice hath attained under our Government to a greater perfection and "splendor then in any of our predecessors times, and many abuses and corruptions "in the Discipline of the Church amended, that otherwise might have brought the "purity of Religion in extreme danger, neither of which was done by our sovereign and absolute Authority, (although we enjoy the same as freely as any King "or Monarch of the world) but as the disease of the Civil Body ever was cured by "the advise of our Three Estates, so were the defects of the Church by the help and "counsel of those that had greatest interest therein.

The King his resolution in making no sudden change in the Church-Policy.

"And however in rule of policy we cannot but judge it convenient that two "Estates so miserably disjoyned should be drawn to as great Conformity in all "things as the good of both may permit; and that no Monarchy either in Civil "or Ecclesiastical Policy hath yet obtained to that perfection that it needs no Reformation, or that infinite occasions may not arise whereupon wise Princes will "foresee for the benefit of their estates just cause of alteration; yet are we, and ever "have been, resolved not to make any sudden and hasty change in the Government "of that part of our Kingdom either Civil or Ecclesiastical, but with grave advice "and consent of our Estates, and the wisest and best sort of them whom it most "properly concerns, much less to trouble them with an unnecessary alteration of "indifferent and ceremonial matters; but to do it upon such foreseen advantages "and prevention of Confusion and evil to come, as the greatest enemies to peace "and obedience to Princes shall not obtrude any inconvenient to the contrary. "And as by God's holy assistence we have drawn that part of our Kingdom out of "infinite Troubles, Factions and Barbarities, reducing the utmost Borders and "Confines thereof to God's obedience and acknowledging of our Laws; (a condition never heard of since this Isle was first inhabited) so by the same Divine Providence and our Fatherly care over the whole Island, we intend to transmit the "same in good order, happy quietness & flourishing Policy to the posterity where-"with God hath blessed us, and after them to the world's end. Like as for the more "verification of our own honourable intention, and to stop the mouthes of those "unquiet spirits, raisers of that false scandal of Alteration, we have appointed a General Assembly to be holden at *Dundee* the last Tuesday of *July*, whereat we expect a reparation of these Disorders in as far as belongeth to their censure, and to "be freed in time coming of all such calumnies. Given at our Honour of *Hampton-Court* the 26 of *September* 1605, and in the third year of our reign of *Great Britain*, "*France* and *Ireland*.

The Copies of this Declaration were sent to the Ministers remaining in Ward, that they might see the vanity of these rumors, and be induced to acknowledge their offence: but they still continuing in their obstinacy, and shewing no tokens of penitency, were again called before the Council the 24 of *October*, to receive their censure for the disobedience of his Majestie's commandements. At which time being,

being enquired what they had to ſay for themſelves, and how they could excuſe the contempt of his Majeſtie's directions; after ſome ſpeeches tending to juſtifie their doings, they preſented in writing a Declaration formed in this ſort. *An.* 1605.

The form of their Declinator.

Pleaſe your Lordſhips, the approbation or diſallowance of a General Aſſembly hath been, and ſhould be, a matter Spiritual, and always cognoſced and judged by the Church as Judges competent within this Realm: and ſeeing we are called before your Lordſhips to hear and ſee it found and declared, that we have contemptuouſly and ſeditiouſly convened and aſſembled our ſelves in a General Aſſembly at Aberdene *the firſt Tueſday of* July *laſt, and the ſaid Aſſembly to be declared unlawful, as at more length is contained in the Summons executed againſt us; We, in conſideration of the premiſſes and other Reaſons to be given by us, have juſt cauſe to decline your Lordſhip's judgment, as no ways competent in the cauſe above ſpecified, and by theſe preſents we* ſimpliciter *decline the ſame, ſeeing we are moſt willing to ſubmit our ſelves to a trial of a General Aſſembly, that is only the Judge competent. Subſcribed with our hands the* 24 *of* October, 1605.

The Subſcribers were, Mr. *John Forbes*, Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *John Monro*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *Alexander Straughan*, Mr. *James Grey*, Mr. *William Forbes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis*, Mr. *Charles Farum*, Mr. *James Irwyn*, Mr. *John Sharp*, Mr. *Robert Dury*, Mr. *John Roſſe*, and Mr. *Robert Youngſon*.

The Aſſembly declared unlawful.

The laſt of theſe was one that had acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon, yet at this Diet compeired with theſe others, profeſſing, *That he was troubled in conſcience for the Confeſſion he had made, and that he would now take part with the Brethren who ſtood to the defence of the good cauſe*, as he termed it. The Council repelling the Declinator, declared the Aſſembly to have been unlawful, and thoſe that met in the ſame contrary to his Majeſtie's command puniſhable. But becauſe they had added to their former fault the crime of Treaſon, it was thought meet to defer the Cenſure till the King ſhould be acquainted therewith, and his pleaſure known.

Some of the Miniſters purſued criminally.

No ſooner was his Majeſty advertiſed of the Declinator, then direction was ſent to the Council for proceeding againſt them according to the Laws: whereupon the ſix that were impriſoned in *Blackneſſe*, (that is to ſay) Mr. *John Forbes*, Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *John Sharp*, Mr. *Robert Dury*, and Mr. *Alexander Straughan*, were upon the tenth of *January* thereafter brought to the Town of *Linlithgow*, and preſented upon Pannel before the Juſtice, who was aſſiſted by a number of Noblemen and others of the Privy Council.

The Indictment.

The Indictment made, which was grounded upon the Statute of Parliament holden in *May* 1584, touching *his Majeſties Royal Power over all Eſtates*, and the preſumptuous fact committed by them in declining the judgment of the Council; certain of their brethren did ſupplicate the Juſtice for licence to confer with them apart, that they might perſuade them to an humble ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of their offence. This obtained, they were moſt earneſtly dealt with (as well by their Brethren as by the Advocates that came to plead for them) to relinquiſh their wilfulneſs, and not to exaſperate the King by ſtanding to the defence of their Declinator: but no perſuaſions could avail. So returning to the Bar they were deſired to anſwer, and ſhew a reaſon (if any they had) why the matter ſhould not paſs the trial of a Jury. The Advocates that ſtayed with them (for the two principals refuſed to plead becauſe of their obſtinacy) excepting againſt the Indictment, and ſaying, that the Statute 1592, having only declared, *That the Act made againſt declining of the Council's judgment ſhould not derogate any thing from the privileges which God had given to the Spiritual Office-bearers in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, in matters of Hereſie, Collation and Deprivation of Miniſters, or any ſuch eſſential Cenſures, having warrant of the Word of God; they thereupon inferred that their meeting at the time libelled in* Aberdene *being an eſſential cenſure warranted by Gods word, they might lawfully have declined the Council's judgment from taking cognition therein.*

Exception proponed by the Advocates.

The Reply to the Exception.

It was anſwered by his Majeſtie's Advocate, "That the Exception was naught, "becauſe the keeping of an Aſſembly at a certain time and place, and the appoint-"ing of another contrary to his Majeſtie's direction and the charge of the Council,

"was

An. 1605. "was neither a *Head of Religion*, nor *matter of Hereſie*, nor *Excommunication*, nor "an *eſſential Cenſure*; and ſo being no ways comprehended under that limitation, "their declining of the Council, whenas they were called to anſwer for the keep- "ing of that Conventicle in the Town of *Aberdene*, muſt of neceſſity come under "the generality of the Statute 1584, and bring them under the puniſhment of "Treaſon.

The Miniſters found guilty of Treaſon.

The matter after ſome diſpute being put to trial of an Aſſize, all the ſix were found guilty of Treaſon, and returned to their ſeveral Priſons, till his Majeſtie's pleaſure concerning their puniſhment ſhould be certified: what this was, in the ſtory of the next year ſhall be declared. Meanwhile a Proclamation went out,

A Proclamation that none ſhould oppoſe the deciſion of the Juſtice.

"diſcharging all the ſubjects of what rank, place, calling, function or condition ſo- "ever, either in publick or private, to call in queſtion his Majeſtie's Authority "Royal, or the lawfulneſs of the proceeding againſt the ſaid Miniſters, or to make "any other conſtruction of the Statute concerning the declining of his Majeſtie's "and the Council's judgment then made in that deciſion of the Juſtice; with cer- "tification of thoſe that contravened, that they ſhould be called and ſeverely pu- "niſhed as Seditious perſons and wilful contemners of his Majeſtie's moſt juſt and "lawful Government.

A Convention of Eſtates. His Majeſtie's Letter directed to the Eſtates.

Before theſe Stirs in the Church, a Convention of the Eſtates was kept the ſixth of *June* at *Edinburgh*, where a Letter was preſented by his Majeſty to the Eſtates full of affection. The Letter was to this effect; *That his Majeſtie's love being nothing diminiſhed through his abſence towards that his native and ancient Kingdom, he did wiſh them to contend in a laudable emulation who ſhould live moſt vertuouſly, and be moſt obedient to the Laws: That the Nobility ſhould give aſſiſtence to the execution of Juſtice, and be in all things a good enſample to their inferiors; the Barons ſhould ſet themſelves to procure the good of the Kingdom; and the Burgeſſes apply their minds to the increaſe of Trade, eſpecially the trade of Fiſhing, which had been long neglected, and to the working of Cloth, that had made their neighbor-Countrey ſo famous. To them all he recommended the rooting forth of Barbarity, the planting of Colonies in the Iſles, and peopling the ſame with civil and induſtrious perſons: aſſuring them that, they ſo behaving themſelves, their Liberty ſhould be as dear to him as either his Life or Eſtate.*

The Acts paſſed in the Convention.

This was the ſubſtance of the Letter, which the Chancellor having reſumed, and thereunto added many perſuaſions for the following of thoſe wholſome and profitable counſels, the Eſtates did expreſs a great forwardneſs that way, and after a long deliberation condeſcended upon divers good Acts, which if they had been all carefully put in practice, as they were wiſely deviſed, the Kingdom had long before this time tried the benefit thereof. Amongſt other directions, the removing of the barbarous *Feuds* was recommonded to the Council, whereof they were deſired to make a Roll, and urge the parties to reconcile; and if they refuſed, then to aſſure them to the peace, and commit them to Ward till the ſame was ſecured. And whereas the cuſtom had been to cauſe parties Aſſure one another, the King did prohibit the ſame as a thing diſhonorable, and arguing too great preſumption in the ſubject, ſeeing the Law ſhould be to every man a ſufficient aſſurance. The Council, reverencing his Majeſtie's direction, did ordain that courſe from thenceforth to be obſerved, and all Aſſurances to be taken for the Peace thereafter, and not of one party to another: beginning being made with the Lord *Maxwell* and the Lord of *Johnſton*, they were moved to joyn hands and reconcile in preſence of the Council.

The enterpriſe of the *Lewis* defeated.

This Summer the enterpriſe of the *Lewis* was again ſet on foot by *Robert Lanmiſdale* of *Ardrie* and Sir *George Hay* of *Netherliffe*, to whom ſome of the firſt Undertakers had made over their right. In *Auguſt* they took journey thither, and by the aſſiſtence of *Mackey* & *Mackenzie* and *Donold Gorum* forced the Inhabitants to remove forth of the Iſle, and give ſurety not to return.

Ardrie and his Copartners thinking all made ſure, and that there was no more danger, returned South about *Martinmas*, leaving ſome Companies to maintain their poſſeſſion; which they made good all that Winter, though now and then they were aſſaulted by the Iſles-men. In the Spring *Ardrie* went back, taking with him freſh

freſh proviſion, and fell to build and manure the lands. But this continued not long; for moneys failing, the work-men went away, and the Companies diminiſhing daily, the Natives having aſſociated a number of Iſles-men made a new Invaſion about the end of Harveſt, and by continual Incurſions ſo outwearied the new poſſeſſors, as they gave over the enterpriſe, and were contented for a little ſum of money to make away their rights to the Laird of *Mackenzie*. This turned to the ruine of divers of the Undertakers, who were exhauſted in means before they took the enterpriſe in hand, and had not the power which was required in a buſineſs of that importance. *An.* 1605.

The hiſtory of the Powder-Treaſon.

In the end of the year a horrible Conſpiracy was detected againſt the King and the whole body of the State of *England*. The names of the Conſpirators were, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and *Guido Faux*, *Engliſh*-men all, and Papiſts by profeſſion. Theſe five meeting together, and conſulting by what mean they might beſt relieve the *Catholick Cauſe*, (ſo they ſpake) *Thomas Piercy* proponed the killing of the King, and at his own peril made offer to perform the ſame. *Catesby*, who had another plot in his head, anſwered, "That they would not "hazard him ſo; and that albeit it ſhould ſucceed, the caſe of the Catholick Cauſe "would be no better, the Prince and Duke of *York* being left alive; yea if both "theſe were caſt away, yet the Counſellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, and a great "many others addicted to Religion, would be remaining, who ſhould be able "enough to reſtore the Eſtate, and croſs all their purpoſes: That therefore he had "bethought himſelf of a better and more ſafe way, which was at one time and with "one blow to cut off all their enemies. This (he ſaid) was by blowing up the Par-"liament-houſe with Gun-powder at the time when the King and Eſtates were aſ-"ſembled. The advice pleaſed them all: but firſt it was thought meet to ask the opinion of their ghoſtly Fathers, and be informed of the Lawfulneſs of the fact; as of *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwold Teſmond alias Greenwall*, and *John Gerard* Jeſuites; who being conſulted commended the enterpriſe, aſſuring them they might go on with a good Conſcience and perform the deed, ſeeing they were Hereticks, and perſons *ipſo jure* excommunicated againſt whom they were ſet.

The Jeſuites approve of the enterpriſe.

The Conſpirers ſwear Secrecy.

This reſolution ſatisfying their Conſciences, for their great ſecurity they took an Oath of Secrecy, "ſwearing each to other by the Sacred Trinity and the Bleſſed "Sacrament they were at that time to receive, that neither directly nor indirect-"ly, by word or circumſtances, they ſhould diſcover the purpoſe they had taken "to any whomſoever, nor ſhould deſert from performing the ſame without licence "of their aſſociates. This Oath was given upon a Primer in the preſence of *Gerard* the Jeſuite: and having heard Maſs and received the Sacrament, *Thomas Piercy* was appointed to hire a houſe nigh-adjoyning to the Parliament, for the more ſafe and ſecret working of the Mine.

A Cellar hired for the Mine.

This being obtained, yet with difficulty enough, they entred to work, and after divers intermiſſions, becauſe of proroguing the Parliament, when they had brought the Mine to the midſt of the Wall, they found the opportunity of a Cellar under the Parliament-houſe to be let, and leaving the Mine, for that the Wall was hard to be digged through, they hired the Cellar, and put in it 36 barrels of Powder, a number of Billets, Faggots, and a great quantity of Coles, wherewith they covered the Barrels. They had called in *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Robert Winter*, *John Graunt*, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesby*'s ſervant, and communicated the matter to them. This laſt was troubled at firſt with the Cruelty of the Plot, and had forſaken them, if he had not been confirmed and encouraged by *Teſmond* the Jeſuite to go with the reſt. After theſe *Ambroſe Rookwood* and *Robert Keyes* were made of the Counſel, all taking the Oath of Secrecy, and receiving the Sacrament upon the ſame. And becauſe the charge in buying Powder, Billets, and hiring of Houſes had been a burthen heavy for *Thomas Piercy*, it was thought meet to bring in ſome mo; whereupon Sir *Everard Digby* and *Francis Treſham* were aſſumed.

A deliberation for the King's Children.

All things being now, as they judged, made ſure, they began to think what courſe was fitteſt to take after the deed was performed. The firſt Doubt was made touching the Prince and ſurpriſe of his Perſon; or if he ſhould accompany his Father to the

An. 1605. the Parliament, how they might ſeiſe upon the Duke of *York* his Brother. But this *Piercy* undertook to do by reaſon of his acquaintance in the Houſe, into which he could enter without ſuſpicion, and how ſoon the Blow was given carry him away by the help of ſuch as he ſhould have in a readineſs to aſſiſt. Of the Lady *Elizabeth* they made ſmall queſtion, for that ſhe was kept in the Countrey by the Lady *Harrington* near to *Aſhby*, *Catesby*'s dwelling-houſe.

Contribution for the enterpriſe.

The next Doubt they proponed, where they ſhould have money and horſes: and for this *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred pounds *Engliſh*, *Treſham* two hundred, and *Piercy* promiſed to bring all he could gather of *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would extend to four thouſand pounds, and to provide ten horſes for his part. Neither doubted they but having the Heir apparent in their hands they ſhould find means ſufficient.

Catholicks to be ſtopped from coming to the Parliament.

A third Queſtion they made, what Lords they ſhould ſave from going to the Parliament: which they agreed to be as many Catholicks as conveniently they might.

No forein Princes to be acquainted therewith.

Fourthly, it was moved among them what forein Princes they ſhould acquaint with the purpoſe, and whoſe aid they ſhould ſeek. Concerning which it was agreed, that none of them ſhould be made privie to the Plot; fearing they could not enjoyn ſecrecy to Princes; and for aid after the deed performed there would be time enough to intreat the ſame either of *Spain* or *France*, or the Countrey of *Flanders*.

Intention to proclaim Lady *Elizabeth* Queen.

Laſtly, becauſe they ſaw no way to aſſure the Duke of *York* his perſon, (for *Piercy* his undertaking they held unſure) they reſolved to ſerve their turn with the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to proclaim her Queen: to which purpoſe they had a Proclamation formed, wherein no mention was made of altering Religion, becauſe they had no forces ſufficient, and till they might make good their party, they would not avow the deed to be theirs, but lay it ſo far as they could upon the Puritans.

The Conſpiracy deteſted.

Now there remained nothing, all dangers being foreſeen, and every thing provided, but the laſt Act of the intended Tragedy to be performed, whenas that which was ſo ſecretly hatched came to be diſcovered after a wonderful manner. The Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his lodging at ſeven of the clock at night, had a Letter given him by one of his footmen, who received the ſame upon the ſtreet from a peſon unknown, with a charge to put it in his Maſter's hand. The tenor whereof was as followeth.

The Letter. ſent to the Lord *Mounteagle*.

My Lord,

OUt of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation; therefore would I adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament: for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. Think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Countrey, where you may expect the event in ſafety: for though there be no appearance of any Stirre, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow in this Parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurteth them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſſed as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, in whoſe holy protection I commit you.

The Secrecy of ſo many very ſtrange.

It was ſome ten daies onely before the Parliament that *Monteagle* received this Letter, and but twelve hours before the meeting of the Eſtates that the Plot was found out. Where it is a ſort of wonder to think that ſo many being made privy to the Conſpiracy, the ſame ſhould not have burſt out one way or other in ſo long a time: For it was the eleventh of *December* 1604 when they began to work at the Mine, and ſo the ſpace of a year and more the Conſpiracy went concealed. Some advertiſements were ſent to the King and divers of his Majeſtie's Council from beyond ſea, *That the Papiſts were preparing to preſent a Petition for Toleration of Religion at the meeting of the Parliament, which ſhould be ſo well backed as the King would be loath to refuſe it.* But theſe advertiſements were contemned, and thought to be invented for putting the King in fear.

Yea,

Yea and the Nobleman, when he received the Letter, not knowing what conſtruction to make of it, doubted much that it had been a device to ſcare him from attending the Parliament. Nottheleſs out of his care of the King's preſervation he reſolved to communicate the ſame with the Earl of *Salisbury* his Majeſtie's principal Secretary, and going the ſame night to *White-hall*, delivered the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainting the Chamberlain, Admiral, and ſome others of the Council therewith, and examining every line thereof, reſolved to ſhew the ſame to the King at his return, (for he was then at hunting at *Royſton*) and not to ſearch farther in the matter till they ſhould hear what was his judgment. *An.* 1605.

The King returning to *London* the Thurſday after, which was *Allhallows* evening, the Letter was ſhewed him the next day in the afternoon; who having read the ſame once or twice, ſaid, *That it was not to be contemned, and that the ſtyle ſeemed more quick and pithy then is uſed in Libels, Paſquils, and the like.* The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the matter more deeply then he expected, told him "that the Letter ſeemed to be written by a Fool or Mad-man; and pointing at "the paſſage, *the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*, ſaid, that the "warning was to little purpoſe, if the burning of the Letter might make the dan-"ger eſchewed.

But the King willed him to conſider the former ſentence, wherein it was ſaid that *they ſhould receive a terrible Blow at the Parliament, and not ſee who did hurt them*, and when he ſhould joyn that with the other, he ſhould find it to be *ſudden danger*, as by blowing up by Powder, that was thereby meant. Therefore willed all the rooms in the Parliament-houſe to be ſearched, both above and below, to prevent the danger, if any there was.

This belonging to the Chamberlain his office, he was deſired to make the ſearch, and for ſtaying the idle rumors, to delay his going to Monday in the afternoon, the day before the firſt Seſſion of Parliament. At which time the Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Monteagle*, who was careful to ſee what the warning given would prove, went and viewed all the rooms, where he perceived in the Vault under the Upper Houſe great ſtore of Fagots, Billets and Coals; and asking the keeper of the Guardrobe named, *Whinyard*, to what uſe he had put thoſe low Cellars, (for they appertained to him) he anſwered, that *Thomas Piercy* had hired the Houſe and Cellar, and the Billets and the Coals were the Gentleman's proviſion for Winter. The Chamberlain caſting his eye aſide, and eſpying a fellow in the corner of the Vault, asked who he was, and received anſwer that he was *Piercie*'s man, who kept the houſe for his Maſter.

Thus having look'd upon all things in a careleſs manner as it appeared, he returned to the King, and made report of that he had ſeen; which encreaſed his Majeſtie's firſt apprehenſion: and thereupon was order given for turning up thoſe Billets and Coals even to the bottom. If nothing ſhould be found, it was deviſed, that *Whinyard* ſhould pretend the ſtealing of ſome of the King's ſtuff which he had in his keeping, and that made the colour of ſearch. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Privy Chamber and Juſtice of Peace within *Weſtminſter*, being appointed for this buſineſs, went thither with ſome few in company about midnight, and finding a man ſtanding without doors in his cloaths and boots, cauſed him to be apprehended. This was *Guido Faux*, whoſe hand ſhould have fired the train, and gave himſelf out for *Piercie*'s man. Thereafter entring into the Houſe he made the Coals and Billets to be turned up, under which they found 36 barrels of Powder more and leſs. Then turning to the fellow they had apprehended, and queſtioning him touching the Powder, he did inſtantly confeſs, ſwearing, *That if he had been within the Houſe when they took him, he ſhould have blown them up with the Houſe and all.*

Sir *Thomas* taking the man along went immediately to the place, and ſhewed the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had ſped. They making themſelves ready, and warning the Counſellors that lay within the Palace, went all together to his Majeſtie's Bed-chamber. The King awake, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his joy, cried aloud, that the Treaſon was diſcovered, & the Traitor in hands. Then command was given to command the Council to examine the Priſoner touching his partakers

An. 1605. kers. He, nothing dejected nor moved a whit with so Honorable a presence, did boldly avow the fact, repenting only that he had failed in the execution, and saying, *The Devil envying the success of so good a work had discovered the same.* All that day nothing could be drawn from him touching his Complices, taking all the blame upon himself, and professing he had done it for Religion and Conscience sake. Speaking of the King, he denied him to be his Sovereign, or Anointed of God, in regard he was an Heretick, and that it was no sin to cut him off. This was his behavior at first; but being conveyed to the Tower, and the Rack presented, he laid open the whole matter of Conspiracy, and confessed the truth. There were in the City at that time *Catesby*, *Piercy*, *Tho. Winter*, *Francis Tresham*, and the younger *Wright*, who hearing that all was discloſed made away to the Countrey, appointing to meet the next morning at *Dunchurch* in *Warwickshire*, *Digby*'s lodging. *John Grant*, with some Recusants that he had associated to himself, had broke up the same night a stable of *Bourch* a Rider of great horses, and carried away seven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen of the Countrey; for he did think the Conspiracy had taken effect, and was preparing to surprise the Lady *Elizabeth*, whose residence was not far from the place. But within a few hours *Catesby*, *Piercy* and the others that were fled from *London* bringing assurance that all was failed, they resolved upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the quarrel of Religion, labored to draw some companies together; yet when they had gathered all their forces, they did not exceed 80 in all.

Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Lieutenant-deputy of *Warwickshire*, hearing of the Riot that *Grant* had committed, and apprehending it to be the beginning of a Rebellion, sent to advertise the Towns about, and warned them to be on their guard. The Sheriffs of the County convening, the people likewise in arms, pursued them from Shire to Shire. Sir *Richard Walch* the Sheriff of *Worcestershire* having tried where they had taken harbor, sent a Trumpet and Messenger to command them to render unto him in his Majestie's name, promising to intercede for their lives. But they, hearing their fault to be unpardonable, returned answer, that he had need of better assistants then the numbers that accompanied him before he could either command or compel them. The Sheriff provoked by their arrogant answer prepared to assail the House. And they making defence, it happened that a spark of fire falling among some powder, which they were drying, did kindle and blow up the same, wherewith their hands, faces and sides were sore scorched and burnt, as they lost courage, and opening the gate exposed themselves to the people's fury. *Catesby*, *Piercy* and *Tho. Winter* joyning backs, and resolving rather to die then to be taken, the two first were killed with one shot, the other after some wounds made prisoner; the two *Wrights* were killed, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, *Digby* and *Bates* were taken: *Tresham* had stayed at *London*, and changing his lodging thought to lurk till he should find occasion to escape by sea, but was in end found out; so were *Robert Winter* and one *Littleton*, and all of them committed to the Tower of *London*.

Being examined, *Thomas Winter* ingenuously confessed all, setting down the particulars under his hand, and acknowledging the offence to be greater then could be forgotten. *Digby* excused the crime by the despair they were driven unto, having hopes given them at the King's first coming to the Crown, that the Catholicks should have the exercise of their Religion permitted, which being denied they had taken these wicked courses. *Tresham* in his Confession named *Garnet* the Jesuite as privy to the Conspiracy: but afterwards by his Wife's instigation did deny it, affirming that he had wronged him, and not seen him once these sixteen years. Yet *Garnet* being apprehended some months after confessed that they met divers times within the last half year. *Tresham* died in the prison, the rest were put to the trial of a Jury, and condemned. *Digby*, *Grant*, *Robert Winter* and *Thomas Bates* were executed at the Western gate of S. *Paul*'s in the end of *January*; *Thomas Winter*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Robert Keys* and *Guido Faux*, who had wrought at the Mine, suffered in like sort in the Court near the Parliament-house.

This was the end of that Conspiracy, the like whereof in no man's memory hath been heard. We have heard of Kings treacherously killed, of practices against Estates & Commonwealths; but such a *Monster of Conspiracies* (as *Thuan* calls it) no Countrey

Countrey nor Age did ever produce: The King, Queen, with their posterity, the Nobility, Clergy, Judges, Barons, Knights, Gentry, and in a manner the whole Kingdom to be in one moment all destroyed, was a Wickedness beyond all expression, but, blessed be God, this Monster, which was long in breeding, in the very birth was choaked and smothered. *An.* 1605.

The King, giving meeting to the Parliament the same day that the Conspiracy was discovered, made a long speech to the Estates, wherein having aggravated the danger by many circumstances, and greatly magnified the mercies of God in the Discovery, when he came to the Trial and Punishment, was observed to keep a marvelous temper in his discourse, wishing no innocent person either forein or domestick should receive blame or harm thereby: *For however,* said he, *the blind Superstition of their Errors in Religion hath been the onely motive of this desperate attempt, it must not be thought that all who profess the* Roman *Religion are guilty of the same: for as it is true* (I keep his Majestie's own words) *that no other Sect of Heretick (not excepting Turk, Jew or Pagan, nay not those of* Calecut *that adore the Devil) did ever maintain by the grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murther Princes or people for the quarrel of Religion; yet it is as true on the other side, that many honest men, blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in questions of* Real Presence, *the number of the* Sacraments, *and some such School questions, do either not know, or not believe at least, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the Mystery of Iniquity: and therefore do we justly confess that many Papists, especially our forefathers, laying their onely trust upon Christ and his Merits, may be saved; detesting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of* Puritans *worthy of fire, that will admit no Salvation to any Papists.* And so concluding that part of his discourse, said, *As upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful subjects; so upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds of Popery, can prove either good Christians or faithful subjects.* The Speech is to be seen amongst his Majesties Works, and is worthy the reading, for wise directions given in that business.

The news of this Conspiracy were speedily advertised to the Council of *Scotland*, and a command given for a publick Thanksgiving in all the Churches for his Majestie's deliverance; but the cause was left to euery mans conjecture, (albeit the advertisement did bear expresly, that *the Contrivers were Papists, and their onely quarrel Religion.*) This being told to the King, and that one of the Privy-Counsellors had said, *that the Conspiracy proceeded of a mere discontent the people had conceived at his Majestie's Government*, he was mightily offended, and from that forth held his affection to his service continually suspected.

Information was made at the same time, that some of the Ministers imprisoned at *Blackness* did blame the Chancellor for their Meeting at *Aberdene*, offering "that "they had Warrant from him to meet, and his promise that they should incur no danger for "the same. The King, to understand the truth thereof, directed his servant Sir *William Irwyn* to inquire at the imprisoned Ministers, what dealing they had with the Chancellor in that business: their answer was, "That a little before their meeting "at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Forbes* and Mr. *John Welch* had sought his advice touching "their convening; and that he asking them what they intended to do, they answe-"ed, that fearing the establishment of Bishops, they were to do their best for with-"standing the same; and that he to encourage them did promise all the assistence "he could give that way: which they took to be an allowance of their Meeting. A Letter hereupon was directed to certain of the Council to call the Ministers, and if they stood to their saying, to hear what the Chancellor would answer. They maintaining that which they had said, & the Chancellor called to his Answer, he affirmed that he was intreated by them to oppose the restitution of Bishops Temporalities, which then was in working, promising that he should not be questioned for his Religion, which they understood to be Popish. This denied by the Ministers, they fell in a sharp contest; which continued some space with words not seemly on either part. The Ministers, for clearing his approbation of their Assembly, did farther allege that he had uttered so much to Mr. *Walter Balcanquell* and Mr. *James Balfour*, Ministers at *Edinburgh*; who being examined touching their knowledge, Mr. *Walter* *An.* 1606.

An. 1606. *Balcanquell* did affirm, "that the Chancellor in private to himſelf had commen-
"ded them for maintaining the Liberty of the Church, which was not a little
"prejudiced, as he ſaid, by the continuation of Aſſemblies from year to year. The
ſame he was ſaid to have ſpoken to Mr. *Iames Balfour*; but he excuſed himſelf by
forgetfulneſs, ſaying he did not remember any ſuch ſpeeches. This report made to
the King, he ſaid, *That none of the two deſerved credit; and that he ſaw the Miniſters
would betray Religion rather then ſubmit themſelves to Government; and that the Chan-
cellor would betray the King for the malice he carried to the Biſhops.*

By this conteſt always the Chancellor was made more tractable in the reſtitution of Biſhops Temporalities, which he had ſtrongly reſiſted unto that time; and in the Parliament kept at *Perth* in the beginning of *Iuly* ſhewed a great deſire to promote the ſame. This Parliament had been indicted to keep at *Edinburgh* in *Iune* preceding, and the Earl of *Dunbar* imployed to ſee all matters carried therein to his Majeſtie's mind. The Chancellor (whether out of emulation to ſhew his Greatneſs, or that he feared ſome affront by the Earl of *Dunbar*) went on the ſtreets accompanied with the Burgeſſes in great numbers, who otherwiſe then was their cuſtome did walk with their ſwords. *Dunbar* taking this in ill part, yet diſſembling his offence, cauſed adjourn the Parliament to the firſt of *Iuly*, and therewith preſented a Warrant for removing the ſame to the Town of *Perth*, which coming unlooked for made the Burgeſſes forthink their doing.

At *Perth* it happened the very firſt day the Lord *Seaton* and *Alexander* his Brother to encounter the Earl of *Glencarn* in the Bridgegate, where drawing their weapons againſt others a great Tumult was raiſed, which continued a certain ſpace, and diſturbed the Council that as then was ſitting. The Lord *Seaton* being tried to have invaded the other, which he did for revenge of his Uncle's ſlaughter, he was cited before the Council for troubling the Parliament; but leaving the Town he went home, and for his not appearing was denounced Rebell. It was held an ominous beginning, and gave many to think that matters would not ſucceed well; but the Earl of *Dunbar* did ſo wiſely and with ſo great care prevent every thing that was like to breed trouble, as all things were carried from that time forth in a moſt peaceable ſort.

There were attending in the Town abundance of Miniſters, labouring all they could ſecretly to make ſome perturbation. The Earl calling them to his lodging did rebuke them ſharply, ſaying, *That it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that they who had ſo often petitioned to have the Act of Annexation diſſolved ſhould go about to hinder the ſame, now when the King was to do it in part, ſpecially conſidering there was nothing to be moved in prejudice of their Diſcipline. And that for removing the differences that were amongſt them in that point, his Majeſty had reſolved, as they knew by the Letters ſome of them had received, to call the moſt learned and diſcreet of both ſides before himſelf, and have matters compoſed ſo far as might be to their content. More fitting*, he ſaid, *it were for you, to whom his Majeſty hath addreſſed his Letters, to have been preparing your ſelves for the journey. And I ſhould adviſe you, for your own good and the peace of the Church, not to write to the King any more, but rather ſtudy by your peaceable behaviour to procure favour to your Brethren that are in trouble.* With theſe ſpeeches he did quiet them, and ſo the Parliament went on, and after ſome few daies ended in great peace.

In this Parliament divers good Conſtitutions were made: but the two principal were the Acts of his Majeſtie's Prerogative, and the Act entituled, *The Reſtitution of the eſtate of Biſhops*; which Title giveth many to miſtake the truth of things, and think that before this time the eſtate of Biſhops was overthrown and caſt down, whereas the ſame was never ſo much as intended. Onely by this Act the Temporalities of Biſhopricks, which by the Act of Annexation were made to belong to the Crown, were reſtored, in regard it was ſeen that the Biſhops were diſabled to attend their ſervice in the Church and State by the want thereof.

Soon after the Parliament diſſolved, ſuch of the Clergy as his Majeſty called to Court went together. Of the one ſide went the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Orkney*, *Galloway*, and Mr. *Iames Nicolſon* who was deſtinate Biſhop of *Dunkeld*; on the other part were Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, Mr. *Iames Mel-*

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vill, Mr. *James Balfour*, and Mr. *William Watſon*, Mr. *William Scot*, Mr. *John Carmichael*, and Mr. *Adam Colt*. All theſe arriving at *London* about the beginning of *Sept.* had warning given them to attend the 20 of that moneth at *Hampton-Court*. *An.* 1606.

The King had appointed ſome of the Biſhops of *England* to attend during the Conference, and preach by courſe upon the ſubjects preſented to them. Doctor *Barlow* Biſhop of *Lincoln* began, taking for his Text the 28 verſe of the 20 chap. of the *Acts*, whereby he took occaſion to prove out of the Scriptures and Fathers the Supremacy of Biſhops above Presbyters, and to ſhew the inconveniencies of Parity in the Church, with the Confuſion ariſing from the ſame. Dr. *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* took for his Text the Precept of the Apoſtle, *Omnis anima*, &c. Rom. 13. 1. where falling to ſpeak of the King's Supremacy in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, he did handle that Point both ſoundly and learnedly, to the ſatisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the *Scots* Miniſter to hear the Pope and Presbytery ſo often equalled in their oppoſition to Sovereign Princes. Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* followed, who chuſed for his Text the firſt verſes of the 10 chapter of *Numbers*, confirming thirdly the power of Kings in Convocating Synods and Councils. The fourth was Dr. *King* Biſhop of *London*, he took for his Theme the 11 verſe of the 8 chapter of *Canticles*, and thereupon diſcourſing of the Office of Presbyters, did prove *Lay-Elders to have no place nor Office in the Church, and the late device to be without all warrant of Precept or Example, either in Scripture or in Antiquity*. This courſe his Majeſty took, as conceiving that ſome of the Miniſters ſhould be moved by force of Reaſon to quit their Opinions, and give place to the Truth: but that ſeldom happeneth where the mind is prepoſſeſſed with prejudice either againſt perſon or matter.

The Firſt Audience was at *Hampton* the 22 of *September*; at which, beſides the Biſhops and Miniſters from *Scotland*, were preſent the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and Sir *Alexander Straiton*: of the *Engliſh*, Dr. *Mountague* Dean of the Chappel was only admitted to ſtay. There the King, declaring the purpoſe for which he had called them, ſpake a few words to this effect: *That having left the Church of* Scotland *in peace at his parting forth of it, he did now hear of great diſturbances in the ſame; whereof he deſired to underſtand the true cauſe, and to have their advice how the ſame might beſt be removed. This being*, ſaid he, *the errand in general for which I have called you, I ſhould be glad to hear your opinions touching that meeting at* Aberdene, *where an handful of Miniſters, in contempt of my Authority, and againſt the diſcharge given them, did aſſemble; and though they were neither a ſufficient number, nor the accuſtomed order kept, they would take upon them to call it a General Aſſembly, and have ſince proudly maintained it, by declining my Council, and ſuch other means as they pleaſed to uſe. The rather I would hear your minds, becauſe I am informed that divers Miniſters do juſtifie that Meeting, and in their publick Preachings commend theſe Brethren as perſons diſtreſſed, which in effect is to proclaim me a Tyrant and Perſecutor.*

Mr. *James Melvill* anſwering firſt, ſaid, "That there was no ſuch diſcharge gi- Mr. *James Melvill's* anſwer in name of the reſt.
"ven to thoſe Miniſters that met at *Aberdene* as was alleged, adjuring Sir *Alex-*
"*ander Straiton*, who was ſaid to have given the charge, to declare in his Majeſtie's
"preſence how that matter was carried. As to the abſence of Moderator and Clerk,
"he ſaid that none of theſe were eſſential parts of an Aſſembly; and that the Mo-
"derator abſenting himſelf of purpoſe, and the Clerk refuſing to ſerve, the Bre-
"thren convened might lawfully create others in their places: ſo as the Miniſters
"having Warrant to convene from the Word of God, and from his Majeſtie's
"Laws, as alſo coming thither by direction of their Presbyteries, he could not in
"his conſcience condemn them.

Well then, ſaid the King, *I ſhall deſire you to anſwer me three things that I will ask. First, If it be lawful to pray publickly for perſons convicted by the lawful Iudge as perſons being in diſtreſs and afflicted. 2. Whether I may not, being a Chriſtian King, by my Authority Royal, convocate, and prorogue, and deſert, for juſt and neceſſary cauſes known to my ſelf, any Aſſemblies or Meetings within my Dominions. 3. Whether or not may I by my Authority call and convene before me and my Council whatſoever perſon or perſons,* His Majeſty proponeth three Queſtions to them.

An. 1606. *Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, for whatſoever offences committed by them in whatſoever place within my Dominions; and if I may not take cognition of the offence, and give ſentence therein. And farther, Whether or not are all my ſubjects, being cited to anſwer before me and my Council, obliged to compeir, and acknowledge me or them for Judges in theſe offences?*

A time is deſired by them and granted.

Mr. *James* anſwering, ſaid that the Queſtions were weighty, and craved a great deliberation; wherefore he would humbly entreat his Majeſty to grant them a time to confer and adviſe together, that they might all give one direct anſwer. This deſire granted, they were commanded to adviſe and meet together that night,

The Second Audience.

and be ready to anſwer the next day. At this Meeting the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Northampton* with divers of the *Engliſh* Clergy were preſent. The Miniſters deſiring to have the Meeting more private, requeſted the Earl of *Dunbar* to move the King therein, and that none but *Scots*-men ſhould be preſent; *fearing* (as they ſaid) *that ſome unſeemly words might eſcape them.* But this was denied, and they warned to ſpeak with that reſpect which became ſubjects. It was believed that the King ſhould have begun with the Queſtions proponed in the former Meeting;

The Biſhops Judgment of the Meeting at *Aberdene.*

but his Majeſty taking another courſe, required them to delare one by one their judgements touching *Aberdene* Aſſembly. The Biſhops (being firſt ask'd) did all condemn the Meeting as Turbulent, Factious, and Unlawful.

Mr. *Andrew Melvill* then being enquired made anſwer, "That he could not "condemn the Aſſembly, being a private man: That he came into *England* upon "his Majeſtie's Letter, without any Commiſſion from the Church of *Scotland*,

Mr. *Andrew Melvill*'s anſwer touching the ſame.

"and though he had Commiſſion *in dicta cauſa*, and not hearing what they could "ſay for themſelves, he could not give his judgement. Sentence he ſaid was gi- "ven againſt them in a Juſtice-Court; how juſtly, he did remit that to the great "Judge: but for himſelf he would ſay as our Saviour did in another caſe, *Quis me "conſtituit judicem?*

Mr. *James Balfour* his anſwer.

Mr. *Iames Balfour* being next ask'd, "did pray his Majeſty not to preſs "him with any anſwer, for that he knew nothing would be well taken that "proceeded from his mouth, and that Mr. *Andrew* had anſwered his mind ſuffici- "ently.

Mr. *Melvill* his anſwer.

Mr. *Iames Melvill*, without giving a direct anſwer, began to tell, "That ſince "his coming to *London* he had received divers Letters, and with them a Petition, "that ſhould have been preſented to the late Parliament in behalf of the warded "Miniſters, which he was deſired to offer unto his Majeſty, and, as he thought, the "Petition would make all their minds known.

The King taking the Petition and falling to read the ſame, willed the Advocate to go on and receive the anſwer of the reſt. And as the Advocate was queſtioning Mr. *William Scot*, and urging him with a diſtinct anſwer, (for he uſed many circumlocutions, according to the cuſtom) Mr. *Andrew Melvill* in a great paſſion

Mr. *William Scot* his anſwer interrupted by Mr. *Andrew Melvill.*

ſaid, *That he followed the inſtructions of* Mr. John Hamilton *his Uncle, who had poiſoned the North with his Papiſtry, and that he was now become* κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν. *Northampton* asking what he meant by that ſpeech; the King ſaid, he calleth him *the mickle Devil*: and then foulding up the Petition, ſaid, *I ſee you are all ſet for maintaining that baſe Conventicle of* Aberdene. *But what Anſwers have you to give to the Queſtions I moved?* "It was anſwered, that they had conferred toge- "ther, and finding them to concern the whole Church, they would not by their "particular voices prejudge the ſame. *But you will not I truſt*, ſaid the King, *call my Authority in queſtion, and ſubject the determination of the ſame to your Aſſemblies.* "This they ſaid was far from their thoughts; but if his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed "to ſet down in writing what he required, they ſhould labour to give him ſatisfa- "ction.

The Miniſters called before the *Scottiſh* Council.

Thus were they diſmiſſed for that time, and being the next day called before the *Scottiſh* Council, (for after this they were no more admitted to his Majeſtie's preſence) they were enquired whether they had in their publick prayers prayed for the warded Miniſters as perſons *afflicted, and ſufferers for God's cauſe.* Some of them confeſſed that they had *prayed for them as perſons in trouble and diſtreſs:* others, that they had *commended them to God, but remembred not in what words.*

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The 20 of *October* they were again brought before the *Scots* Council, and had the three Queſtions delivered to them in writing, which they were commanded to anſwer ſeverally: meanwhile they were diſcharged to return into *Scotland* without his Majeſtie's licence, and prohibited to come towards the Queen and Prince's Court. The Biſhops and others of the Clergy that aſſiſted them were permitted to return. *An.* 1606. They are diſcharged to return into *Scotland*.

The Conference breaking up in this ſort, and matters made worſe rather then better, his Majeſtie's pleaſure concerning the warded Miniſters, which to this time had been delayed, was ſignified by two ſeveral Letters to the Council and Juſtice. The Letter to the Juſtice was as followeth. "Whereas in our Juſtice-Court holden at *Linlithgow* the 10 of *January* laſt, Mr. *John Forbes*, Miniſter of *Awford*, Mr. "*John Welch* Miniſter at *Aire*, M. *Robert Dury* Miniſter at *Anſtruther*, Mr. "*Andrew Duncan* Miniſter at *Crail*, Mr. *Alexander Straughan* Miniſter at *Creich*, "and Mr. *John Sharp* Miniſter at *Kilmeny*, were convicted of the crime of "Treaſon, for their contemptuous and treaſonable declining the Judgement of "us and the Lords our ſecret Council, by a Declinator ſubſcribed with "their hands and preſented in judgement before the ſaid Lords; and that the "pronunciation of the doom was upon grave and weighty reſpects continued till "our pleaſure was declared: We now, conſidering the great Inſolency committed "by them, and how dangerous the example of ſuch a fact may prove if it ſhould "go unpuniſhed, ſpecially ſince we of our accuſtomed lenity have given to theſe "declared Traitors more then ſufficient time to have acknowledged their offence, and made ſute for our Pardon, and that yet nothing hath appeared in "them but an obdured obſtinacy, without any token of reſipiſcence; albeit the "greatneſs of the offence in men of their Function, whoſe actions ſhould be patterns of duty and obedience to others, hath demerited moſt juſtly the extremity of puniſhment appointed by Law; yet, according to our wonted Clemency, "being willing to diſpenſe with the rigour of Law at this time, and not to inflict "the puniſhment of death upon them, Our will and pleaſure is, that you affix a "Juſtice-Court at *Linlithgow*, or any other place our Council ſhall appoint, the "23 of *October*, and then cauſe doom of puniſhment forth of our Dominions "during their natural lives to be pronounced againſt the ſaid Traitors: After "which you ſhall return them to their Wards, there to remain for the ſpace of "a moneth, till they have made their preparations to depart; before the expiring "whereof if they do not depart, wind and weather ſerving, or being departed "ſhall return unto our Dominions without our licence, the ordinary death uſually inflicted upon Traitors ſhall be executed upon them. And becauſe this "our Clemency extended towards theſe above-named may perhaps move others "to think, that for treſpaſſes of this quality no greater rigour will hereafter be "uſed; to remove all ſuch conceits, and that notice may be taken of our full determination in the like caſe, you ſhall in open Court make intimation to all our "lieges, That if any hereafter ſhall offend in ſuch an high treſpaſs, they ſhall be "puniſhed with all ſeverity, and the death due unto Traitors be inflicted upon "them with all rigour, the example of this our preſent lenity notwithſtanding: "And that it is our will you cauſe this to be recorded in your Books of Adjournal, "and publication to be made thereof at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and all "other places needful. The King's pleaſure touching the warded Miniſters. The Letter to the Juſtice, preſcribing the form of the Sentence.

By the Letter directed to the Council, Mr. *Charles Farum* was ordained to be confined in the Iſle of *Bute*, Mr. *John Monroe* in *Kentire*, Mr. *Robert Youngſon* in the Iſle of *Arran*, Mr. *James Irwyn* in *Orkney*, Mr. *William Forbes* in *Yeteland*, Mr. *James Grey* in *Cathnes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis* in *Sutherland*, and Mr. *John Roſſe* in *Lewis*. A Letter from his Majeſty to the Council.

The Juſtice as he was commanded did keep his Court at *Linlithgow*, and pronounced the Sentence and doom in the manner preſcribed. Meſſengers were alſo directed to charge the other Miniſters to enter into the parts appointed for their confining, and not to exceed the ſame without licence, under pain of death. After which a Proclamation was made inhibiting all Miniſters to *recommend either in their ſermons or prayers the perſons ſo ſentenced.* The Sentence pronounced by the Juſtice.

And

An. 1606. And leſt the Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and others of their Faction, ſhould preſume of any overſight to be given to them becauſe of theſe proceedings againſt the Seditious Miniſters, they were in like ſort commanded by Proclamation *to depart forth of the Realm, and all the ſubjects inhibited to reſſet or entertain them, under the pain of his Majeſtie's diſpleaſure.*

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuites.

Mr. *Andrew Melvill* committed to the Tower.

Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, that would not be idle, and was ſtill ſpeaking againſt the Orders of the *Engliſh* Church, having diſperſed ſome bitter and ſcornful verſes againſt the Rites uſed in his Majeſtie's Chappel, which was brought to the King by one of the Chaplains, was called before the Council of *England*, and charged with the injuring of the State and Church: where, in ſtead of acknowledging his offence, he behaved himſelf inſolently, and more like a mad man then Divine; for which he was committed in the Tower of *London*. There he remained three years and more, and afterwards, upon the Duke of *Bulloign* his requeſt, was ſent to *Sedan*, where he lived in no great reſpect, and contracting the Gout lay almoſt bedfaſt to his death.

The Obſervation of the Writer.

Whileſt I am writing this, there cometh to my mind the hard and uncharitable dealing that he and his Faction uſed towards *Patrick* ſometimes Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, who not content to have perſecuted that worthy man in his life, made him a long time after his death the ſubject of their Sermons, interpreting the miſeries whereunto he was brought to be the judgement of God inflicted upon him for withſtanding their courſes of Diſcipline. If now one ſhould take the like liberty, and ſay, That God, to whom the Biſhop at his dying did commend his cauſe, had taken a revenge of him who was the chief inſtrument of his trouble, it might be as probably ſpoken, and with ſome more likelihood, then that which they blaſted forth againſt the dead Biſhop. But away with ſuch raſh and bold conceits; the love of God either to cauſes or perſons is not to be meaſured by theſe external and outward accidents.

An Aſſembly indicted at *Linlithgow*.

But leaving this, the King being very deſirous to have the Church quieted, and a ſolid and conſtant Order eſtabliſhed for preventing the like offences, did call a General Aſſembly to meet at *Linlithgow* the 10 of *December*; and for the better ordering of buſineſs, directed the Earl of *Dunbar* to attend the Meeting. At the day many convened both Miniſters and others. Of Miniſters there were reckoned one hundred thirty ſix; of Noblemen, Barons and others, thirty and three. Mr. *James Nicolſon* elected to preſide, the Earl of *Dunbar* preſented a Letter from his Majeſty to this effect: "That it was not unknown what pains he "had taken whileſt he lived amongſt them, as well to root out Popery as to ſettle "a good and perfect Order in the Church; and that notwithſtanding of his care "beſtowed that way, he had been continually vexed by the jealouſies of ſome per-"verſe Miniſters, who traducing his beſt actions gave out amongſt the people, "that all he went about was to thrall the Liberty of the Goſpel. Neither con-"tent thus to have wronged him, they had in his abſence factiouſly banded them-"ſelves againſt ſuch of their Brethren as had given their concurrence to the fur-"therance of his Majeſtie's juſt intentions: upon the knowledge whereof he did "lately call the moſt calm and moderate, as he eſteemed, of both ſides unto his "Court, thinking to have pacified matters, and removed the Diviſions ariſen in "the Church; but matters not ſucceeding as he wiſhed, he had taken purpoſe to "convene them, for ſetting down ſuch Rules as he hoped ſhould prevent the like "troubles in after-times, which he had intruſted to his Commiſſioner the Earl of "*Dunbar*: willing them to conſider what was moſt fitting for the peace of the "Church, and to apply themſelves to the obedience of his directions, as they did "expect his favour.

His Majeſties Letter to the Aſſembly.

An Overture ſent from his Majeſty to the Aſſembly.

After the reading of the Letter the Overture was preſented, conceived in this form. "That his Majeſty, apprehending the greateſt cauſes of the miſgovern-"ment of Church affairs to be, that the ſame are often, and almoſt ordinarily, "committed to ſuch as for lack of wiſdom and experience are no way able to "keep things in a good frame; for remedying this inconvenient, thinketh "meet that preſently there be nominated in every Presbytery one of the moſt

"grave,

"grave, godly, and of greateſt authority and experience, to have the care of the *An.* 1606.
"Presbyterie where he remaineth, till the preſent jarres and fire of diſſenſion
"which is among the Miniſtery, and daily encreaſeth, to the hinderance of the
"Goſpel, be quenched and taken away; and the Noblemen profeſſing Papiſtry
"within the Kingdom be either reduced to the profeſſion of the Truth, or then
"repreſſed by juſtice and a due execution of the Laws; and for encouragement
"of the ſaid Moderators, and the enabling them to the attendance of the
"Church-affairs, his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to allow every of them one
"hundred pounds *Scots*, or two hundred Marks, according to the quality of their
"Charge; but where the Biſhops are reſident, his Majeſty will have them to mo-
"derate and preſide in theſe Meetings. As likewiſe becauſe it often falleth out
"that matters cannot be decided in Presbyteries, by reaſon of the difficulties
"that ariſe, and that the cuſtom is to remit the deciſion thereof to the Synod of the
"Diocie; It is his Majeſtie's advice, that the Moderation of theſe Aſſemblies be
"committed to the Biſhops, who ſhall be burthened with the delation of Papiſts,
"and ſolicitation of juſtice againſt thoſe that will not be brought to obedience, in
"reſpect his Majeſty hath beſtowed on them places and means to bear out the
"charges and burthens of difficil and dangerous actions, which other Miniſters
"cannot ſo well ſuſtain and undergoe.

Some Brethren deputed undergoe to conſider the overture.

This overture ſeeming to import a great alteration in the Diſcipline was not well accepted of divers: but his Majeſtie's Commiſſioner having declared that it was ſo far from the King's purpoſe to make any change in the preſent Diſcipline, as he did not long for any thing more then to have it rightly ſetled, and all theſe eyeliſts removed which had given him ſo juſt occaſion of diſcontent; they deſired a time to deliberate, and that a number of the moſt wiſe and learned might be ſelected to confer thereupon, and report their opinions to the Aſſembly.

The Overture embraced with ſome Cautions.

The Brethren named in this Conference having debated every point at length, and conſidered the inconveniencies that might ariſe by the change, eſpecially the uſurpation that was feared theſe conſtant Moderators ſhould make upon their Brethren, reſolved that the Overture proponed was not to be refuſed, ſo as certain Cautions were added, which were condeſcended to in manner following.

Cautions for the conſtant Moderators.

First, That the Moderators of Presbyteries and Provincial Aſſemblies ſhould not preſume to do any thing of themſelves, without the advice and conſent of their Brethren.

2. That they ſhould uſe no farther Juriſdiction nor power then Moderators have been in uſe of by the Conſtitutions of the Church.

3. If it ſhould happen the Moderators to be abſent at any time from theſe Meetings, it ſhould be in the power of Synods and Presbyteries to nominate another for moderating in their abſence.

4. When the place of a Moderator in any Presbyterie ſhould be void, the election of one to ſucceed ſhould be made by the whole Synod with conſent of his Majeſtie's Commiſſioner.

5. If any of the Moderators ſhould depart this life betwixt Aſſemblies, it ſhould be lawful to the Presbyteries to nominate one of the moſt grave and worthy of their number for the place unto the meeting of the next Synod.

6. That the Moderators of the Presbyteries ſhould be ſubject to the trial and cenſure of the Synod; and in caſe they uſurped any farther power over the Brethren then is given them by the Aſſembly, the ſame ſhould be a cauſe of Deprivation from their Office of Moderation, and they deprived thereof by the ſaid Synods.

7. In like manner the Moderator of the Provincial Aſſembly ſhould be tried and cenſured by the General Aſſembly; and in caſe he was found remiſs, or to have uſurped any farther power then the ſimple place

of

An. 1606. of a Moderator, he ſhould be deprived therefore by the General Aſſembly.

8. That the Moderators of every Presbyterie and Synod with their Scribes ſhould be aſtricted to be preſent at the General Aſſembly, and be reputed members thereof, by bringing with them the Regiſters of the Acts and proceedings in their Meetings to be ſeen, that ſo their diligence and fidelity in their Charges might be known.

9. That it ſhould be lawful to each Presbyterie to ſend two or three Commiſſioners to the General Aſſembly by and beſides the Moderator and Scribe, if they ſhould think it convenient.

10. That the Moderator of the General Aſſembly ſhould be choſen by the voices of the whole Aſſembly, lites being firſt made and proponed, as in times paſſed.

11. That in the Synods where there is not a Biſhop actually reſident, the like lite ſhould be made of the Moderators of the Presbyteries within theſe bounds, and one of them elected to moderate the ſame Aſſembly, ſo as his Majeſtie's Commiſſioners give their advice thereunto.

And laſtly, That the Rolls of Moderators in every Presbyterie ſhould be examined, to ſee if there was any other of the number fit to uſe the ſaid Office; and that they whom this preſent Aſſembly ſhould nominate, ſhould accept the ſaid Moderation upon them without making any ſhift or excuſe.

The Cautions and Overture approved.

Theſe Cautions being read in the full Aſſembly were approved of all, and the Overture thereafter put to voices was allowed, and the ſame enacted as a Concluſion of the whole Aſſembly, four only of the whole number diſaſſenting; other four refuſing to vote becauſe they had no commiſſion, as they pretended, from their Presbyteries, and two anſwering, *Non liquet*. This Concluſion taken, the rolls of Presbyteries were called, and none found more ſufficient then they who did preſently moderate theſe Meetings; whereupon an Ordinance was made, that they ſhould continue in their Charges, and not be altered, unleſs the Synod did make another choice.

A complaint of the Papiſts and their inſolency.

This buſineſs ended, a great complaint was made of the inſolency of Papiſts, chiefly in the North parts, and of the Superſtitions uſed at the Burials of the Lord *Ogilvy* and Laird of *Gight*, who had deceaſed a few moneths before. The Marquis of *Huntley* being alſo returned lately from Court, had given out that he brought a Warrant from his Majeſty to ſtay all Eccleſiaſtical proceedings againſt him, his Lady and family: by which reports thoſe of the Roman profeſſion were not a little encouraged, and were become open contemners of the Cenſures of the Church.

Petition from the Aſſembly to his Majeſty.

Theſe complaints being greatly taken to heart by the whole Aſſembly, it was concluded that a Petition ſhould be preferred to his Majeſty in all their names, for confining the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, with their Ladies, in ſome Cities and Towns where they might by the hearing of the Word and conference with learned men be reduced from their Errors, at leaſt kept from doing harm, and from the perverting of others. To preſent this Petition and the Act of conſtant Moderators, choice was made of Mr. *James Law* Biſhop of *Orkney*, and he diſpatched the Court; which done, the Aſſembly brake up and diſſolved with the good ſatisfaction of all.

His Majeſtie's anſwer.

Nor was it long before the King's anſwer returned in theſe particulars. And firſt, concerning the Marquis of *Huntley*, his Majeſty declared, "That he had obtained "no Warrant for impeding the Church-diſcipline, neither againſt himſelf or any "of his family; and that onely (becauſe he affirmed that he had kept all the Injun-"ctions preſcrived, except that he had not Communicated) the Council was de-"fired after trial of his obedience in the reſt of the particulars enjoyned, to com-"mand the Presbyteries of the North to ſtay their proceedings againſt him for his "not Communicating, concerning which point he had certified the Marquis, that "howſoever ſome ſpace was granted to him for his better reſolution, if he did per-"ſiſt in his Errors, and would not be reclaimed, he would make no other reckoning "of him then of one that ſtudied to make himſelf the head of a Faction, and rather

"root

"root him out, then nouriſh him in his follies by a prepoſterous Toleration. *An.* 1607.

As to the Confining of him and the other Noblemen in the Cities and places ſet down in the Aſſemblie's Petition, "His Majeſty did think it too rigorous, unleſs "they were tried to have committed ſome offence deſerving the ſame. Wherefore "he would have them called before the Council, the Biſhop of the Diocie, Mo- "derator of the Presbytery, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh being preſent, and en- "quired concerning their behavior, and whether they did reſort or not ordinari- "ly to Sermon; wherein if they ſhould be tried to have tranſgreſſed, his pleaſure "was they ſhould be confined within ſo many miles compaſs as are diſtant betwixt "the Houſes of their reſidence and the City wherein it was deſired they ſhould be "confined, to the end they may repair to their houſes when the neceſſity of their "buſineſs requireth, and at other times reſort to the City or Town deſigned for "their inſtruction, where they ſhould be tied to ſtay ten days together, and du- "ring their ſtay hear Sermons, admit conference, and forbear the company of Je- "ſuites, Seminary Prieſts and others of that profeſſion. And if it ſhould happen "them to have any buſineſs in Council or Seſſion, that licence ſhould be granted "unto them for repairing thither during a certain ſpace, providing they did reſort "to the Church, and gave no ſcandal by their behavior.

His Majeſties pleaſure touching the Popiſh Noblemen.

For the Superſtitious Rites uſed at the Burial of the Lord *Ogilvy* and *Gight*, "His Majeſtie's pleaſure was, that their Sons ſhould be called before the Council "and committed; but no Sentence ſhould be given, till the whole circumſtances "were tried and notified to him.

As touching the Concluſion taken for the conſtant Moderators, "His Majeſty "did thank them for their travels: But whereas they were of opinion that the Act "ſhould be univerſally received, (for ſo much the Aſſembly had written) he ſaid, "that he knew them too well to expect any ſuch thing at their hands. Their con- "ſciencious zeal to maintain Parity, and a deſire to keep all things in a continual "conſtant volubility, he ſaid was ſuch as they would never agree to a ſetled form of "Government. Beſides, he knew that divers of theſe who were nominated to the "places of Moderation would refuſe to accept the ſame, leſt they ſhould be thought "to affect Superiority above their brethren. That therefore he would have the "Council to look to that buſineſs, and direct Charges as well for thoſe that were "nominated to accept the Moderation, as to the Miniſters of every Presbytery "to acknowledge them that were nominated.

Direction to the Council for conſtant Moderators.

The event juſtified his Majeſtie's opinion, for all the next year there was no matter that ſo troubled the Council as that of the conſtant Moderator. The Synod of *Perth*, convening in *March* thereafter, did in direct oppoſition of the Act concluded at *Linlithgow* inhibit all the Presbyteries within their bounds to acknowledge the concluſion taken in that Meeting, and diſcharged Mr. *Alexander Lindeſay* Parſon of *Simmedoſe*, who was nominated by the Aſſembly Moderator of *Perth*, to exerciſe the ſaid Office under pain of the Cenſure of the Church. The Synod being cited before the Council for this Preſumption, was diſcharged to meet thereafter, and the Presbyteries within the bounds commanded under pain of Rebellion to accept their Moderators. *An.* 1607. The Synod of *Perth* diſcharged.

In *Fife* the reſiſtence was no leſs; for the Synod being continued twice, firſt from *April* to *June*, then from *June* to *September*, meeting at that time in *Dyſert*, and preſſed by the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Scone*, and *Halirudhouſe*, Commiſſioners from the Council, to accept the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* for their Moderator, did obſtinately refuſe, and diſſolved without doing any thing: hereupon was that Synod likewiſe diſcharged, and all the Burghs inhibited to receive them, if perhaps they ſhould reaſſemble after the Commiſſioners were gone. The Presbyteries of *Mers* were alſo very troubleſome, and the Council ſo vexed with complaints of that kind, as not a day paſſed without ſome one or other. But all this oppoſition proved vain, and they in end forced to obey, did find by experience this ſetled courſe much better then their circular elections. The Synod of *Fife* diſcharged.

A Commiſſion came in this mean time for planting ſome learned and worthy perſon in the place of Mr. *Andrew Melvill* at S. *Andrews*. The Commiſſion was directed A Provoſt placed in the new College of S. *Andrews*.

An. 1607. directed to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Roſſe* and *Birchen*, the Lord *Balmerinoch*, the Advocate, the Laird of *Balcomy*, and Commiſſar of S. *Andrews*; who meeting in the new College the 16 of *June*, after the reading of his Majeſtie's Letter, (whereby it was declared, That the ſaid Mr. *Andrew* being judged by the Council of *England* to have treſpaſſed in the higheſt ſort againſt his Majeſty, and for the ſame committed to the Tower till he ſhould receive his juſt puniſhment, was no more to return to that charge) they, according to the power given them, did proceed and make choice of Mr. *Robert Howy* to be Provoſt of the ſaid College, ordaining him to be inveſted in the ſaid Office with all the immunities and privileges accuſtomed. Which was accordingly performed in the *July* thereafter, and he entred to his Charge the 27 of that moneth.

The Miniſters permitted to return from *London*.

It remained that ſome courſe ſhould be taken with the Miniſters that were ſtayed at *London*; as it was once purpoſed, they were to be provided with ſome Livings in *England*: but that Church not liking to entertain ſuch gueſts, they were all permitted to return home, upon their promiſe to live obedient and peaceable. M. *James Melvill* was only retained, who living awhile confined at *Newcaſtle*, was after ſome months licenſed to come to *Berwick*, where he deceaſed. A man of good learning, ſober and modeſt; but ſo addicted to the courſes of Mr. *Andrew Melvill* his Uncle, as by following him he loſt the King's favor, which once he enjoyed in a good meaſure, and ſo made himſelf and his labors unprofitable to the Church.

Alexander Lord *Spynie* killed.

Now let us ſee what happened in the Kingdom during this time. The King was ever ſeriouſly commending to the Council the removing of the barbarous Feuds wherewith he had been ſo greatly troubled, divers whereof by their travels were this year agreed; yet new occaſions daily ariſing, they were kept in a continual buſineſs. *David Lindeſay* younger of *Edyell*, ſeeking to revenge the ſlaughter of his Uncle Mr. *Walter Lindeſay*, whom *David* Maſter of *Crawford* had killed, as he lay in wait of the ſaid Maſter, (who was then by the deceaſe of his Father ſucceeded in the Earldom) through a pitiful miſtake did invade *Alexander* Lord *Spynie*, and killed him inſtead of the other. The Nobleman's death was much regrated for the many good parts he had, and the hopes his friends conceived that he ſhould have raiſed again that noble and ancient houſe of *Crawford* to the former ſplendor and dignity, all which periſhed with him. He that was in place and eſcaped the peril being a baſe unworthy prodigal, and the undoer of all that by the virtue of his Anceſtors had been long kept together.

Trouble betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Maxwell*.

Another buſineſs no leſs troubleſome did alſo then happen betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Maxwell*, for holding of Courts in *Eskdale*, unto which both did pretend right. The preparation on both ſides was great, and like to have cauſed much unquietneſs, if the ſame had not been carefully prevented. Both parties being charged by the Council to diſſolve their forces, and not to come towards the bounds; the Earl of *Morton* obeyed: *Maxwell* contemning the charge went on, and by a cartel did appeal *Morton* to the combate; whereupon he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and after ſome two moneths ſtay made an eſcape. No ſooner found he himſelf at liberty, than he fell a plotting the Laird of *Johnſton*'s murther, which he wrought in a moſt treacherous manner. He pretending to uſe his friendſhip in obtaining his Majeſtie's Pardon, employed Sir *Robert Maxwell* of *Orchardtowne*, whoſe Siſter *Johnſton* had married, to draw on a meeting betwixt them, as he did: at a little hill called *Achmanhill* they did bring each of them one ſervant only, as was agreed, the ſaid Sir *Robert* being preſent as a friend to both. At meeting after they had courteouſly ſaluted one another, and conferred a little ſpace very friendly, the two ſervants going aſide, the one called *Charles Maxwell* a Brother of *Kirkhouſe*, the other *William Johnſton* of *Lockerby*, *Charles* falleth in quarrelling, the other ſhooteth a piſtol at him; the Laird of *Johnſton* making to part them, the Lord *Maxwell* ſhooteth him in the back with two bullets, whereupon he falleth, and for a while keeping off the Lord *Maxwell*, who made to ſtrike him with his ſword, expired in the place. It was the 6 of *April* in the year 1608 that this happened. The fact was deteſted by all honeſt men, and the Gentleman's misfortune ſore lamented; for he was a man full of wiſdom and courage, and every way well

Maxwell committed maketh an eſcape.

The Laird of *Johnſton* moſt treacherouſly killed by *Maxwell*.

An. 1608.

well inclined, and to have been by his too much confidence in this ſort treacherouſly cut off was a thing moſt pitiful. *Maxwell*, aſhamed of that he had done, forſook the Country, and had his Eſtate forfeited. Some years after ſtealing quietly into the Kingdom he was apprehended in the Country of *Cathnes*, and beheaded at *Edinburgh* the 21 of *May* 1613. *An.* 1608. *Maxwell* beheaded.

The purpoſe of civilizing the Iſles was this year again renewed, and a long Treaty kept with the Marquis of *Huntley* thereupon; but he breaking off by reaſon of the ſmall duty he did offer for the North Iſles, the Earl of *Argile* was made Lieutenant thereof for the ſpace of ſix moneths, in which time it was hoped that ſome good ſhould be wrought, and the people reduced to good manners: yet nothing was done to any purpoſe, the great men of thoſe parts ſtudying only the increaſe of their own Grandeur, and ſtriving whoſe command ſhould be greateſt. The Earl of *Argile* made Lieutenant of the Iſles.

In the Parliament of *England* that held in *November* preceding the matter of Union received many croſſings, and of all the Articles condeſcended among the Commiſſioners only that was enacted which concerneth the aboliſhing of hoſtile Laws. The King grieved at this exceedingly, and conceiving that the work ſhould more eaſily be effected if a beginning was made in *Scotland*, did call a Parliament in *Auguſt*, which was kept by *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox*, as Commiſſioner for his Majeſty, the Earl of *Montroſs* being then deceaſed. The Eſtates, to ſatisfie the King's deſire, did allow all the Articles concluded in the Treaty, with a proviſion, *That the ſame ſhould be in like manner ratified by the Parliament of* England, *otherwiſe the Concluſions taken ſhould not have the ſtrength of a Law.* It was alſo declared, *that if the Union ſhould happen to take effect, the Kingdom notwithſtanding ſhould remain an abſolute and free Monarchy, and the Fundamental Laws receive no alteration.* But the Parliament of *England* either diſliking the Union, as fearing ſome prejudice by it to their Eſtate, or upon ſome other hidden cauſe, did touch no more the buſineſs; and ſo that good Work, tending to the advantage of both Kingdoms, was left and quite deſerted. A Parliament in *Scotland* for the Union. Proviſions for the Union.

In the Church a new Trouble was moved by the revolt that *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* made; divers eſpecially in the North parts falling away by their example. This being repreſented to the King, he gave order for calling an Aſſembly which convened at *Linlithgow* in the end of *July*. Therein the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Winton* and *Lothian* ſate Commiſſioners for the King. The Biſhop of *Orkney*, elected to preſide, having ſhewed the occaſion of the preſent Meeting to be the growth and increaſe of Papiſts in all the quarters of the Kingdom, it was thought meet to take up the names of thoſe that made open profeſſion of Popery, and likewiſe of thoſe that were ſuſpected to favour the courſe, that their number and forces being known, the remedies might be the better adviſed and provided. An Aſſembly in *Linlithgow* for reſtraining Papiſts.

The number was found to be very great, chiefly in the North, and the Marquis of *Huntley* delated by all as the onely cauſe of the defection in thoſe bounds. He being cited to appear before the Aſſembly under the pain of Excommunication, and neither compeiring nor ſending any excuſe, was ordained to be Excommunicated, and the Sentence accordingly pronounced in the hearing of the whole Aſſembly. This was appointed to be intimated in all the Churches, and no Abſolution given upon whatſoever offers, in regard of his manifold Apoſtacies, without the advice of the General Church. The like courſe was concluded to be kept with *Angus*, *Arrol*, and the Lord *Semple*, how ſoon the Proceſſes intended againſt them were brought to an end. The Marquis of *Huntley* Excommunicated.

This done, the Aſſembly began to rip up the cauſes of the defection more narrowly; which they found to proceed from the Miniſters in a part, their negligence in Teaching and Catechiſing of people, the too ſuddain admiſſion of young men into the Miniſtery, and the diſtraction of minds among thoſe that are admitted: for remedy whereof it was ordained as followeth. The cauſes of the defection partly in the Church.

Firſt, that they ſhould apply themſelves to the exerciſe of their Function with greater diligence then they were accuſtomed, and take a ſpecial care of young Children, to ſee them inſtructed in the Belief, the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandements, The Remedies of the ſame.

An. 1608. dements, whereof they ſhould examine every childe at the age of ſix years, and yearly enquire of their profiting and increaſe in knowledge.

2. That ſome longer time ſhould be preſcrived for the admiſſion of men to the Miniſtery, and the exceptions contained in the Act of the age of Miniſters to be admitted reſerved to the cognition of the General Aſſembly.

3. That they uſe a greater diligence in the proceſſing of Papiſts, and that none out of corrupt favour ſhould grant them any overſight under the pain of Depoſition.

4. That all who carried Office in the Church ſhould be careful to eſchew offences, and endeavour to keep love and peace among themſelves.

5. And for the preſent diſtractions in the Church, ſeeing the ſame did ariſe partly from a diverſity of opinions touching the external Government of the Church, and partly from divided affections, the laſt of theſe two being the moſt dangerous, as not ſuffering the Brethren to unite themſelves againſt the common enemy; they were all in the fear of God exhorted to lay down whatſoever grudge or rancour they had conceived, and to be reconciled in heart and affection one to another: Which all that were preſent did faithfully promiſe, by the holding up their hands.

The cauſe of the defection proceeding from others.

But the fault not being in the Miniſters alone, and ſeen to proceed from other cauſes alſo, as from the overſight of Jeſuites and Prieſts, and their entertainment in the Countrey, the preferment of men to publick offices that were ſuſpected in Religion, the favour ſhewed to Papiſts by them in places of chief authority, Maſſe-Prieſts admitted without his Majeſtie's Warrant, and no ſecurity taken for their not returning, Licences granted to Noblemens ſons for going abroad, and their education truſted to men of contrary profeſſion, advocation to the Council of matters properly belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories, and the lack of Preachers in many parts of the land; It was concluded that certain Petitions ſhould be formed and preſented to his Majeſty by ſome ſelected Commiſſioners for remedying theſe evils, which were formed in this manner.

Supplication to his Majeſty for redreſs of theſe evils.

Firſt, that an humble ſupplication ſhould be made by the whole Aſſembly, intreating his Majeſty not to permit any Papiſt or ſuſpected of Popery to bear charge in Council, Seſſion, or in any Burgh or City; and where his Majeſty did know any ſuch to occupie theſe places, humbly to crave that order might be taken for their removing.

Petitions to his Majeſty for repreſſing Popery.

2. That the Laws made againſt Papiſts ſhould receive execution, and no favour be granted unto them by the Officers of State; with a Prohibition to the Council to meddle in affairs Eccleſiaſtical, or to diſcharge the proceſſes led by Miniſters againſt Papiſts and others contemners of Church-Diſcipline.

3. That Papiſts abjuring their Religion in hope of preferment to Offices of State ſhould not be admitted thereto, till they had given five years probation at leaſt.

4. That the Sons of Noblemen profeſſing Popery ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of ſuch of their friends as are found in Religion.

5. That a Commiſſion ſhould be granted to every Biſhop within his Dioceſe, and to ſuch well-affected Noblemen, Barons and Gentlemen as the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly ſhould nominate, for apprehending of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, Excommunicated Papiſts, and traffickers againſt Religion.

6. That the Searchers of Ships ſhould ſeiſe upon all Books that are brought unto the Countrey, and preſent them to the Miniſters of the Town where the Ships ſhall happen to arrive.

7. That Excommunicate Papiſts be put in cloſe priſon, and none have acceſs unto them but ſuch as are known to be of ſound Religion.

8. That the Deputies of Excommunicates be not ſuffered to enjoy any Office under them, and that ſome others be appointed by his Majeſty to ſerve in their places.

9. Finally, that his Majeſty ſhould be humbly intreated to plant the unprovi-

ded

ded Churches, especially the Churches of the Chappel Royal, with competent Stipends. *An.* 1608.

The Commissioners chosen to present these Petitions were, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Wigton*, the Lord *Kilsith*, Mr. *William Couper* Minister at *Perth*, and *James Nisbit* Burgess of *Edinburgh*. Together with the Petitions they received a Letter from the Assembly conceived in these terms.

HAving convened in this General Assembly by your Majestie's favourable licence and permission, and shadowed under your Majestie's wings with the presence of your Majestie's Commissioners, we did set our selves principally to consider the cause of the late growth of Papists among us, and found by an universal complaint the chief cause to be this, that where the Church in these parts was accustomed to be nourished by your Majestie's Fatherly affection, as the most kind Parent of Piety and Religion, we have been left in the hands of unkind Stepfathers, who esteeming us an uncouth birth to them have intreated us hardly, and cherished our adversaries by all means they could, as your Majestie's Highness will perceive more clearly by the overtures for remedy, which in all humble submission we present to your Majesty by these honourable Commissioners and Brethren, humbly intreating your Majesty to take compassion upon us, your Majestie's loving Children in this Land, that we may be taken out of the hands of these who are more ready to deliver the heads of the King's Sons to Jehu, *if the time were answerable to their wishes, then to nourish and bring them up to perfection.*

There is no cause, Sir, why the Apostates who have lately grown up in this Land should be feared, whatever they be in estate or number; for with them are the golden Calves, which God will destroy; with them is Dagon, whose second fall shall be worse then the first: but with your Majesty is the Lord your God to fight for you, and under your standard are the best of the Nobility, the greatest number of Barons, and all your Majestie's Burgesses, unspotted in Religion, and resolute all of them, for God's Honour and your Majestie's preservation, to spend their goods and lives and whatever is dear to them. We also your Majestie's humble servants, the Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel in this Land, now reconciled to others with a most hearty affection, by your Majestie's only means and the careful labours of your Majestie's trusty Councellor and our very good Lord, the Earl of Dunbar, *are for our parts most ready to all service in our Callings to stir up your Majestie's subjects by the word that God hath put in our mouths, to the performing of that obedience which God and Nature doth oblige them unto, and by God's grace shall go before them in all good ensample. These things we leave to be delivered by our Commissioners, whom we beseech your Majesty to hear graciously, and after some favourable consideration of our case and present suits, to give such answer as in your Highness wisdom shall be thought fittest. And now with our humble thanks to your Majesty for the liberty granted to meet in this Assembly, and our most hearty prayers to God Almighty for your Highness long life and prosperous Reign, we rest.*

This Letter was subscribed by the Earls of *Cranford*, *Glencarn* and *Kinghorne*, the Lords *Lindesay*, *Bacleugh*, *Salton*, *Lowdon*, *Torphichen*, *Blantire*, *Scone*, *Halirudhouse*, and a great number of the Clergy and Barons.

The Chancellor hearing of the Assemblie's proceedings, and supposing himself to be specially aimed at in all that business, (wherein he was not mistaken) moved the Secretary to take journey to Court for obviating these courses so far as he might. But he at his coming did meet with a business that concerned himself more nearly, for about the same time Cardinal *Bellarmine* had published an Answer to the King's Apology, & therein charged him with *inconstancy*, objecting *a Letter that he had sent to* Clement *the Eighth whilest he lived in* Scotland, *in which he had recommended to his Holiness the Bishop of* Vaison *for obtaining the dignity of a Cardinal, that so he might be the more able to advance his affairs in the Court of* Rome. The Treatise coming to the King's hands, & he falling upon that passage, did presently conceive that he had been abused by his Secretary, which he remembred had moved on a time for such a Letter, and thereupon began to think that among the Letters sent to the

The Secretarie's journey to Court.

An. 1608. Dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*, at the time another might have been ſhuffled in to the Pope, and his hand ſurreptitiouſly got thereunto.

He is charged for writing a Letter to the Pope, and ſtealing his Majeſtie's hand thereto.

The King lay then at *Royſton*, and the Secretary coming thither, he inquired if any ſuch Letter had been ſent to the Pope at any time. The Secretary apprehending no danger, and thinking that his policy in procuring the Pope's favour to the King ſhould not be ill interpreted, confeſſed, "that ſuch a Letter he had written "by his Majeſtie's own knowledge. But perceiving the King to wax angry, he fell on his knees and intreated mercy, "ſeeing that which he had done was out of a "good mind, and deſire to purchaſe the Pope's favour, which might at the time "have advanced his Title to *England*.

The King then putting him in mind of the challenge made by the late Queen in the year 1599 for writing the ſame Letter, and how being at that time queſtioned thereupon he had not only denied his own knowledge thereof, but likewiſe moved Sir *Edward Drummond*, who carried the Letter to the Pope, to come into *Scotland* and abjure the ſame; he anſwered, "That he did not think the matter would "be brought again in hearing, and that fearing his Majeſtie's offence he had deni-"ed the Letter, and had moved his Couſin Sir *Edward* to do the like; but now that "he ſaw that which he had done in the politick courſe turned to the King's re-"proch, with many tears he beſought his Majeſty to pardon his fault, and not to "undo him who was his own creature, and willing to ſuffer what he thought meet "for repairing the offence. The King replying that the fault was greater then he apprehended, and that it could not be ſo eaſily paſſed, enjoyned him to go to *London*, and keep his chamber till he returned thither.

The Secretary charged with the fault before the Council.

After ſome eight days the King returned to *White-hall*, where the Secretary was brought before the Council, and charged with the fault; which the Lords did aggravate in ſuch manner, as they made the ſame to be the ground of all the Conſpiracies deviſed againſt the King ſince his coming into *England*, eſpecially of the Powder-Treaſon. *For the Papiſts*, ſaid they, *finding themſelves diſappointed of the hopes which that Letter did give them, had taken the deſperate courſe which they followed, to the endangering of his Majeſtie's Perſon, Poſterity, and whole Eſtates.*

His anſwer to the Lords of the Council.

The Secretary, having heard their diſcourſes, kneeled to the ground, and fetching a deep ſigh, ſpake to this effect: *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.* "My "Lords, I cannot ſpeak nor find words to expreſs the grief I have conceived for "the offence committed by me againſt my gracious Sovereign: for on the one "ſide, when I call to mind his Majeſtie's favours beſtowed upon me, having raiſed "me out of the duſt, to a fortune far exceeding my merit, and, on the other "ſide, I look to my foul fault in abuſing his Majeſtie's truſt, bringing thereby ſuch "an imputation upon his innocency as will hardly be taken away; I muſt with the "forlorn child ſay, *Peccavi in cœlum & terram*: my offence is great, I confeſs, "nor am I worthy to be reckoned any longer among his Majeſtie's ſubjects or ſer-"vants. His Majeſtie's rare Piety, ſingular wiſdom, and unſpotted Sincerity in all "his actions, whereof I had ſo long experience, might have taught me, that when "he refuſed to have any dealing with the Pope, the event of the courſe I took "could not be good; but I unhappy man would needs follow the way which to "me ſeemed beſt, and whereof I find now the ſmart. If no other thing can libe-"rate his Majeſty of this imputation cauſed by my folly, let neither my life nor "eſtate nor credit be ſpared; but as I have all by his Majeſtie's favour, ſo let all go "even to the laſt drop of my blood before any reproch for my offence be brought "upon his Majeſty.

Then riſing up he ſaid, "It ſhall not be neceſſary to remit my trial to *Scotland*, "which I hear your Honors do intend, for I do ſimply ſubmit my ſelf to his Maje-"ſtie's will, and had much rather not live then lie any longer under his Majeſtie's "diſpleaſure. Therefore my humble ſuit to your Honors is, that in conſideration of "my miſerable eſtate and ignominious Confeſſion you would be pleaſed to move "his Majeſty for accepting me in will, and that without delay whatſoever may be "done for reparation of his Honour may be performed, whereunto moſt willingly "I ſubmit my ſelf.

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The Chancellor Sir *Thomas Egerton*, without taking any notice of theſe laſt words, declared, that his Majeſtie's pleaſure was to remit the trial of his offence to the Judges in *Scotland*, and that he ſhould be conveyed thither as a Priſoner, the Sheriffs attending him from Shire to Shire, till he was delivered in *Scotland*; in the mean time he did pronounce him deprived of all places, honours, dignities, and every thing elſe that he poſſeſſed in *England*. *An.* 1608. Chancellor *Egerton* pronounceth ſentence againſt him.

Whether or not I ſhould mention the Arraignment and Execution of *George Sprot* Notary in *Eymouth*, who ſuffered at *Edinburgh* in the *Auguſt* preceding, I am doubtful, his Confeſſion, though voluntary and conſtant, carrying ſmall probability. This man had deponed, "That he knew *Robert Logan* of *Reſtalrig*, who was dead "two years before, to have been privy to *Gowrie*'s Conſpiracy, and that he under-"ſtood ſo much by a Letter that fell in his hand written by *Reſtalrig* to *Gowry*, bear-"ing that he would take part with him in the revenge of his Father's death, and that "his beſt courſe ſhould be to bring the King by Sea to *Faſcaſtle*, where he might be "ſafely kept, till advertiſement came from thoſe with whom the Earl kept intelli-"gence. It ſeemed a very fiction, and to be a mere invention of the man's own brain; for neither did he ſhew the Letter, nor could any wiſe man think that *Gowry*, who went about that Treaſon ſo ſecretly, would have communicated the matter with ſuch a man as this *Reſtalrig* was known to be: as ever it was, the man remained conſtant in his confeſſion, and at his dying, when he was to be caſt off the ladder, (for he was hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh*) promiſed to give the beholders a ſign for confirming them in the truth of what he had ſpoken; which alſo he performed, by clapping his hands three ſeveral times after he was caſt off by the Executioner. *Sprot* his Execution.

To return to the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly: They had preſence of the King in *Hampton-Court* the 10 of *September*, where the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* having declared the occaſion of their coming, did preſent the Aſſemblie's Letter together with their Petitions. The King having read both the one and the other ſaid, *That the difference between the lawful and unlawful Meetings might be perceived by the fruits ariſing from both: for as that unlawful Conventicle at* Aberdene *had cauſed a Schiſm in the Church, and given the enemies of Religion a great advantage; ſo in this Aſſembly they had not only joyned in love among themſelves, which is the main point of Religion, but alſo had taken a ſolid courſe for the repreſſing of Popery and Superſtition. That he did allow all their Petitions, and would give order for a Convention which ſhould ratifie the Concluſions of the Aſſembly; aſſuring them that the Church, keeping that courſe, ſhould never lack his Patrociny and Protection.* The Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly have audience. His Majeſtie's anſwer.

Letters were immediately directed to publiſh his Majeſtie's acceptation of the Aſſemblie's proceedings, and the Council joyned to commit the Marqueſs of *Huntley* in the Caſtle of *Striveling*, the Earl of *Angus* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Earl of *Arrol* in *Dumbritton*. A Convention was likewiſe indicted at *Edinburgh* the ſixth of *December*, which was afterward prorogued to the 27 of *January*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was in the mean time ſent home to inform the Council concerning *Balmerinoch* his buſineſs, and how theſe matters had been carried in *England*. A Convention at *Edinburgh*.

This report made, the Chancellor, who had been much ruled by the Secretary, was greatly afraid, as ſuſpecting the next aſſault ſhould have been made upon himſelf. But the King, who knew his diſpoſition, and expected that the Chancellor would carry himſelf more adviſedly, eſpecially in the matters of the Church, the Secretary being gone, did haſt the Earl of *Dunbar* home with a Warrant to receive the Chancellor in the number of the Counſellors of *England*, and therewith appointed him Commiſſioner with *Dunbar* in the Convention of Eſtates: all which was done to make it ſeem that his credit was no way diminiſhed with his Majeſty. *An.* 1609. The Chancellor admitted Counſellor of *England*.

In this Convention divers Acts were made in favours of the Church. As firſt, That Noblemen ſending their Sons forth of the Countrey ſhould direct them to places where the Reformed Religion was profeſſed, at leaſt where the ſame was not reſtrained by the Inquiſition; and that the Pedagogues ſent to attend them Acts made for Religion.

An. 1609. ſhould be choſen by the Biſhop of the Dioces; wherein if they ſhould happen to tranſgreſs, the Noble-man being an Earl ſhould incur the pain of four thouſand Pounds, if he was a Lord five thouſand Marks, and if a Baron three thouſand Marks. And if their Sons ſhould happen to decline from the true Religion, that their Parents ſhould withdraw all entertainment from them, and find ſurety to that effect.

That the Biſhop of the Dioces ſhould give up to the Treaſurer, Controller, Collector and their Deputies, the names of all perſons Excommunicated for Religion, to the end they might be known; and that no Confirmations, Reſignations, nor Infeſtiments ſhould be granted to any contained in that Roll.

That the Director of the Chancery ſhould give forth no Briefs, direct Precepts of returns, nor Precepts upon compriſement, till they produced the Biſhop's Teſtificate of their Abſolution and obedience; and that it ſhould be lawful to Superiours and Lords of Regalities to refuſe the entry of all ſuch to their lands by precepts of *Clarè conſtat*, or any other way.

Laſtly, that perſons Excommunicated for not conforming themſelves to the Religion preſently profeſſed ſhould neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the ſame ſhould be intromitted with and uplifted to his Majeſtie's uſe.

Acts made againſt raviſhing of Women.

Theſe were the Acts concluded touching Religion. For the puniſhment of Rapes, which was grown as then too common, his Majeſty by a ſpecial Letter did recommend to the Eſtates ſome overtures for reſtraining ſuch violences. As if any Widow, Woman or Maid ſhould be forced and abuſed againſt her will, the crime ſhould be capital, and not purged by the ſubſequent conſent of the Woman.

In like manner if any Woman ſhould be taken away, albeit no farther injury was done, and ſhe relieved either by her friends or by the Magiſtrate, or by whatſoever means, the only violence intended ſhould be puniſhed by death, in regard the party had indevoured to do his worſt.

And for thoſe that did intice any Woman to go away without their Parents or Tutor's conſent, that they ſhould be ſecluded from any part of the goods or lands belonging to the Woman ſo inticed. Some other Acts for the publick good of the Kingdom were paſſed at the ſame time, neither was it remembred that in any one Convention ſo much good of a long time was done as in this.

The Secretarie's Trial at S. *Andrews*.

In the beginning of *February* the Secretary was brought to *Edinburgh* and delivered to the Magiſtrates, who received him at the nether port, and conveyed him as a Priſoner to the lodging that was appointed. A great gazing there was of people, which troubled him not a little, as he ſhewed by his countenance. The next day he was delivered to the Lord *Scone*, who with a guard of horſe did convey him to the Priſon of *Falkland*: there he remained till the 10 of *March*, and was at that time taken to S. *Andrews* to abide his Trial. With the Juſtice there ſate as Aſſeſſors the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Montroſs* and *Lothian*, the Lord Privy-Seal and Clerk-Regiſter.

His Indictment.

His Indictment was to this effect; "That in the year 1598, by the inſtigation of "his Couſin Sir *Edward Drummond* a profeſſed Papiſt, he had ſtoln and ſurreptitiouſly purchaſed his Majeſtie's hand to a Letter written by the ſaid Sir *Edward*, "and directed to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, in favour of the Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, for the "ſaid Biſhop's preferment to the dignity of a Cardinal; and that, notwithſtanding "the many denials the King gave him in that buſineſs, he had treaſonably conſpired with the ſaid Sir *Edward* to deceive and abuſe his Majeſty, ſhuffling in a Letter among others that were to be ſigned, and filled it up after it was ſigned with "the ſtyles and titles uſually given to the Pope, and ſealed the Letter with his Majeſtie's Signet, the keeping whereof was intruſted to him by virtue of his Office; "and in ſo doing had moſt undutifully and treaſonably behaved himſelf, to the indangering of his Majeſtie's Honour, Life, Crown and Eſtate, and to the ſubverſion of true Religion and the whole profeſſors thereof.

Upon the reading of the Indictment he was enquired if he would uſe any friends or advocates to ſpeak in his defence, as the order of the Court did allow him. His anſwer was, *That he ſtood never in ſo great need of a Proloquutor, the matter concerning*

concerning his life, eſtate, and all that he poſſeſſed in this world; yet he had chuſed to keep ſilence, and not to employ either friends or advocates, the offence he had committed being ſuch as could admit no defence: for howſoever he conceived that the keeping of intelligence with the Pope might advance his Majeſtie's Succeſſion to the Crown of England, *yet knowing, as he did, his Majeſtie's reſolution never to uſe any crooked courſe, but to reſt upon God's Providence and his own Right, it did not become him to have medled in a matter of that importance. Therefore did he intreat all Gentlemen and others that were preſent to bear witneſs of his Confeſſion, and the true remorſe he had for the offence committed, which he eſteemed ſo great, as neither his lands, nor life, nay nor twenty thouſand lives ſuch as his could repair. Only two things he asked liberty to proteſt. One was, that he never intended to work an alteration of Religion, or a Toleration of the contrary, the thing he had done being a mere worldly courſe, whereby he judged ſome good might have been wrought at the time. Next he proteſted, that neither the love of gain nor hope of commodity had led him on, having never received nor expected benefit from any Prince living, (his Maſter the King only excepted;) but an opinion he fooliſhly conceited that he might that way promote his Maſter's Right.* In end he ſaid *that he would not make the Judges any more buſineſs; that he had confeſſed the truth, and, as he wiſhed God to be merciful to his Soul in that great day, his Majeſty was moſt falſely and wrongfully charged with the writing of that Letter to the Pope, and that he never could move him to conſent thereto.*

An. 1609.

The Secretary his ſpeech and anſwer to the Indictment.

His Proteſtation of two things.

The Jury was then called, and the perſons following ſworn in face of Court, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *George* Earl *Marſhall*, *John* Earl *Wigton*, *Patrick* Earl of *Kingborne*, *John* Earl of *Tullibardin*, *Alban* L. *Cathcart*, *John* L. *Salton*, *David* L. *Scone*, *Alexander* L. *Garlies*, *William* Maſter of *Tullibardin*, Sir *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrick*, Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, Sir *William Levinſton* of *Kilſith*, Sir *John Houſton* of the Ilke, and Sir *Patrick Home* of *Polwart*. Theſe going apart returned after a ſhort ſpace into the Court, and by the mouth of the Earl of *Marſhall* pronounced "*James* Lord *Balmerinoch* guilty of treaſonable, ſurreptitious, fraudulent and falſe "ſtealing of his Majeſtie's Hand to the Letter ſpecified in the Indictment, without "his Majeſtie's knowledge and contrary to his will declared; as alſo of the Treaſon-"able affixing of his Majeſtie's Signet to the ſaid Letter; and of aſſiſting known "and profeſſed Papiſts in their treaſonable courſes to the danger of Religion, the "overthrow of the true profeſſors thereof, and drawing of his Majeſtie's life, eſtate "and right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* in moſt extreme peril; beſides "the bringing of moſt falſe and ſcandalous Imputations upon his Majeſty as well in "Religion as Honour; and of art and part of the whole Treaſonable crimes con-"tained in the ſaid Indictment.

The Jury ſworn.

The King being advertiſed of his Conviction, (for ſo he had commanded before any Doom ſhould be pronounced) by a Warrant directed to the Juſtice he was brought again to *Edinburgh*, and in a Juſtice-Court kept the firſt of *April* decerned to be taken to the place of Execution, and there to have his head cut off, his lands, heritages, Lordſhips, Baronies, taks, ſteadings, rooms, poſſeſſions, offices, benefices, corns, cattel, &c. forfeited & eſcheated to his Majeſtie's uſe, as being convicted of the aforeſaid Treaſonable crimes. His life upon the Queens interceſſion was ſpared, and he returned to his Priſon in *Falkland*, where he abode ſome moneths: being thereafter licenſed to go unto his Houſe in *Balmerinoch*, he died, as was thought, of grief and ſorrow. A man of abilities ſufficient for the places he injoyed in Seſſion and Council; but one that made ſmall conſcience of his doings, and meaſured all things according to the gain he made by them. The poſſeſſions he acquired of the Church kept him ſtill an enemy unto it, for he feared a reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Livings if ever the Clergy did attain unto credit. Not long before he fell in his trouble the King had imployed him to deal with the Lords of Seſſion, among whom he carried a great ſway, for reſtoring the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the Biſhops; but he taking waies that he thought ſhould not have been perceived to diſappoint the errand, drew upon himſelf the Kings diſpleaſure, and fared nothing the better becauſe of his miſcarriage in that buſineſs, when this occaſion was offered. It is not for thoſe that ſerve Princes, & are truſted by them in the greateſt affairs,

The Doom pronounced againſt *Balmerinoch*.

to

An. 1609. to deal deceitfully with their Maſters; for ſeldom have any taken that courſe, and have not in the end found the ſmart thereof.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*. A Parliament was this year kept at *Edinburgh* the 24 of *June*, the Earl *Marſhall* being Commiſſioner for the King; wherein the Acts concluded in the preceding Convention were ratified, the juriſdiction of Commiſſaries reſtored to the Church, the Juſtices of Peace commanded to be ſetled in every Shire, and a Statute made for the Apparel of Judges, Magiſtrates and Churchmen, which were all remitted to his Majeſtie's appointment. Patterns accordingly were ſent from *London* not long after for the apparel of the Lords of Seſſions, the Juſtice, other inferiour Judges, for Advocates, Lawyers, Commiſſars, and all that lived by practice of Law; and command given to every one whom the Statutes concerned, to provide themſelves of the Habits preſcribed within a certain ſpace under the pain of Rebellion. Such was the King's care to have thoſe who were in publick charge held in due reſpect, and dignoſced whitherſoever they came.

An. 1610. An Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*. The King by his Letters was now daily urging the Biſhops to take upon them the adminiſtration of all Church-affairs; and they unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the Miniſters, an Aſſembly to this effect was appointed to hold at *Glaſgow* the 6 of *June*. The Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *John Preſton* Preſident of the Seſſion, and Sir *Alexander Hay* Secretary, (which two had ſucceeded to *Balmerinoch* his places) being Commiſſioners for the King the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was elected to preſide. There a Propoſition was made by the Commiſſioners of certain Points of Diſcipline which his Majeſty craved to be determined, *That all things might be done thereafter orderly in the Church, and with that conſent and harmony which was fitting among Preachers.* Some three daies being ſpent in reaſoning, at laſt the Concluſions following were enacted.

1. The Aſſembly did acknowledge the indiction of all ſuch General Aſſemblies of the Church to belong to his Majeſty by the Prerogative of his Crown, and all Convocations in that kind without his licence to be merely unlawful, condemning the Conventicle of *Aberdene* made in the year 1605, as having no warrant from his Majeſty, and contrary to the prohibition he had given.

2. That Synods ſhould be kept in every Dioces twice in the year, *viz.* in *April* and *October*, and be moderated by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioces; or where the Dioceſes are ſo large as all the Miniſters cannot conveniently aſſemble at one place, that there be one or moe had, and in the Biſhop's abſence, the place of Moderation ſupplied by the moſt worthy Miniſter having charge in the bounds, ſuch as the Archbiſhop or Biſhop ſhall appoint.

3. That no ſentence of Excommunication, or Abſolution from the ſame, be pronounced againſt or in favour of any perſon, without the knowledge and approbation of the Biſhop of the Dioces, who muſt be anſwerable unto God and his Majeſty for the formal and unpartial proceeding thereof. And the Proceſs being found formal, that the Sentence be pronounced at the Biſhop's direction by the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the offender hath his dwelling, and the proceſs did firſt begin.

4. That all Preſentations in time coming be directed to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioces within which the Benefice that is void lieth, with power to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop to diſpone or confer the Benefices that are void within the Dioces after the lapſe, *Jure devoluto.*

5. That in the Depoſition of Miniſters upon any occaſion the Biſhop do aſſociate to himſelf ſome of the Miniſters within the bounds where the delinquent ſerveth, and after juſt trial of the fact and merit of it pronounce the ſentence of Deprivation. The like order to be obſerved in the Suſpenſion of Miniſters from the exerciſe of their Function.

6. That every Miniſter at his admiſſion ſwear obedience to his Majeſty and to his Ordinary, according to the form agreed upon *Anno* 1571.

7. The Viſitations of the Dioces be made by the Biſhop himſelf; and if the bounds be

be greater then he can well undertake, by ſuch a worthy man of the Miniſtery within the Dioceſe as he ſhall chuſe to viſit in his place. And whatſoever Miniſter without juſt cauſe or lawful excuſe ſhall abſent himſelf from the Viſitation or Dioceſan aſſembly, be ſuſpended from his Office and Benefice; and if he do not amend, deprived. *An.* 1610.

8. That the Convention of Miniſters for exerciſe be moderated by the Biſhop being preſent, and in his abſence by any Miniſter that he ſhall nominate in his Synod.

9. And laſt it was ordained, that no Miniſter ſhould ſpeak againſt any of the foreſaid Concluſions in publick, nor diſpute the queſtion of Equality or Inequality of Miniſtery, as tending only to the intertainment of Schiſm in the Church, and violation of the peace thereof.

Theſe Concluſions taken it was complained in behalf of the Moderators of Presbyteries, who had ſerved ſince the year 1606, *That notwithſtanding of their promiſe made at their accepting of the Charge, they had received no payment at all of the Stipend allowed.* Which the Earl of *Dunbar* excuſed by his abſence forth of the Countrey, affirming, *That unto that time there was never any motion made thereof to him, and that before the diſſolving of that Aſſembly he ſhould cauſe ſatisfaction to be given to them for the time paſt* declaring withal, *That ſeeing order was taken for the Moderation of Presbyteries in time coming, his Majeſtie's Theſaurer ſhould not be any farther burthened with that payment.* The Miniſters therein remitting themſelves to his Majeſtie's good pleaſure gave his Lordſhip thanks for that he had offered; which he did alſo ſee performed, ſome five thouſand pounds *Scots* being diſtributed by the Theſaurer's ſervants among thoſe that had born the charge. Certain of the diſcontented ſort did interpret it to be a ſort of corruption, giving out, *That this was done for obtaining the Miniſters voices*: Howbeit the debt was known to be juſt, and that no motion was made of that buſineſs before the foreſaid Concluſions were enacted. The Moderators paid off the Stipend promiſed.

In the Aſſembly a Supplication was preſented in the names of the Marquiſs of *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* for their Abſolution, and a Commiſſion given to that effect upon their ſatisfaction, they ſubſcriving the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſwearing to continue in the profeſſion of the Religion preſently eſtabliſhed. The Marquiſs of *Huntley* was at that time confined in *Striveling*, and to him were the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Cathnes* and *Orkney* directed. They found him not unwilling to ſubſcrive the Confeſſion of Faith and make ſatisfaction for his Apoſtaſie, but in regard of his many Relapſes did not judge it fitting to abſolve him; wherefore they gave order that he ſhould confer with Mr. *Patrick Simpſon* the Miniſter of the Town, a learned and moderate man, that ſo he might ſubſcrive with knowledge and reſolution not to fall back. In the *December* following, having profeſſed himſelf reſolute in all points, he was liberated from his confinement at *Striveling*, and licenſed to go home to *Strathbogy*. A Supplication in name of the Popiſh Lords. *Huntley* freed of his confining.

With the Earl of *Arrol* the difficulty was greater; for when in a publick meeting of the Council within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* he had profeſſed his Conformity in every point of Religion, and made offer to ſubſcrive, the very night after he fell in ſuch a trouble of mind, as he went near to have killed himſelf. Early in the morning the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* being called, he confeſſed his diſinclination with many tears; and beſeeching them that were preſent to bear witneſs of his remorſe, was hardly brought to any ſetling all that day. The Nobleman was of a tender heart, and of all that I have known the moſt conſciencious in his Profeſſion; and thereupon to his dying was uſed by the Church with greater lenity then were others of that Sect. The Earl of *Arrol* troubled for his Simulation.

The Earl of *Angus*, who lived confined at *Glaſgow*, took another courſe, and upon licence obtained from his Majeſty went to *France*, where he might enjoy the exerciſe of his Religion with liberty, and died at *Paris* in a voluntary Baniſhment ſome years after. The Earl of *Angus* goeth to *Paris*.

Shortly

An. 1609. Shortly after the Aſſembly diſſolved the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was called to Court, and commanded to bring with him two others ſuch as he thought fit. The Archbiſhop taking with him the Biſhops of *Brichen* and *Galloway* came to Court in the midſt of *September*. At their firſt Audience the King declared what the buſineſs was for which he had called them, ſpeaking to this purpoſe; *That he had to his great charge recovered the Biſhopricks forth of the hands of thoſe that poſſeſſed them, and beſtowed the ſame upon ſuch as he hoped ſhould prove worthy of their places: but ſince he could not make them Biſhops, nor could they aſſume that honour to themſelves, and that in* Scotland *there was not a ſufficient number to enter charge by Conſecration, he had called them to* England, *that being conſecrated themſelves they might at their return give Ordination to thoſe at home, and ſo the adverſaries mouths be ſtopped, who ſaid that he did take upon him to create Biſhops, and beſtow Spiritual Offices, which he never did nor would he preſume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Chriſt alone, and thoſe he had authorized with his power.*

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* called to Court.

The buſineſs proponed by his Majeſty.

The Archbiſhop anſwering in the name of the reſt, "That they were willing "to obey his Majeſtie's deſire, and only feared that the Church of *Scotland*, becauſe "of old Uſurpations, might take this for a ſort of ſubjection to the Church of "*England*. The King ſaid, *That he had provided ſufficiently againſt that; for neither ſhould the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *nor* York, *who were the only pretenders, have hand in the buſineſs, but Conſecration ſhould be uſed by the Biſhops of* London, Ely *and* Bathe. The *Scots* Biſhops thanking his Majeſty for the care he had of their Church, and profeſſing their willingneſs to obey what he would command, the 21 of *October* was appointed to be the time, and the Chappel of *London*-Houſe the place of Conſecration.

The Archbiſhop his anſwer.

A queſtion in the mean time was moved by Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely* touching the Conſecration of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, who, as he ſaid, "muſt firſt be ordained Presbyters, as having received no Ordination from a Biſhop. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Bancroft*, who was by, maintained "That thereof there "was no neceſſity, ſeeing where Biſhops could not be had, the Ordination given "by the Presbyters muſt be eſteemed lawful; otherwiſe that it might be doubted "if there were any lawful vocation in moſt of the Reformed Churches. This applauded to by the other Biſhops, *Ely* acquieſced, and at the day and in the place appointed the three *Scottiſh* Biſhops were conſecrated.

The Conſecration queſtioned.

At the ſame time did the King inſtitute a High Commiſſion in *Scotland* for the ordering of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and therewith ſent to the Clergy the Directions following.

The High-Commiſſioners appointed.

Directions for the High-Commiſſioners and other matters Eccleſiaſtical.

1. That every particular matter ſhould not be brought at firſt before the High Commiſſion, nor any thing moved unto it, except the ſame was appealed unto, or complained by one of the Biſhops as a thing that could not be rectified in their Dioces; or then ſome enorm offence in the trial, whereof the Biſhops ſhould be found too remiſs.
2. That every Archbiſhop and Biſhop ſhould make his reſidence at the Cathedral Church of his Dioces, and labour ſo far as they could and were able to repair the ſame.
3. That all Archbiſhops and Biſhops be careful in Viſitation of their Dioces, and every third year at leaſt take inſpection of the Miniſters, Readers, and others ſerving cure within their bounds.
4. That every Archbiſhop viſit his Province every ſeven years at leaſt.
5. Whereas there be in ſundry Dioceſes ſome Churches belonging to other Biſhops, that care be taken to exchange the Churches one with another, that all the Dioceſes may lie contigue, if poſſibly the ſame may be performed. As likewiſe in regard ſome Dioceſes are too large, and others have a ſmall number of Churches, ſcarce deſerving the title of a Dioces; that a courſe be taken for enlarging the ſame in a reaſonable proportion, by uniting the neareſt Churches of the greater Dioces thereto.
6. That the Convention of Miniſters for the exerciſe of Doctrine exceed not the

the number of ten or twelve at moſt, and over them a Moderator placed by the ordinary of the Dioces where the ſaid Conventions are licenſed, with power to call before them all ſcandalous perſons within that Precinct, and cenſure and correct offenders according to the Canons of the Church: yet are not theſe Moderators to proceed in any caſe either to Excommunication or Suſpenſion, without the allowance of the Ordinary. And if it ſhall be tried that theſe Miniſters do uſurp any farther power then is permitted, or carry themſelves unquietly either in Teaching or otherwiſe at theſe Meetings, in that caſe the Biſhop ſhall diſcharge the Meeting, and cenſure the offenders according to the quality of their fault. *An.* 1610. Directions for matters Eccleſiaſtical.

7. Conſidering that Laick Elders have neither warrant in the Word, nor example of the Primitive Church, and that nottheleſs it is expedient that ſome be appointed to aſſiſt the Miniſter in repairing the fabrick of the Church, providing Elements to the holy Communion, and collecting the Contributions for the poor, with other neceſſary ſervices; the Miniſter is to make choice of the moſt wiſe and diſcreet perſons in the Pariſh to that effect, and preſent their names to the Ordinary, that his approbation may be had thereto.
8. That the Miniſters of the Pariſh be authorized to call before them and their aſſociates ſo allowed all publick and notorious offenders, and enjoyn the ſatisfaction according to the Canons of the Church; or, if they be obſtinate and contumacious, declare their names to the Biſhop, that order may be taken with them.
9. That no Miniſter be admitted without an exact Trial preceding, and Impoſition of hands uſed in their Ordination by the Biſhop and two or three Miniſters whom he ſhall call to aſſiſt the action: and to the end an uniform order may be kept in the Admiſſion of Miniſters, that a form thereof may be imprinted and preciſely followed of every Biſhop.
10. That the Election of Biſhops ſhall in time coming be made according to the Conference *Anno* 1571. and whileſt the Biſhoprick remaineth void, the Dean of the Chapter be *Vicarius in omnibus ad Epiſcopatum pertinentibus*, and have the cuſtody of the Living and Rents, till the ſame be of new provided.
11. That the Dean of every Chapter convene thereof once at leaſt in the year, and take order that nothing paſs except they be *Capitulariter congregati*; and that a Regiſter be made of every thing done by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop in the adminiſtration of the Rents, and kept ſafely in the Chapter houſe.
12. That when it ſhall be thought expedient to call a General Aſſembly, a Supplication be put up to his Majeſty for licenſe to convene; and that the ſaid Aſſembly conſiſt of Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and ſuch of the Miniſtery as ſhall be ſelected by the reſt.
13. And becauſe there hath been a general abuſe in that Church, that youths, having paſſed their courſe in Philoſophy, before they have attained to the years of diſcretion, or received lawful Ordination by Impoſition of hands, do engyre themſelves to preach; that a ſtrict order be taken for reſtraining all ſuch perſons, and none permitted but thoſe that received Orders to preach ordinarily and in publick.

Theſe Directions, being exhibited to the Biſhops and ſome principals of the Clergy convened with them at *Edinburgh* in *February* next, were approved of all; and at the ſame time was the High Commiſſion publiſhed, to the great diſcontent of thoſe that ruled the Eſtate; for that they took it to be a reſtraint of their authority in matters Eccleſiaſtical, nor did they like to ſee Clergy-men inveſted with ſuch authority. The Clergy doth approve the Directions.

The King no leſs careful to have all things ordered rightly in the Eſtate, did preſcrive the number, attendants, and manner of proceeding which the Council ſhould keep in their meetings. As, "that the number ſhould not exceed thirty, Orders for the Council.

"and

An. 1611. "and ſeven at leaſt be preſent in every meeting. That at their admiſſion they "ſhould take the Oath of Allegiance and ſwear Fidelity and ſecrecy in matters "to be communicated unto them. That they ſhould convene twice in the week; "once every Tueſday for matters of State, and once on the Thurſday for actions. "That none ſhould be permitted to ſtay within the Council-houſe but the Lords "and Clerks of the Council, nor any ſolicitations be made within the Houſe, but "that all ſhould take their places at their coming in, and none ſtand on foot, un- "leſs they be to anſwer for themſelves, and in that caſe to riſe and ſtand at the "head of the Table. That four daies abſence of any Councellor in the time of "ſitting, without licenſe from the reſt, ſhould infer the loſs of their place. That "if any of the number were denounced Rebel, or did not at leaſt once in the year "Communicate, they ſhould be likewiſe excluded. That whereſoever they re- "mained or happened to come, if they ſhould be informed of any trouble like "to ariſe betwixt parties, they ſhould charge them to keep the peace; and if they "refuſed, they ſhould command them to enter in Ward; the diſobedience "whereof ſhould be puniſhed as if the whole Council were diſobeyed. Laſtly, "to keep their perſons and places in the greater reſpect, they were commanded in "the ſtreets either to ride with Foot-clothes or in Coaches, but not be ſeen walk- "ing on foot.

An. 1611. A Proclamation againſt bearing of quarrel.

With theſe Directions a command was given to inhibit by Proclamation any perſons "to bear quarrel to another with intention of private revenge, requiring "thoſe that ſhould happen to be in any ſort injured to complain to the ordinary "Judge within the ſpace of forty daies after the injury committed, and inſiſt for "juſtice; wherein if they ſhould fail, and yet be perceived to carry a grudge to- "wards him by whom they were injured, they ſhould be called before the Coun- "cil, and, if they refuſed to reconcile, be puniſhed as deſpiſers of the Royal Au- "thority, and violators of the publick peace.

The Troubles of *Orkney*.

In the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Yetland* at this time were great Oppreſſions by the Earl thereof, for which he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Biſhop of *Orkney* imployed by the Council to examine the particular complaints.

The Earl of *Orkney* committed, and his Acts of Court diſcharged.

This Nobleman, having undone his eſtate by riot and prodigality, did ſeek by unlawful ſhifts to repair the ſame, making Acts in his Courts, and exacting penalties for the breach thereof: as if any man was tried to have concealed any thing that might infer a pecuniary mulct, and bring profit to the Earl, his lands and goods were declared confiſcated; or if any perſon did ſue for juſtice before any other Judge then his Deputies, his goods were eſcheated; or if they went forth of the Iſle without his licenſe, or his Deputies, upon whatſoever occaſion, they ſhould forfeit their moveables; and, which of all his Acts was moſt inhumane, he had ordained that *if any man was tried to ſupply or give relief unto Ships or any Veſſels diſtreſſed by Tempeſt, the ſame ſhould be puniſhed in his perſon, and fined at the Earl his pleaſure.* Theſe Acts produced by the Complainers, and confeſſed by the Earl himſelf, were by the Council decerned unlawful, and the execution thereof in all times thereafter prohibited.

The *Clangregore* to be rooted out.

The *Clan-Gregore*, a barbarous and thieviſh race of people, that could by no means be repreſſed nor reclaimed from their Robberies, were at the ſame time ordained to be rooted forth, and the ſervice committed to the Earl of *Argile*; who made ſome beginning, and preſented certain of the principals to juſtice; but the neglect of their children and their exhibition as was appointed, made them in after-times no leſs troubleſome to the Countrey then before.

The death of the Earl of *Dunbar*.

In the end of the year the Earl of *Dunbar* departed this life at *White-hall*; a man of deep wit, few words, and in his Majeſtie's ſervice no leſs faithful then fortunate. The moſt difficile affairs he compaſſed without any noiſe, and never returned when he was employed without the work performed that he was ſent to doe. His death made a great change in our Eſtate; Sir *Robert Ker*, a ſon of *Farnherſt*, who had ſerved the King long in the quality of a Page, and was then grown powerful in Court, carrying all things by his credit. At firſt the Theſaurer's Office, which was in the perſon of *Dunbar* whileſt he lived, was truſted to certain

Somerſet his riſing.

Commiſſio-

Commiſſioners; but after a little ſpace the ſame was beſtowed upon the ſaid Sir *Robert*, and he preferred to be Earl of *Somerſet*. The guard that Sir *William Cranſton* a Gentleman of great worth did command, and wherewith he had performed divers notable ſervices in the Borders, was taken from him, and given to Sir *Robert Ker* of *Ancram*, *Somerſet*'s Couſin. Sir *Gideon Murray*, his Uncle by the Mother, was made Deputy in the Office of Theſaury; and Sir *Thomas Hamilton*, his Majeſtie's Advocate, who had married his Siſter, placed firſt in the Office of Regiſter, and afterwards made Secretary: all which was aſcribed to *Somerſet* his credit. Yet theſe things were not ill taken, the laſt excepted. For Sir *William Cranſton* being content to reſign his place, the King in remembrance of his good ſervice did prefer him to be a Lord of Parliament; Sir *Gideon* his abilities for the ſervices he was truſted with were known to all; and for the Advocate, his ſufficiency was undoubted, only the manner of his coming to be Regiſter was not ſo well interpreted. Sir *John Skeen* had enjoyed the place a good many years, and being grown in age and infirm, thinking to get his Son provided to his Office, had ſent him to Court with a dimiſſion of the place, but with a charge not to uſe it, unleſs he found the King willing to admit him: yet he, abuſed by ſome politick wits, made a Reſignation of the Office, accepting an ordinary place among the Lords of Seſſion. The Office upon his Reſignation was preſently diſponed to the Advocate: which grieved the Father beyond all meaſure. And the caſe indeed was pitiful and much regrated by all honeſt men; for he had been a man much employed and honoured with divers Legations, which he diſcharged with good credit, and now in age to be circumvented in this ſort by the ſimplicity or folly of his Son, 'twas held lamentable. The King being informed of the abuſe by the old man's complaint, was very careful to ſatisfie him, aud to have the Son reconciled to his Father, which after ſome travel was brought to paſs: yet ſo exceeding was the old man's diſcontent, as within a few days he deceaſed. The Office of Regiſter was ſhortly after enterchanged with the Secretary Sir *Alexander Hay*, and he made Keeper of the Rolls, the Lord *Binning* Secretary, and Sir *William Oliphant* received to be his Majeſtie's Advocate.

An. 1611.

Advocate made firſt Clerk-Regiſter, afterwards Secretary.

Sir *John Skeen* dieth of grief.

In the beginning of the next year there happened divers unhappy quarrels betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh* at Court, which was like to have produced very bad effects; and nothing worſe taken then the ſlaughter of an *Engliſh* Fencer by the Lord *Sanqhar*'s inſtigation, who, for an injury alleged, did hire one called *Carleill* to kill the Fencer. This fact committed in the City of *London*, and ſo near to the King's Court, cauſed ſuch a heart-burning among the people, as it was not far from breaking forth into a general Commotion. But his Majeſty, preventing the danger, made *Sanqhar* to be arreſted and brought to his Trial; where being convicted he was hanged publickly at the Palace-gate of *Weſtminſter*. This act of juſtice gave the *Engliſh* a great content: nor was the death of the Noble-man much regrated by his own Countrey-people; for he had lived all his time diſſolutely, and falling in familiarity with a baſe Curteſan at *Paris*, had by her a ſon to whom he entailed his lands, intending to defraud the Heir. But the King, taking the matter into his own cognition, did by compromiſe adjudge the ſucceſſion to the juſt inheritour, appointing a little portion to the baſe ſon, who in a ſhort time made away the ſame prodigally.

An. 1612.

The Lord *Sanqhar* executed in *England*.

Not long before, his Majeſty being informed of a courſe kept by the Church in Excommunicating perſons that were Fugitives for capital crimes, ſent to the Biſhops and Clergy a Letter of this tenor.

The Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure of Excommunication, which ſhould be inflicted upon ſuch as having committed any ſcandalous offence are contemners of the Admonitions of the Church, is, as we have been enformed, ſo far abuſed againſt the firſt inſtitution, that we cannot ſufficiently marvel of the proceeding ſaid to be commonly uſed among you; namely, that perſons Fugitive for capital crimes being cited before Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories, although it be known that they dare not compeir for fear of their life, are ſentenced as perſons contumacious, whereas the fear they ſtand in ought in reaſon to excuſe their abſence, ſince

Excommunication of perſons for criminal and capital caſes if they become Fugitive.

An. 1612. *they cannot be judged contemners of the Church who upon juſt terrors are kept back from giving their perſonal appearance. In a late Treatiſe the Venetian* Padre Paulo *did learnedly confute the Sentence pronounced by the preſent Pope againſt him for his not appearing to anſwer in the cauſe of Hereſie, only upon the juſt fear he pretended, and had his Appeal juſtified by all indifferent men from the Pope's Sentence as abuſive. Your proceedings for the manner is no other, and by the learneſt Divines in theſe parts reſembled to the* Muſcovites *form, who, if he be offended with any perſon, commandeth him to ſend his Head unto him: juſt ſo your Citations are in the foreſaid caſe, which is to will the offenders come in and be hanged, which were they never ſo penitent is not to be thought they will do; for they will rather fall under your cenſure, then hazard themſelves in the hands of the Juſtice. This being the ready way to bring the Cenſures of the Church in contempt, Our pleaſure is, that hereafter there be no ſuch form of proceeding uſed among you. Notwithſtanding if it ſhall happen ſuch offenders to obtain our pardon, and that the fear they ſtand in of their life be removed, we mean not but that they ſhould be called before the Church, and Cenſures uſed againſt ſuch of thoſe that are impenitent. Hereof perſuading our ſelves that you will have care, and not give way to the abuſe in time coming, We bid you farewell.*

The Clergy agree to reform this point.

Upon the receipt of this Letter the Biſhops convening with certain of the Clergy, to adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be held in theſe caſes, a long reaſoning was kept, ſome maintaining, "That the form practiſed by the Church was not to be "changed, they having tried the good thereof, and that people were terrified by "this means from falling into theſe odious crimes. Others reaſoned, That the "principal end of all Church-Cenſures, eſpecially of Excommunication, was "the reclaiming of offenders, and the bringing of them to the acknowledgment of "their ſin, and that where the principal uſe had no place, that other ſecondary ends "ought not to be reſpected; and ſo in caſe of Fugitives, what could any Cenſure "avail to their reclaiming, they not being in place to anſwer, or to receive any Ad-"monition? yea and might it not fall, that by proceeding againſt men in ſuch caſe, "men truly ſorrowful for their ſin ſhould be ſentenced, and ſo the perſons bound "by the Church whom God hath looſed? They did therefore judge it more ſafe "in theſe caſes to advertiſe people of the hainouſneſs of the fact committed, warn-"ing them to make their own profit thereof, and to forbear all proceeding againſt "the Fugitive perſon till his condition ſhould be made known. This turned to be the reſolution of the whole number, and thereupon direction was given to the Miniſters not to intend or follow any Proceſs againſt Fugitives in time coming.

The death of the Earl of *Eglinton*, and the diſpoſition of his living to his Couſin.

This year the Earl of *Eglinton* departed this life, who having no child nor heir male to ſucceed, made a diſpoſition of his Lands and Honours to Sir *Alexander Seaton* his Couſin-germane, with a proviſo, *That he and his children ſhould take the name and uſe the arms of the houſe of* Montgomery. The King, who was always moſt tender in the conveyance of Honours, being informed of the diſpoſition made by the deceaſed Earl, did by a Letter written to the Council witneſs his diſpleaſure at ſuch Alienations; ſhewing that howſoever he could not ſtay Noblemen to diſpoſe of their lands, he being the fountain of all Honour within his Kingdoms, would not permit the ſame to be ſold or alienated without his conſent: and thereupon did inhibit the ſaid Sir *Alexander* to uſe the Title of Lord or Earl, notwithſtanding the diſpoſition made to him. Some two years after his Majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow the Honour upon him, and ſo was he received into the place and honour formerly belonging to the houſe of *Eglinton*.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

In the moneth of *October* a Parliament was kept at *Edinburgh*, the Chancellor being Commiſſioner for the King; wherein the Concluſions taken in the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* were ratified, and all Acts and Conſtitutions, eſpecially the Act made in the Parliament 1592, reſcinded and annulled, in ſo far as they, or any of them, or any part of the ſame were derogatory to the Articles there concluded.

A Subſidy granted.

In this Parliament a Subſidy was urged, and a great conteſt made for the quantity, which was required in a more large meaſure then in former times, becauſe of his Majeſtie's affairs, eſpecially for the Marriage of Lady *Elizabeth* with the *Palſgrave*, who in the ſame moneth arrived in *England*. The poverty of the Countrey, with

with a fear that what was then granted ſhould be made a Precedent for after-times, was pretended by thoſe that withſtood the motion; albeit the true cauſe was known to be the diſlike that the Popiſh Faction had of the Match, which by all means they laboured to croſs: nor was any more buſie then the Lord *Burleigh* to impede the Subſidie. He, being a little before come from Court, did affirm that the King in a private ſpeech with him touching the ſame had ſaid, That he required no more then was granted in the Parliament 1606, and thereby made the oppoſition greater then otherwiſe it would have been. Yet in the end after long debating it was concluded, that the Supply ſhould be more liberal in regard of the preſent occaſion then at any time before. *An.* 1612.

The King upon advertiſement of the Lord *Burleigh*'s buſineſs gave order to remove him from the Council, and to inhibit him from coming any more at Court: which he apprehending to be the Lord *Scone*'s doing, and that he had informed againſt him, took ſo ill, as he did ſend him a Challenge, and appeal him to the combat. Hereupon he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained ſome two moneths; thereafter, upon the acknowledgment of his offence, and being reconciled with the Lord *Scone*, he was put to liberty. The Lord *Burleigh* removed from Council.

In Court at this time was great rejoicing, and the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with the Prince *Palatine* daily expected, when on the ſudden all was turned to mourning by the Death of Prince *Henry*, who departed this life at S. *James* in the beginning of *November*. A Prince of excellent Vertues, and all the perfections that can be wiſhed for in youth. He died at the age of 18 years and 8 moneths, greatly lamented both at home and abroad. The Council eſteeming it their duty to expreſs their doleance for that accident, made choice of the Chancellor and the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* for that buſineſs. But the King having received an hard information of the Chancellor's carriage in the late Parliament, ſent his ſervant *William Shaw* to diſcharge him from coming to Court, who encountring him at *Morpet* cauſed him to return. The Archbiſhop, who was no farther advanced then *Berwick*, accompanied the Chancellor to *Edinburgh*; and after a ſhort ſtay there, as he was willed, went to his journey again towards Court, whither he came a little before Chriſtmas. The Nuptials, in regard of the Prince's death, were put off to the *February* following; at which time, the ſorrow being a little worn out, the ſame were performed with great ſolemnity. *An.* 1613. The death of Prince *Henry*. The Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with the *Palſgrave*.

It was ſhewed before concerning the Oppreſſions of the people of *Orkney*, that the Acts made by the Earl in his Courts were judged unlawful, and he diſcharged to put the ſame thereafter in execution. Nottheleſs going on in his wonted courſe, he ſent his baſe Son called *Robert* into the Countrey, in ſhew to uplift his Rents and duties, but in effect to try and puniſh the tranſgreſſors of theſe Acts: whereupon new complaints being preferred to the Council, the King was adviſed to make purchaſe of Sir *John Arnot*'s right, to whom the Earl had impignorated his eſtate, as being the only means to relieve that diſtreſſed people from his Oppreſſions, The bargain ſhortly was made, and the King poſſeſſed in the lands, Sir *Iames Stewart* Captain *Iames* his ſon being made Chamberlain and the Sheriff of the Countrey. The Earl himſelf was tranſported from *Edinburgh* to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, and had allowed to him ſix ſhillings eight pence ſterling a day for his entertainment; where he had not long remained, whenas he received advertiſement that the Caſtles of *Kirkwall*, *Birſay*, and other his Houſes in theſe Iſles were all rendred to the Sheriff. This put him in a great paſſion, and many waies he eſſayed to make an eſcape; but finding no poſſibility, he ſent his baſe Son, who was lately returned, with an expreſs command to take back the Houſes, and expulſe the Deputy Mr. *Iohn Finlaſon*, whom the Chamberlain had left there. The King acquireth the lands of *Orkney*.

The young man at his coming to *Orkney* being aſſiſted with ſome looſe people made his firſt aſſault upon *Birſay*, expulſing *Bernard Stewart* the Keeper, and placing a Garriſon therein of ſome thirty perſons. The Deputy hearing what was done went ſpeedily thither, charging them in his Majeſtie's name to render: but they deſpiſing the charge, and he not able to force them, he went from thence to *Kirkwall*; the Rebels following at his heels, compelled him in like ſort to render the Caſtle of *Kirkwall* in which he had entred. Rebellion in *Orkney*.

An. 1613. Upon report of this Rebellion, Commission was given to the Earl of *Cathnes*, as Lieutenant for the King in those bounds, to recover the Castles and pacifie the Countrey; which he carefully performed. At his first landing, a company of people, to the number of five hundred, who were brought together more out of fear of the Rebels then of any desire to withstand, made a countenance to resist; but how soon they perceived the Earl's resolution to pursue, they gave back, their Leaders flying to the Castle, which they meant to defend. This they made good some five weeks or more, till the Cannon having beaten down a great part of the walls, they were forced to yield themselves at discretion. The persons taken in the Castle were *Robert Stewart* the Earl's base Son, *Archibald* ℭ *Murray*, *Andrew Martin*, *Alexander Legat*, and *Thomas King*, servants to the Earl. These were all transported to *Edinburgh*, and being convicted by a Jury, were hanged on a Gibbet at the Mercat-cross. In this siege the Lieutenant lost four men only; namely, *William Irwyn* son to *William Irwyn* of *Saba*, *Iames Richardson*, *Andrew Adamson*, and *William Robinson*, who were killed all by shots from the Castle: many were wounded and hurt, but thereof recovered.

The Earl of *Cathnes* imployed to suppress the Rebels.

Persons executed for the Rebellion.

The death of the Bishop of *Rosse*.

Towards the end of the year Mr. *David Lindesay* Bishop of *Rosse* departed this life in a great age, having attained to fourscore and two or three years; a man nobly descended, and a Brother of the house of *Edzell*. Soon after the Reformation, returning from his travels abroad, he applied himself to the Function of the Ministery, and entring the Charge at *Leith*, continued therein to his death; of a peaceable nature, and greatly favoured of the King, to whom he performed divers good services, especially in the Troubles he had with the Church; a man universally beloved and well esteemed of by all wise men. His corps were interred at *Leith* by his own direction, as desiring to rest with that people on whom he had taken great pains in his life.

The Earl of *Orkney* put to Trial.

The Earl of *Orkney* being brought the *October* preceding from *Dumbarton* to *Edinburgh* was in *February* next put to Trial, where together with the Justice there sate as Assessors the Earl of *Dunfermlin* Chancellor, the Lord *Bining* Secretary, the President Sir *Iohn Preston*, Sir *Gideon* ℭ *Murray* Thesaurer-Deputy, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clackington* Lord privy-Seal, Sir *Iohn Cockburn* of *Ormeston* Justice Clerk, Sir *Alexander Hay* Clerk-Register, Sir *William Levingston* of *Kilsith* and Sir *Alexander Drummond* of *Medop*, Senators of the College of Justice.

An. 1614. The Earl of *Orkney* his Indictment.

The substance of the Indictment was, "That he had caused his base Son to sur-"prise the Castle of *Kirkwall* with the Steeple of the Church, the place called the "Yards, and House of *Birsay*; That he had incited the people to Rebellion, and "detained the said Castles and Houses treasonably after he was charged to deliver "the same. His Prolocutors were Mr. *Alexander King*, Mr. *Thomas Nicolson*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Lawyers, all of good esteem; the chief defence they used was a denial of the Libel. The Advocate producing the Confession of his base Son and those that were executed with him, together with some missive Letters written by one *John Sharpe* at his direction for the detaining of the Castle of *Kirkwall*, and a Charter of certain lands gifted by him to *Pat. Halcro* for assisting the Rebels, the Justice remitted the verity of the Indictment to the Assise.

The persons named for the Jury.

The persons chosen thereupon were *James* Earl of *Glencarn*, *George* Earl of *Winton*, *Iohn* Earl of *Perth*, *Robert* Earl of *Lothian*, *William* Earl of *Tullibardin*, *David* Lord *Scone*, *William* Lord *Sanqhar*, *Iohn* Lord *Herreis*, *Iames* Lord *Torphichen*, *Hugh* Lord *Semple*, *William* Lord *Killmaers*, *Iohn Grant* of *Frenchie*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Waughton*, *Robert Arnot* of *Farny*, and Sir *Henry Lindesay* of *Kinfawnes*; who, sworn and received according to the custome, went apart by themselves for a certain space, and returning unto the Court, by the mouth of their Chancellor (the Earl of *Glencarn*) declared him guilty of the foresaid Rebellion, and of the whole points contained in the Indictment. The Justice thereupon gave Sentence, that he should be taken to the Mercat-cross, and there beheaded, and all his goods and lands confiscated.

The Sentence pronounced.

The Earl taking the Sentence impatiently, some Preachers were desired to confer with him, and to dispose his minde towards death: but they finding him irresolute,

reſolute, intreated for a delay of the Execution; which was granted to the ſixth of *February*, at which time he was brought unto the Scaffold, guarded by the Magiſtrates of the City, and in the ſight of many people beheaded. This was the end of *Patrick* Earl of *Orkney*, ſon to *Robert Stewart* one of King *James* the Fifth his baſe Sons. *Robert* was at firſt provided to the Abbacy of *Halirudhouſe*, which he enjoyed divers years: After the Forfeiture of *Hepburn*, Earl *Bothwell*, and the obtaining of theſe Iſles, he exchanged the Abbacy with the Biſhoprick of *Orkney*, and ſo became ſole Lord of the Countrey. *Patrick*, ſucceeding to an elder Brother who died young, by his too much reſort to Court and profuſe ſpending did involve himſelf in great debts, and ſeeking to repair his eſtate by the indirect courſes he touched, fell into theſe inconveniencies which you have heard, and may ſerve for a warning to all great perſonages not to oppreſs nor play the Tyrants over the meaner ſort of people. *An.* 1614. The Execution of the Earl of *Orkney*.

About the end of the year *John Ogilvy* a Jeſuite was apprehended at *Glaſgow*. He was lately come from *Grats*, where the Jeſuites have a College, *by the command* (as he ſaid) *of his Superiors*, to do ſome ſervice in theſe parts. There were found with him three little Books, containing certain directions for receiving Confeſſions; a Warrant to diſpenſe with them that poſſeſt any Church-livings, conceived in this form, *Quoad diſpenſationem de bonis Eccleſiaſticis, poteris diſpenſare ut retineant quæ poſſident, dummodo in uſus pios aliquid impendant, pro judicio Confeſſarii diſpenſantis*; with ſome Reliques, and a tuft of S. *Ignatius* hair, the founder of their Order, which he ſeemed to have in great regard. *John Ogilvy* a Jeſuite apprehended.

Upon advertiſement given to his Majeſty, a Commiſſion was ſent to the Secretary, the Lord *Kilſith*, the Theſaurer-Deputy and Advocate for his Examination and Trial. Being preſented before them, and enquired when he came into *Scotland*, what his buſineſs was, and where he had reſorted: To the firſt he anſwered, That *he came in the* June *preceding*; to the ſecond, that *his errand was to ſave Souls*; but to the third he denied to give any anſwer at all, ſaying, *that he would not utter any thing that might work prejudice to others*: nor could he be induced either by perſuaſion or threatning to detect the perſons with whom he had reſorted. The Commiſſioners offended at his obſtinacy, & meaning to extort a Confeſſion from him, adviſed to keep him ſome nights from ſleep: and this indeed wrought ſomewhat with him, ſo as he began to diſcover certain particulars; but how ſoon he was permitted to take any reſt, he denied all, and was as obſtinate in denying as at firſt. His Examination by certain Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty being certified that without Torture nothing would be drawn from him, made anſwer, *That he would not have thoſe forms uſed with men of his Profeſſion; and if nothing could be found but that he was a Jeſuite, and had ſaid Maſs, they ſhould baniſh him the Countrey, and inhibit him to return without licence, under pain of death. But if it ſhould appear that he had been a practiſer for the ſtirring up of ſubjects to Rebellion, or did maintain the Pope's tranſcendent power over Kings, and refuſed to take the Oath of Allegiance, they ſhould leave him to the courſe of Law and Juſtice; meanwhile his pleaſure was, that the Queſtions following ſhould be moved unto him, and his Anſwers thereto required.* A direction from his Majeſty touching their proceeding with him.

1. Whether the Pope be Judge and hath power *in Spiritualibus* over his Majeſty; and whether that power will reach over his Majeſty *in Temporalibus* if it be *in ordine ad Spiritualia* as *Bellarmine* affirmeth.
2. Whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings, (eſpecially ſuch as are not of his Church) as his Majeſty.
3. Whether the Pope hath power to depoſe Kings by him excommunicated; and in particular, whether he hath power to depoſe the King's Majeſty?
4. Whether it be no murther to ſlay his Majeſty being ſo excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope.
5. Whether the Pope hath power to abſoil ſubjects from the Oath of their born and native Allegiance to his Majeſty. Certain Queſtions moved to the Jeſuite.

An. 1614. Theſe Queſtions were ſent incloſed in a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who aſſuming to himſelf the Provoſt of the City, the Principal of the College, and one of the Miniſters, as Witneſſes, did in their hearing read the Queſtions, and receive his Anſwer, which he gave under his hand, as followeth.

His Anſwer to the Queſtions.

I acknowledge the Pope of Rome *to be Judge unto his Majeſty, and to have power over him* in Spiritualibus, *and over all Chriſtian Kings. But where it is ask'd, whether that power will reach over him* in Temporalibus, *I am not obliged to declare my opinion therein, except to him that is Judge in Controverſies of Religion, to wit, the Pope, or one having authority from him.*

For the ſecond point, I think that the Pope hath power to Excommunicate the King: and where it is ſaid, that the King is not of the Pope's Church; I anſwer, that all who are baptized are under the Pope's power.

To the third, where it is ask'd, if the Pope hath power to depoſe the King being Excommunicate; I ſay that I am not tied to declare my mind, except to him that is Judge in Controverſies of Religion.

To the fourth and fifth I anſwer ut ſupra.

His Anſwer ſent to his Majeſty.

Being reaſoned with a long time, and the danger exponed wherein he did caſt himſelf by maintaining ſuch Treaſonable Opinions; he anſwered, *That he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him*; and ſpeaking of the *Oath of Allegiance*, that it was *a damnable Oath*, and *Treaſon againſt God to ſwear it*. Some days being allowed him to bethink himſelf better of theſe Points, when as no advice could prevail, the Anſwers were ſent to his Majeſty ſubſcribed by himſelf, and therewith a teſtification of ſuch as were preſent at the giving thereof.

Commiſſion for the Jeſuite's trial.

Hereupon the Council was commanded to paſs a Commiſſion to the Provoſt and Bailiffs of *Glaſgow* for putting him to a Trial; there were aſſiſting *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, *Robert* Earl of *Lothian*, *William* Lord *Sanghar*, *John* Lord *Fleming*, and *Robert* Lord *Boyd*. Some days before he was brought to the Bar it was told him, "That he was not to be charged with ſaying of Maſs, nor any thing that "concerned his Profeſſion, but only with the Anſwers made to the Queſtions pro- "poned; which if he ſhould recall, there being yet place to repentance, the Trial "ſhould be ſuſpended till his Majeſty were of new advertiſed. His reply was, *That he did ſo little mind to recall any thing he had ſpoken, as when he ſhould be brought to his anſwer he ſhould put a bonnet on it*. And this indeed he performed, for when he was placed on pannel, and the Indictment read, which was grounded all upon the Acts of Parliament made againſt thoſe that declined his Majeſtie's Authority, or maintained any other Juriſdiction within the Realm, and upon anſwer made to the above-written Demands ſubſcribed with his hand, he brake forth in theſe ſpeeches:

The Jeſuite's Defence at his Indictment.

"Under proteſtation that I do no way acknowledge this Judgement, nor receive "you that are named in that Commiſſion for my Judges, I deny any Point laid a- "gainſt me to be Treaſon; for if it were Treaſon, it would be ſuch in all places and "all Kingdoms, which you know not to be ſo. As to your Acts of Parliament, "they were made by a number of partial men, and of matters not ſubject to their "*Forum* or Judicatory, for which I will not give a rotten fig. And where I am ſaid "to be an enemy to the King's Authority, I know not what Authority he hath but "what he received from his Predeceſſors, who acknowledged the Pope of *Rome* "his Juriſdiction. If the King will be to me as his Predeceſſors were to mine, I will "obey and acknowledge him for my King; but if he do otherwiſe, and play the "runnagate from God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him more "then this old Hat. At theſe words being interrupted, and commanded to ſpeak more reverently of his Majeſty, he ſaid, "That he ſhould take the advertiſement, "and not offend, but the Judgement he would not acknowledge. And for the re- "verence I doe you, to ſtand uncovered, I let you know it is *ad redemptionem vex-* "*ationis*, not *ad agnitionem Judicii*.

The Exception propoſed by the Jeſuite.

The perſons cited upon the Jury being then called, and he deſired to ſhew if he would except againſt them, he ſaid "That he had but one Exception againſt them all "which

"which was, that either they were enemies to his cauſe, or friends: if enemies, they *An.* 1614.
"could not ſit upon his Trial; and if friends, they ought to aſſiſt him at the Bar.
"Only he ſhould wiſh the Gentlemen to conſider well what they did, and that he
"could not be judged by them. That whatſoever he ſuffered was by way of injury &
"not of judgment; and that he was accuſed of Treaſon, but had not committed any
"offence, nor could he beg mercy. And proceeding in this ſtrain, I am, ſaid he, a ſub-
"ject as free as the King is a King; I came by commandment of my Superior into
"this Kingdom, and if I were even now forth of it, I would return: neither do I repent
"any thing, but that I have not been ſo buſie as I ſhould in that which you call
"perverting of ſubjects. I am accuſed for declining the King's Authority, and will
"do it ſtill in matter of Religion, for with ſuch matters he hath nothing to do: and
"this which I ſay the beſt of your Miniſters do maintain, and if they be wiſe will
"continue of the ſame mind. Some Queſtions were moved to me, which I refuſed to
"anſwer, becauſe the proferers were not Judges in Controverſies of Religion; and
"therefore I truſt you cannot infer any thing againſt me. *But I hope*, ſaid the Arch-
biſhop, *you will not make this a Controverſie of Religion, Whether the King being depoſed by
the Pope may be lawfully killed.* To this he replied, "It is a queſtion among the Doctors
"of the Church; many hold the affirmative, not improbably: but as that Point is
"not yet determined, ſo if it ſhall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it;
"and to call it unlawful, I will not, though I ſhould ſave my life by ſaying it.

His ſpeeches, the more liberty was given him, growing the more intolerable, the Jurors were willed to go apart; who quickly returning, declared by the mouth of their Chancellor, Sir *George Elphingſton*, that they found him guilty of all the Treaſonable crimes contained in the Indictment. Whereupon Doom was pronounced, and the ſame day in the afternoon he was hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Glaſgow*. He was, as it ſeemed, well inſtructed in that *Jeſuitical* Doctrine of Depoſing and dethroning Kings, and like enough to have played another *Ravilliac*, if he had not been intercepted: which was the rather beleived, that in lamenting his miſhap to one that he eſteemed his friend he did ſay, *That nothing grieved him ſo much as that he ſhould be apprehended in that time; for if he had lived unto* Whitſunday *at liberty, he ſhould have done that which all the Biſhops and Miniſters of* Scotland *and* England *ſhould never have helped; and to have done it he would willingly have been drawn in pieces with horſes, and not cared what torments he had indured.* But this did not burſt forth till after his death. The Jeſuite convicted and executed.

Mr. *James Moffet*, another of the ſame Society, being apprehended near about the ſame time, took a ſafer courſe; for having condemned *Ogilvie*'s Poſitions he was ſuffered to depart the Countrey; the King profeſſing, as he ever did, *That he would never hang a Prieſt for his Religion*: only theſe Polypragmatick Papiſts, that were ſet upon Sedition and to move diſturbance in Countreys, he could not away with. *Moffet* another Jeſuite licenced to depart.

The next Spring Mr. *George Gladſtaves* Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* departed this life: a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention; but of an eaſie nature, and induced by thoſe he truſted to doe many things hurtful to the See, eſpecially in leaſing the titles of his Benefice for many Ages to come, eſteeming (which is the error of many Churchmen) that by this mean he ſhould purchaſe the love and friendſhip of men, whereas there is no ſure friendſhip but that which is joyned with reſpect; and to the preſerving of this nothing conduceth more then a wiſe and prudent adminiſtration of the Church-rents wherewith they are intruſted. He left behind him in writing a declaration of his Judgment touching matters then controverted in the Church, profeſſing, that *he had accepted the Epiſcopal Function upon good warrant, and that his Conſcience did never accuſe him for any thing done that way.* This he did to obviate the rumours which he foreſaw would be diſperſed after his death, either of his Recantation, or of ſome trouble of ſpirit that he was caſt into; (for theſe are the uſual practices of the *Puritane* Sect) whereas he ended his days moſt piouſly, and to the great comfort of all the beholders. His corps was interred in the South-eaſt Iſle of the Pariſh-Church, and the Funeral preached by Mr. *William Cowper*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was lately before prefer- *An.* 1615. The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* his death.

red

An. 1615. red upon the deceaſe of Mr. *Gawin Hamilton* Biſhop of that See; a man for courage, true kindneſs and zeal to the Church, never enough commended.

Biſhops tranſlated by this occaſion.

S. *Andrews* falling thus void, divers Tranſlations were made in the Church; as of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* to S. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of *Orkney* to *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dumblane* to *Orkney*, in whoſe place ſucceeds Mr. *Adam Ballendene* Rector of *Falkirk*.

The Hiſtory of *Somerſet's* fall.

In the end of this year there was at Court a great buſineſs for trying the Murther of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had died in the Tower ſome two years before. The occaſion and ſecret contriving of the Murther, with the ſtrangeneſs of the diſcovery, and his Majeſtie's impartial proceeding in the Trial, deſerve all to be remembred. The occaſion was *Overburie's* free and friendly counſels to the Earl of *Somerſet* for diverting him from the Marriage he intended with Lady *Frances Howard*, who by a ſentence of Nullity was freed from the Earl of *Eſſex* her Husband. Often had he diſſuaded *Somerſet*, preſuming upon the familiarity that he vouchſafed him, to forbear that Ladie's company, and one night more freely, for that he ſaw *Somerſet* going on in the Match, came unto him, and ſpake to this effect; *My Lord, I perceive you are proceeding in this Match which I have often diſſuaded as your true ſervant and friend: I now adviſe you not to marry that Woman, for if you do, you ſhall ruine your Honour and your ſelf*; adding, *that if he went on in that buſineſs, he ſhould do well to look to his ſtanding*. The Earl taking his free ſpeech more impatiently becauſe he had touched the Lady (with whom he was bewitched) in her Honour, replied in paſſion, *that his legs were ſtrong enough to bear him up, and that he ſhould make him repent thoſe ſpeeches*. Thus he parted in anger at that time.

Sir *Tho. Overbury* his free advice to *Somerſet*.

Overbury committed to the Tower.

Overbury interpreting this to be a ſudden paſſion only, and not thinking that their long-continuing friendſhip would break off by this occaſion, continued in his wonted attendance, neither did the Earl wholly abandon him; howbeit having diſcovered to the Lady, *Overbury* his counſel, and the words he had uttered to her prejudice, ſhe never ceaſed to inflame him againſt the Gentleman, and by all means ſought to practice his overthrow. It falling out that *Overbury* was about this time to be employed in an Ambaſſage to *Ruſſia*, the Earl, whoſe counſel he ask'd, adviſed him not to embrace the ſervice, but to make ſome fair excuſe. This advice he followed, taking the ſame to proceed of kindneſs, and for his refuſe was committed to the Tower.

Overbury poiſoned and dieth.

The Lady now had him where ſhe wiſhed, and, meaning to diſpatch him by poiſon, wrought ſo with the Lieutenant Sir *Jervis Elways* as he did admit one *Richard Weſton* upon her recommendation to be *Overburies* keeper, by whom the very evening after he was committed a yellow poiſon was miniſtred unto him in a Broth at Supper, which provoked ſuch extreme vomits and purging as it was look'd he ſhould not recover. But neither this nor the other poiſons that were continually put in his meats ſerving to diſpatch him, Miſtreſs *Turner*, the preparer of all, procured an Apothecarie's boy to give him a poiſoned Glyſter, which brought him to his end. *Overbury* thus dead was preſently buried, and becauſe of the blanes and bliſters that appeared in his body after his death, a report was diſperſed that he died of the *French*-Pox; which few believed, and ſtill the rumour went according to the truth, that he was made away by poiſon. The greatneſs of the Procurers kept all hidden for a time; but God, who never ſuffereth ſuch vile acts to go unpuniſhed, did bring the ſame to light after a miraculous manner.

The Murther diſcovered and laid open.

It happened the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in Conference with a Counſellor of Eſtate to recommend the Lieutenant of the Tower to his favour, as a man of good parts, and one that deſired to be known to him. The Counſellor anſwering, *that he took it for a favour from the Lieutenant that he ſhould deſire his friendſhip*, added withal, *that there lay upon him an heavy imputation of* Overburie's *death, whereof he wiſhed the Gentleman to clear himſelf*. This related to the Lieutenant, he was ſtricken a little with it, and ſaid, *That to his knowledge ſome attempts were made againſt* Overbury, *but that the ſame took no effect*: which being told to the King, he willed the Counſellor to move the Lieutenant to ſet down in writing what he knew of that matter; as he alſo did. Thereupon certain of the Council were appointed to examine and find

out

out the truth. From *Weſton* ſomewhat was found, whereupon he was made priſoner. *An.* 1616.
Turner and *Franklin*, the preparers of the poiſon, being examined confeſſed every thing; and then all breaking forth, the Earl of *Somerſet* with his Lady and the Lieutenant were committed. *Somerſet* and his Lady committed.

Weſton at his firſt Arraignment ſtood mute, yet was induced afterwards to put himſelf to the trial of the Countrey; and being found guilty was hanged at *Tiburn*. Miſtreſs *Turner* and *James Franklin* were in like ſort executed. The Lieutenant who had winked at their doings was judged acceſſary to the crime, and condemned to death, which he ſuffered, expreſſing a great penitency and aſſurance of mercy at the hands of God.

In the *May* following the Earl and his Lady were brought to their Trial, which by their friends they laboured earneſtly to eſchew; but the King would not be intreated for the love he had to maintain Juſtice. The Judge by Commiſſion was *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmore*, Chancellor of *England*, and Lord High Steward for that time; his aſſiſtants were, Sir *Edward Coke*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Henry Hobart*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Laurence Tanfield*, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, Judge *Althared*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Judge *Crook*, Judge *Dodderidge*, and Judge *Haughton*, Judges of the King's Bench, and Judge *Nicols*, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. *Somerſet* and his Lady brought to Trial. The Judges.

The Peers by whom they were tried were, the Earl of *Worceſter* Lord Privy-ſeal, the Earl of *Pembroke* Chamberlain, the Earls of *Rutland*, *Suſſex*, *Montgomery* and *Hartford*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, the Lord *Souch* Warden of the Cinqueports, the Lord *Willowby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, the Lord *Gerard*; the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and the Lord *Dormer*. The perſons of the Jury.

With the Lady there was not much adoe, for ſhe with many tears confeſſing the fact deſired mercy. The Earl, who was the next day preſented before the Judges, made ſome Defences; but the Confeſſions of thoſe that were executed and a Letter he had ſent to his Majeſty did ſo clearly convince him of being acceſſary to the crime at leaſt, that they were both ſentenced to be taken to the Tower of *London*, and from thence to the place of Execution, and hanged till they were dead. It was a foul and hateful fact, on the Earl's part eſpecially, who did betray his friend for ſatisfying the appetite of a revengeful Woman; yet by his Majeſties clemency the lives of both were afterwards ſpared. The Earl and his Lady convicted and ſentenced.

A new buſineſs was about the ſame time made by the Marqueſs of *Huntley*. Some eight years before he had been Excommunicated, and giving hopes from time to time of his Reconcilement, did not only fruſtrate the ſame, but, breaking out in open inſolencies, had cauſed his Officers diſcharge his Tenants from hearing the Sermons of ſome Miniſters, with whom he made ſhew to offend. Being for this called before the High Commiſſion, he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and had not remained there two or three daies, when upon the Chancellor's Warrant he was put to liberty. The Biſhops that were in Town, complaining to himſelf of that he had done, were diſdainfully anſwered, *That he might enlarge without their advice any that were impriſoned by the High Commiſſion*; and when it was told that the Church would take this ill, he ſaid, that *he cared not what their Church thought of him*: whereupon the Miniſters made great exclamations in the Pulpits, as againſt one that abuſed his place and power. The Marqueſs of *Huntley* called before the Commiſſioners. He is committed. He is releaſed by the Chancellor.

Complaints hereupon were ſent from all hands to the King. The Biſhops complained of the Chancellor his uſurping upon the Commiſſion, and to this effect directed *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cathnes* to Court. The Chancellor complained of the turbulency of the Miniſters, and the liberty they took to cenſure the publick actions of Stateſmen in their Sermons. The Marqueſs, upon a ſuit he made before his Impriſonment, had obtained licence to come unto Court, & had taken his journey thither. But the King, upon the Clergie's complaint, ſent Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, then waiting as Secretary-deputy at Court, to command the Marqueſs to return and enter himſelf in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for ſatisfying the High Commiſſi- The Biſhops complain to his Majeſty. A Command to the Marqueſs to return to his ward.

on,

An. 1616. on; withall he carried a Letter to the Council, ſharply rebuking them for releaſing the Marqueſs, he being warded by the Lords of the Commiſſion.

The Marqueſs permitted to come to Court.

The Gentleman meeting the Marqueſs at *Huntingdon*, within a daies journey of *London*, did uſe his meſſage; who intreated him to go back, and ſhew the King that he was come to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction in every thing he would enjoyn, and to beſeech his Majeſty, ſince he was ſo far on his journey, not to deny him his Preſence. The offer of ſatisfaction pleaſed the King very well, who permitting him to come forward to Court, directed him to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom he offered to communicate. His Excommunication ſtanding in the way, and it being contrary to the Canons, that one excommunicated by the Church ſhould without their conſent who had ſo ſentenced him be abſolved in another, it was a while doubted what courſe they ſhould take. The King on the one ſide was deſirous to win him home, and on the other loath to infringe the Order of the Church; yet inclining to have the Marqueſs abſolved, it was thought that the Biſhop of *Cathnes* his conſent in the name of the Clergy of *Scotland* was a Warrant ſufficient. Thus the Biſhop conſenting, the Abſolution was given him in the Chappel of *Lambeth* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in this form.

The form of the Abſolution.

"Whereas the purpoſe and intendment of the whole Church of *Chriſt* is to "win men unto God, and frame their Souls for Heaven, and that there is ſuch an "agreement and correſpondency betwixt the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, "that what the Biſhops and Paſtors in the one, without any earthly or worldly re- "ſpect, ſhall accompliſh to ſatisfie the Chriſtian and charitable end and deſire of "the other, cannot be diſtaſtful to either; I therefore finding your earneſt intreaty "to be looſed from the bond of Excommunication wherewith you ſtand bound in "the Church of *Scotland*, and well conſidering the reaſon and cauſe of that cenſure, "as alſo conſidering your deſire on this preſent day to Communicate here with us, "for the better effecting of this work of participation of the holy Sacrament of "Chriſt our Saviour his bleſſed Body and Bloud, do abſolve you from the ſaid Ex- "communication, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghoſt; "and beſeech the Almighty God, that you may be ſo directed by the Holy Spirit, "that you may continue in the truth of his Goſpel unto your life's end, and then "be made partaker of his everlaſting Kingdome.

His Majeſtie's Letter to the Biſhops for juſtifying the Abſolution.

How ſoon it was known that the Marqueſs was abſolved by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, there were great exceptions taken by the Church, and the ſame interpreted to be a ſort of uſurpation: whereof the King being advertiſed, in a long Letter written to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, he did juſtifie the doing by theſe Reaſons. "Firſt, That in abſolving the Marqueſs nothing was intended to the prejudice of the "Church of *Scotland*, but what was done was out of a Chriſtian neceſſity, it being "needful that the Marqueſs ſhould be abſolved before he was admitted to the par- "ticipation of the holy Sacrament. Secondly, He willed the Church to conſider "that his Abſolution at home was only deferred upon the ſcruple he made of the "Preſence of our Saviour in the Sacrament, and that upon his Confeſſion, ſwearing "and ſubſcriving the other points of Religion, they themſelves had ſuſpended his "Excommunication, the lawfulneſs whereof he would not diſpute, but remit the "ſame to the Canoniſts; yet the Suſpenſion ſtanding, it was not much from an Ab- "ſolution. Thirdly, That the Abſolution given him in *England* did neceſſarily imply "an acknowledgement of the authority of the Church of *Scotland*; whereas if the "Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had received him to the holy Communion, and not firſt "abſolved him, being Excommunicated by the Church of *Scotland*, the contempt "and neglect had been a great deal greater. Fourthly, That the Marqueſs being "come into *England*, and making offer to perform whatſoever ſhould be required of "him, it was more fit to take him in that diſpoſition, then to have delayed it unto "his return into *Scotland*. For theſe Reaſons, he ſaid, and eſpecially becauſe all that "was done was with a due acknowledgement and reſervation of the power and in- "dependent authority of the Church of *Scotland*, which the Archbiſhop of *Canter-*

"*bury*

"*bury* had by his own hand teſtified; it was his pleaſure, that upon the Marqueſs *An.* 1616.
"his return a full form of Abſolution ſhould be given him, or a Ratification made
"of that which was done in *England*; ſo as neither the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his
"doing ſhould be diſapproved as unlawful, nor the ſame ſo approved as it might
"ſeem that the Church of *Scotland* was inferior in any ſort to that of *England*; and
"that the Archbiſhop's Letter written to that effect ſhould be put in record, and
"kept as a perpetual monument for Ages to come.

This Letter directed to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* I have thought here meet to be inſerted:

Salutem in Chriſto.

"BEcauſe I underſtand that a General Aſſembly is ſhortly to be held at *Aber-*
"*dene*, I cannot but eſteem it an office of brotherly love to yield you an ac-
"compt of that great action which lately befell us here with the Marqueſs of *Hunt-*
"*ley*. So it was then, that upon the coming up of the ſaid Marqueſs, his Majeſty
"ſharply entreating him for not giving ſatisfaction to the Church of *Scotland*, and
"for a time reſtraining him from his Royal preſence, the Marqueſs reſolving to give
"his Majeſty contentment, did voluntarily profer to Communicate when and
"whereſoever his Highneſs ſhould be pleaſed; whereupon his Majeſty being plea-
"ſed to make known that offer to me, it was held fit to ſtrike the iron whileſt it was
"hot, and that this great work ſhould be accompliſhed before his Majeſtie's going
"to progreſs; whereunto a good opportunity was offered by the Conſecration of
"the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, which was to be in my Chappel of *Lambeth* the ſeventh of
"this moneth, at which time a ſolemn Communion was there to be celebrated.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*'s excuſe for the Abſolution.

"The only pauſe was, that the Marqueſs being Excommunicated by the Church
"of *Scotland*, there was in appearance ſome difficulty how he might be Abſolved in
"the Church of *England*: wherewith his Majeſty being acquainted, who wiſhed
"that it ſhould not be deferred, we grew to this peaceable reſolution, which I doubt
"not your Lordſhip and the reſt of our Brethren there will interpret to the beſt.
"For firſt, what was to be performed might be adventured upon, as we eſteemed,
"out of a Brotherly Correſpondency and Unity of affection, and not only of any
"Authority; for we well know, that as the Kingdom of *Scotland* is a free and abſo-
"lute Monarchy, ſo the Church of *Scotland* is entire in it ſelf, and independent up-
"on any other Church. Secondly, we find by the advice of divers Doctors of the
"Civil Law, and men beſt experienced in things of this nature, that the courſe of
"Eccleſiaſtical proceedings would fairly permit that we might receive to our Com-
"munion a man excommunicated in another Church, if the ſaid perſon do declare
"that he had a purpoſe hereafter for ſome time to reſide among us; which the Lord
"Marqueſs did openly profeſs that he intended, and I know his Majeſty doth deſire
"it: and for my part, I reſt ſatisfied that it can bring no prejudice, but rather con-
"tentment, unto you & to that Kingdom. Thirdly, it pleaſed God the night before
"the celebration of the Sacrament to ſend in our brother the Biſhop of *Cathnes*,
"with whom I taking counſel, his Lordſhip reſolved me, that it was my beſt way to
"abſolve the Lord Marqueſs, and aſſured me that it would be well taken by the
"Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church of *Scotland*. I leave the report of this to my
"Lord *Cathnes* himſelf, who was an eye-witneſs with what reverence the Marqueſs
"did participate of that holy Sacrament. For all other circumſtances I doubt not
"but you ſhall be certified of them from his Majeſty, whoſe Gracious and Princely
"deſire is that this bruiſed reed ſhould not be broken, but that ſo great a perſonage
"(whoſe example may do much good) ſhould be cheriſhed and comforted in his
"coming forward to God: which I for my part do hope and firmly believe that
"you all will endeavor, according to the wiſdom and prudence which Almighty
"God hath given unto you. And thus as your Lordſhip hath ever been deſirous
"that I ſhould give you the beſt aſſiſtence I could with his Majeſty for the redu-
"cing or reſtraining this Nobleman, ſo you ſee I have done it with the beſt diſcre-
"tion I could; which I doubt not but all our Brethren with you will take as pro-
"ceeding from my deſire to ſerve God and his Majeſty, and the whole Church

"of

An. 1616. "of *Scotland.* I ſend you herewith the Form which I uſed in Abſolving the Lord "Marqueſs in the preſence of the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Lord Biſhop of "*London*, and divers others. And ſo beſeeching the bleſſing of God upon you all, "that in your Aſſembly with unity of ſpirit you may proceed, to the honour of "Chriſt and to the beating down of Antichriſt and Popery, I leave you to the Al-"mighty.

From my houſe at *Croyden*,
July 23. 1616.

The Archbiſhop's Letter giveth ſome content.

This Letter being ſhewed to the Clergy and others that were offended with the Abſolution of the Marqueſs gave them content: yet was it reſolved that the Marqueſs (who then was returned from Court) ſhould preſent a Supplication to the General Aſſembly which was to meet at *Aberdene* the 13 of *Auguſt*, acknowledging his offence, not deſpiſing the Admonitions of the Church, and promiſing to continue in the profeſſion of the Truth, and make his Children to be educated in the ſame; and that upon his Supplication he ſhould be new Abſolved according to the Form uſed in the Church of *Scotland.* This was very ſolemnly performed the firſt day of the Aſſembly, the Earl of *Montroſs* being then Commiſſioner for his Majeſty.

An Aſſembly at *Aberdene.*

The Marqueſs of new Abſolved.

Acts concluded in the Aſſembly.

In the Aſſembly it was ordained, "That foraſmuch as his Majeſty had by Pro-"clamation recalled ſuch as were gone forth of the Countrey to be educated in the "Colleges of Jeſuites or other Popiſh Univerſities within the ſpace of a year, up-"on pain to be declared uncapable of ſucceſſion either to goods or lands, a trial "and exact ſearch ſhould be made of all thoſe that were ſent or gone into forein "parts within theſe laſt ten years; and that every Miniſter ſhould ſend a particu-"lar note unto his Ordinary of thoſe within his Pariſh that were gone to follow "their ſtudies in places abroad, with their age, profeſſion and families where-"unto they appertained, to the end they may be known, and the dangers prevent-"ed wherewith their corrupt education did threaten the Church.

It was likewiſe enacted, "That no man ſhould be permitted to practice or pro-"feſs any Phyſick, unleſs he had firſt ſatisfied the Biſhop of the Dioces touching "his Religion: That a Liturgy or book of Common-prayer ſhould be formed for "the uſe of the Church: That the Acts of the General Aſſemblies ſhould be col-"lected and put in form, to ſerve for Canons to the Church in their miniſtration "of Diſcipline: That children ſhould be carefully catechiſed, and confirmed by "the Biſhops, or in their abſence by ſuch as were employed in the Viſitation of "Churches: That Grammar-Schools ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all Pariſhes where "the ſame might be conveniently done: And that a Regiſter ſhould be kept of "Baptiſms, Marriages and Burials, by the Miniſter of every Pariſh.

Commiſſioners directed to the King from the Aſſembly.

Theſe Acts being put in form were ordained to be preſented to his Majeſty by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and Biſhop of *Roſſe*, who were ſent from the Aſſembly to intreat his Majeſtie's Confirmation of the thing concluded.

His Majeſtie's anſwer returned.

By the anſwer returned with them his Majeſties good liking of all that had proceeded in the Aſſembly was underſtood: only againſt the Act of Confirming young children by Biſhops he excepted, ſaying it was a mere Hotch-potch, and not ſo clear as was requiſite; and therefore directed the ſame to be reformed, and among the Canons of the Church the Articles following to be inſerted.

Articles craved to be inſerted among the Canons.

Firſt, That for the more reverent receiving of the holy Communion, the ſame ſhould be celebrated to the people thereafter kneeling, and not ſitting, as had been the cuſtom ſince the Reformation of Religion.

2. If any good Chriſtian viſited with ſickneſs, which was taken to be deadly, ſhould deſire to receive the Communion at home in his houſe, the ſame ſhould not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Miniſter the night before; and three or four of good Religion and converſation being preſent to communicate with the ſick perſon, who muſt provide for a convenient place, and all things neceſſary for the reverent adminiſtration of the bleſſed Sacrament.

3. That

3. That the Sacrament of Baptiſm ſhould not be longer deferred then the next Sunday after the child is born, unleſs ſome great and reaſonable cauſe declared & approved by the Miniſter do require the ſame: And that in the caſe of neceſſity, tried and known to the Miniſter, it ſhould be lawful to adminiſtrate Baptiſm in private houſes, the ſame being always miniſtred after the form it would have been in the Congregation, and publick declaration thereof made the next Sunday in the Church, to the end the child might be known to have been received into the flock of Chriſt's fold. *An.* 1616.

4. Seeing the ineſtimable benefits received from God by our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt his Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and Sending down of the Holy Ghoſt, have been commendably remembred at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the World; every Miniſter from thenceforth ſhould keep a commemoration of the ſaid Benefits upon theſe days, and make choice of ſeveral and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrines and Exhortations thereto, rebuking all Superſtitious obſervation and licencious profaning of the ſaid times.

5. The Act of Confirmation of Children his Majeſty deſired to be reformed in this manner: Seeing the Confirmation of Children is for the good education of youth moſt neceſſary, being reduced to the Primitive integrity, It is thought good that the Miniſter in every Pariſh ſhall catechiſe all young Children of eight years of age, and ſee that they have knowledge, and be able to rehearſe the Lord's Prayer, the Belief and Ten Commandments, with Anſwers to the Queſtions of the ſmall Catechiſm uſed in the Church, and that the Biſhops in their Viſitations ſhall cauſe the Children be preſented before them, and bleſs them with prayer for the encreaſe of Grace, and continuance of God his heavenly gifts with them.

Reaſons why the Articles could not be inſerted among the Canons.

The difficulty of admitting theſe Articles being repreſented in an humble Letter to his Majeſty by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, and a reaſon given why the ſame could not be inſerted with the Canons, as having at no time been mentioned to the Church, nor proponed in any of their Meetings, he was pleaſed to forbear the preſſing of the ſame for that time, thinking at his coming into *Scotland*, which he intended the next Summer, to ſatisfie ſuch as were ſcrupulous, and to obtain the Churche's conſent.

A Proclamation touching the King's purpoſe to viſit the Countrey.

Shortly after a Letter was ſent to the Council, "to aſſure them of the King's "reſolution to viſit the Kingdom, which he ſaid did proceed of a longing he had "to ſee the place of his breeding, a *Salmon-like inſtinct*, (as he was pleaſed to call "it;) and becauſe he knew that evil-diſpoſed perſons would diſperſe rumours as if "he came to make alterations in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, he command-"ed Proclamation to be made for certifying the ſubjects of the contrary. It was "true, he ſaid, that he deſired to do ſome good at his coming, and to have abu-"ſes reformed both in the Church and Commonwealth: yet foreſeeing the im-"pediments that his good intentions would meet with, and regarding the love of "his people no leſs then their benefit, he would be loath to give them any diſcon-"tent; and therefore willed all his good ſubjects to lay aſide their jealouſies, and "accommodate themſelves in the beſt ſort they could for his receiving, and the "entertainment of the Noblemen of *England* who were to accompany him in the "journey.

The Earl of *Marre* made Theſaurer.

The Earl of *Marre* was at that time made Theſaurer, and Sir *Gideon Murray* continued in his Deputation. A motion had been made a little before for appointing a Commiſſioner or Deputy in the Kingdom, which was hearkened unto by the King as that which would eaſe him of many vexations, and in his abſence maintain a face of Court, and breed a great reſpect among the people: and ſo far was that purpoſe advanced, as both the King had made offer of the place to the Earl of *Marre*, and he yielded to accept the ſame. But this breaking out and coming to the Chancellor's knowledge, whether that he deſired not to have any in place above himſelf, or, as he pretended, wiſhing the Nobleman's good, he divert-

An. 1616. ed him from accepting that charge, and brought him to embrace the Office of Theſaurer as the moſt profitable, and that which ſhould bring with it a leſs envy. Sir *Gideon* had the intromiſſion withal, as when *Somerſet* was in place, and did provide things ſo carefully and with ſuch foreſight, as when the King came he found nothing lacking that was required for a Royal and Princely Entertainment.

A direction for repairing the Chappel.

Among other directions ſent from the King, one was for repairing of the Chappel, and ſome *Engliſh* were carpenters employed, who brought with them the Pourtraicts of the Apoſtles to be ſet in the Pews or Stalls. As they were proceeding in their work, a fooliſh and idle rumour went, that *Images were to be ſet up in the Chappel*: and, as people are given to ſpeak the worſt, it was current among them, that *the Organs came firſt, now the Images, and ere long they ſhould have the Maſſe*. The Biſhop of *Galloway* then Dean of the Chappel, moved with theſe ſpeeches, did pen a Letter to the King, entreating his Majeſty "for the offence that was taken to "ſtay the affixing of theſe Pourtraicts. To this Letter he procured the Subſcriptions of the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Aberdene* and *Brechin*, and divers of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

The Biſhops entreat the ſtay of ſome carved Pictures upon fear of offence.

An. 1617. His Majeſtie's anſwer.

The Anſwer returned by the King was full of anger, objecting ignorance unto them that could not diſtinguiſh betwixt *Pictures intended for Ornament and decoration*, and *Images erected for Worſhip and adoration*; and reſembling them to the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who being ſent to ſwear the Peace concluded with *Spain*, when he underſtood the buſineſs was to be performed in the Chappel where ſome Anthems were to be ſung, deſired *that whatſoever was ſung, God's name might not be uſed in it, and that being forborn he was content they ſhould ſing what they liſted: juſt ſo*, ſaid the King, *you can endure Lions, Dragons and Devils to be figured in your Churches, but will not allow the like place to the Patriarchs and Apoſtles*. His Majeſty always gave order for ſome other form, and ſtaying the erecting of theſe Pourtraicts; which in the ſame Letter he ſaid *was not done for eaſe of their hearts, or confirming them in their error, but becauſe the work could not be done ſo quickly in that kind as was firſt appointed*. This Letter was of the date at *Whitehall*, the 13 of *March* 1617.

The King refuſeth to defer his Journey as he was deſired.

The King was much laboured to defer his Journey to the next year, whenas he ſhould find things better prepared; but he refuſing to hearken to any ſuch motion, made the greater haſte, and in the beginning of *May* came to *Berwick*, where he was met with divers of the Council, and by their advice the Parliament which had been indicted to the 17 of *May* was prorogued to the 13 of *June*. All this time intervened the King ſpent in a progreſs through the Countrey, making his entry in the ſpecial Burghs after a moſt Royal manner, and welcomed with all the expreſſions of joy that could be deviſed.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

His Majeſtie's Speech to the Eſtates.

At the day appointed the Eſtates were frequently aſſembled, where his Majeſty made a long Speech for the eſtabliſhing Religion and Juſtice, neither of which, he ſaid, could be look'd for ſo long as a regard was not had to the Miniſters of both. For *Religion*, he complained, *That notwithſtanding of the long profeſſion of the Truth, numbers of Churches remained unplanted, and of thoſe that were planted few or none had any competent maintenance: for this he wiſhed ſome courſe to be taken, and certain Commiſſioners to be choſen for appointing to every Church a perpetual local Stipend, ſuch as might ſuffice to entertain a Miniſter, and make him able to attend on his charge of juſtice*. He diſcourſed long *remembring the pains he had taken as well when he lived among them, as ſince his going into* England, *and how he had placed Juſtices and Conſtables (a moſt laudable kind of Government) for the preſerving of Peace, and the keeping of the Laws in due regard; which he underſtood*, as he ſaid, *to be much neglected, partly in default of ſome that were named to thoſe places, and held it a ſcorn to be employed in ſuch a charge, and partly by the oppoſition which the Lords and great men of the Countrey made unto them, and to their ſetling: but he would have both the one and the other to know, that as it was a place of no ſmall honour to be a Miniſter of the King's Juſtice in the ſervice of the Commonwealth; ſo he did eſteem none to deſerve better at his hands then they who gave countenance thereto; as, on the other part, whoſoever ſhould ſhew themſelves hinderers thereof ſhould be accounted with him enemies to his Crown and the quiet of the Kingdom*. In end he ſaid, *that he had long ſtriven to have the Barbarities of the Countrey, which they*

knew

knew to be too many, removed and extinct, and in place thereof Civility and Iuſtice eſtabliſhed; and that he would ſtill endevour to do his beſt that way, till he might ſay of Scotland *as one of the Emperors ſaid of* Rome, Inveni lateritiam, relinquo marmoream. *An.* 1617.

A Trouble in chuſing the Lords of the Articles.

The King having cloſed and the Lords gone apart to chuſe thoſe that ſhould be upon the Articles, the humours of ſome diſcontented Lords begun to kithe; for whoſoever were by the King recommended as fit perſons, were paſſed by as men ſuſpected, and others named who ſtood worſe affected to his Majeſties ſervice. Another queſtion they made for admitting the Officers of State, refuſing to admit any but the Chancellor, Theſaurer, and Clerk of the Rolls. This being long and ſharply debated, was in end agreed by the admiſſion of the whole number.

Article concerning his Majeſtie's Prerogative in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Among theſe Articles proponed the firſt was, of his Majeſtie's Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; concerning which it was deſired to be enacted, "That what-"ſoever concluſion was taken by his Majeſty with advice of the Archbiſhops and "Biſhops in matters of external Policy, the ſame ſhould have the power and "ſtrength of an Eccleſiaſtical Law. The Biſhops interceding did humbly intreat that the Article might be better conſidered, for that in making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws the advice and conſent of Presbyters was alſo required. The King replying, *That he was not againſt the taking of Miniſters their advice, and that a competent number of the moſt grave and learned among them ſhould be called to aſſiſt the Biſhops: but to have matters ruled as they have been in your General Aſſemblies I will never agree; for the Biſhops muſt rule the Miniſters, and the King rule both, in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God.* So the Article paſſed in this form, "That what-"ſoever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the external Government of the Church, "with the advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and a competent number of the Mi-"niſtery, ſhould have the ſtrength of a Law.

A ſtir among the Miniſters becauſe of the Article.

This coming to the Miniſters ears, they began to ſtir, as if the whole Rites and Ceremonies of *England* were to be brought upon them without their conſents: whereupon the Miniſters that were in Town were called together and warned to be quiet, for that ſuch a general Act did not lay upon them any bond; and if any particular was urged, the ſame ſhould be communicated to them, and nothing concluded without their conſents. It was farther told them, that there would not be wanting informations enough to ſtir them up unto unquietneſs, but they ſhould do well not to irritate his Majeſty, whom they knew to be a Gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reaſon, and give way to the ſame. This they did all promiſe; yet, upon the ſuggeſtion of ſome diſcontented people, the very next day Mr. *William Struthers*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did unhappily break out in his Sermon upon theſe matters, condemning the Rites received in the Church of *England*, and praying God to ſave *Scotland* from the ſame. This reported to the King by ſome of the *Engliſh* Doctors that were his hearers, he became greatly incenſed. But the Miniſters not contented with this, did the ſame day in the afternoon tumultuouſly convene, and form a Proteſtation in the words following:

The Miniſters Proteſtation.

"MOſt gracious and dread Sovereign, moſt honourable Lords and remanent "Commiſſioners of this preſent Parliament, We the Miniſters of Chriſt's "Evangel, being here convened from all the parts of this your Majeſtie's King-"dom, do in all reverence and ſubmiſſion intreat your Majeſtie's & Honors patient "and favourable hearing of this our reaſonable and humble ſupplication: And firſt "it will pleaſe your Highneſs & honourable Eſtates preſently convened to be infor-"med, that we are here a number of the Miniſtery out of all the parts of the King-"dom, and that the Biſhops have proteſted to a great many of us ſince our com-"ing, that nothing ſhould be agreed nor conſented unto by them in this preſent "Parliament in matters concerning the Diſcipline & Order of the Church without "our knowledge and advice, affirming that neither we nor they have any power to "conſent to any Novation, or ſmalleſt change of the Order eſtabliſhed, without the "advice of the General Aſſembly; whereupon we reſting in ſecurity, have recei-"ved a ſudden report of an Article to paſſe for a Law in the Parliament, decern-

An. 1617. "ing and declaring that your Majeſty, with the advice of the Archbiſhops and Bi-
"ſhops, and ſuch a competent number of the Miniſtery as your Majeſty out of
"your wiſdom ſhould think expedient, ſhall in all time coming have full power to
"adviſe and conclude all matters of decency, and which any way may concern the
"Policy of the Church; and that ſuch Concluſions ſhall have the ſtrength and
"power of Laws Eccleſiaſtical: wherein it will pleaſe your Majeſty and Honour-
"able Eſtates to hear our own juſt griefs, and to conſider our reaſonable deſires,
"and not to put us your Majeſtie's humble ſubjects to that poor and ſimple part of
"Proteſtation, which, if remedy be not provided, we ſhall be forced to uſe, for the
"freedom of our Church and diſcharge of our conſciences.

"We then firſt plead our Reformation, and that the Purity of our Church in
"Doctrine, miniſtration of the Sacraments, Diſcipline and all convenient Order,
"with the beſt reformed Churches in *Europe* hath been acknowledged rather as a
"pattern to be followed of others, then that we ſhould ſeek our Reformation from
"thoſe that never attained to that perfection which we, by the mercy of God, this
"long time paſt have enjoyed under your Highneſs protection.

"Next, we plead the Liberty of our Church, which, by the Laws of your Maje-
"ſtie's Kingdom and divers Acts of Parliament, is eſtabliſhed with power of pub-
"lick Meetings and annual Aſſemblies, and allowance to make Canons and Con-
"ſtitutions, ſuch as may ſerve for the comely Order thereof; all which by this Con-
"cluſion that is intended will be utterly overthrown.

"Thirdly, we plead for the Peace and Tranquillity of our Church, that being
"neareſt the Divine and Apoſtolical Inſtitution hath lived without Schiſm and
"rent in it ſelf, and by introduction of any Novelty againſt order may be miſerably
"divided, and ſo our Peace broken.

"Fourthly, we have been at divers times ſufficiently ſecured from all ſuſpicions
"of Innovation, and ſpecially by your Majeſtie's Letter ſent down this laſt Win-
"ter, to take away all fear of any Alteration which might ariſe upon your Maje-
"ſties lovingly-intended journey; which Letter by your Majeſtie's ſpecial will and
"direction of your Highneſs Council was intimated in Pulpits; as alſo by that
"Proclamation given out the 26 of *September* 1616, when rumors of an intended
"Conformity with the Church of *England* were diſperſed: whereby your Majeſty
"ſufficiently avoided all ſuch ſuſpicion, and ſetled the hearts of honeſt men in a
"confidence that no ſuch thing ſhould be attempted.

"Theſe and many other reaſons have moved us in all reverence by this our
"humble Supplication to entreat your Highneſs and Honourable Eſtates, not to
"ſuffer the aforenamed Article, or any other prejudicial to our former Liberties, to
"paſs at this time, to the grief of this poor Church; that the univerſal hope of
"thouſands in this land, who rejoyced at your Majeſtie's happy arrival, be not
"turned into mourning: wherein as we are earneſt ſupplicants to God to incline
"your Majeſtie's heart this way, as the moſt expedient for the honour of God and
"weal of your ſubjects; ſo if we ſhall be fruſtrated of this our reaſonable deſire,
"then do we in all humility (with that dutiful acknowledgment of our Loyalty
"to your Majeſty as becometh) proteſt for our ſelves and all our Brethren that
"ſhall adhere to this our Proteſtation, that as we are free of the ſame, ſo muſt we
"be forced rather to incur the cenſure of your Majeſtie's Law, then to admit or
"obtemper any impoſition that ſhall not flow from the Church orderly convened,
"or others having power from the ſame.

The Subſcrivers of the Proteſtation.

This Proteſtation was ſubſcribed by Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* Miniſter at *Dalkeith*, in name of the Brethren and Supplicants. In another Paper the Miniſters who were preſent ſet down their names each of them with his own hand, for a teſtimony of their concurrence, which was committed to the ſaid Mr. *Archibald* in cuſtody. But, as it falleth out in things unadviſedly done, and in the heat of humour, the principals in that buſineſs quickly forthinking that which they had done came the next morning early to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, intreating him to ſtop the preſenting thereof, which he ſhewed he might eaſily do by taking the ſame from Mr. *Peter Hewet*, in whoſe hand it was given to preſent. This

This man, being one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, had lately before been preferred to the Abbacy of *Croſſragwell*, and having thereby a place in the Parliament-houſe, was held the moſt fitting to preſent the Proteſtation, which he willingly undertook; for he loved ever to be medling, and was always ſet to make trouble. The Parliament was that day to cloſe, and the Archbiſhop knowing how ill the King would take their doing, went the more timely to the Palace; where meeting with the Abbot, he asked him concerning the Proteſtation, deſiring to ſee it; and having peruſed a few lines began to rebuke him for taking in hand ſuch a buſineſs. He making ſome excuſe, and ſaying, it was a Proteſtation only which could not offend, put forth his hand to take back the Paper; but the Archbiſhop holding it faſt, the Proteſtation was near rent betwixt them. It happened one of the Grooms (called *John Levingſton*) to ſee them at ſtrife, for they had met in the private Gallery near to his Majeſtie's chamber, who ſhewing the King what he had ſeen, his Majeſty came forth, being as yet undreſſed, and asked what the matter was. The Archbiſhop anſwered, "That a number of Miniſters having framed a Pro-"teſtation againſt the Article of his Majeſtie's Prerogative, had given it to the "man that he had made Abbot to preſent, and that he had undertaken to do the "ſame; for which he had been chiding him, it being an undutiful part in him with-"out ſignifying the matter to his Ordinary to take ſuch a buſineſs in hand. *An.* 1617. Mr. *Peter Hewet* undertakes the preſenting of the Proteſtation.

The man falling upon his knees and trembling, ſaid, "That he ſuppoſed the "Proteſtation would never offend his Majeſty, and that he had promiſed to pre-"ſent the ſame in Parliament; but now that it appeared to him otherwiſe, he "would no more meddle therewith.

The King taking the Proteſtation, and perceiving it ſubſcribed by one only Miniſter, inquired who theſe others were that convened. The Abbot anſwered, that they had all ſigned a Paper beſides, which the Subſcriver kept by him for his Warrant. Then the King commanding the Biſhop to keep the Proteſtation, went to prepare himſelf for the Meeting, and ſuſpecting that ſome other might come and proteſt againſt the Article, commanded the Regiſter Sir *George Hay* (who upon the death of Sir *Alexander Hay* had been preferred to the Office the year before) to paſs by that Article as a thing no way neceſſary, the Prerogative of his Crown bearing him to more then was declared by it. Thus when the hour of meeting came, the Regiſter, as he was commanded, laying by that Article, cauſed read the others that were concluded, as the cuſtome is, and the ſame being aſſented to by the Eſtates were ratified by his Majeſty. Thereafter the King in a moſt grave Speech having commended the execution of the Laws made to the Judges and other inferior Magiſtrates, gave the Eſtates a moſt kind and loving farewell. The Clerk of Regiſter commanded to paſs by the Article of Prerogative.

The ſame night the Biſhops had warning given them to meet his Majeſty at S. *Andrews* the tenth of *July*, whither he minded to call the principal Miniſters alſo, that they might know his mind before he went away. The Diet held as was appointed, and there aſſembled with the Biſhops the Miniſters of chief accompt, to the number of thirty ſix, who being convened in the Chappel of the Caſtle, the King did ſpeak to them to this purpoſe. The Biſhops warned to meet at S. *Andrews*.

What and how great my care hath been for this Church, as well before as ſince my going into England, *is ſo well known to you all, as I neither need nor doe I mean to ſpeak much of it, leſt any ſhould think I am ſeeking thanks for that I have done. It ſufficeth me that God knows my intention is, and ever was, to have his true Worſhip maintained, and a decent and comely Order eſtabliſhed in the Church. But of you I muſt complain, and of your cauſleſs jealouſies, even when my meaning towards you is beſt. Before my coming home to viſit this Kingdom, being advertiſed that in your laſt Aſſembly an Act was made for gathering the Acts of the Church, and putting them in form, I deſired a few Articles to be inſerted; one was for the yearly Commemoration of our Saviour his greateſt Bleſſings beſtowed upon mankind, as his Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and the Deſcent of the Holy Spirit; another, for the private uſe of both Sacraments, in urgent and neceſſary caſes; a third, for the reverent adminiſtration of his holy Supper; and a fourth, for Catechizing and Confirming young Children by Biſhops. It was anſwered, that theſe particulars had* His Majeſtie's Speech at the Meeting.

An. 1617. *not been moved in any of the Church-Aſſemblies, and ſo could not be inſerted with the reſt; which excuſe I admitted, and was not minded to preſs them any more till you after advice did give conſent thereto: yet when in the late Parliament I deſired my Prerogative to be declared in the making of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, certain of your number did mutinouſly aſſemble themſelves, and form a Proteſtation to croſs my juſt deſires. But I will paſs that among many other wrongs I have received at your hands: the errand for which I have now called you is, to hear what your Scruples are in theſe points, and the Reaſons, if any you have, why the ſame ought not to be admitted. I mean not to doe any thing againſt Reaſon; and on the other part, my demands being juſt and religious, you muſt not think that I will be refuſed or reſiſted. It is a power innated and a ſpecial Prerogative which we that are Chriſtian Kings have, to order and diſpoſe of external things in the Policy of the Church, as we by advice of our Biſhops ſhall find moſt fitting; and for your approving or diſapproving, deceive not your ſelves, I will never regard it, unleſs you bring me a Reaſon which I cannot anſwer.*

The Miniſters promiſe obedience upon permiſſion of a General Aſſembly.

The Miniſters at theſe words falling on their knees did beſeech his Majeſty to think of them as his moſt humble and obedient ſubjects, and to permit them to confer a little ſpace among themſelves, that they might return with an uniform anſwer. This granted, they went to the Pariſh-Church, and after ſome two hours returned, making petition for a General Aſſembly, wherein theſe Articles being proponed might be with a common conſent received. The King asking *what aſſurance he might have of their conſenting;* they anſwered, that they found no Reaſon to the contrary, and knew the Aſſembly would yield to any reaſonable thing demanded by his Majeſty. *But if it fall out otherwiſe,* ſaid the King, *and that the Articles be refuſed, my difficulty ſhall be greater, and when I ſhall uſe my Authority in eſtabliſhing them, they ſhall call me a Tyrant and Perſecutor.* All crying that none could be ſo mad as to ſpeak ſo: *Yet experience,* ſays the King, *tells me it may be ſo; therefore unleſs I be made ſure, I will not give way to an Aſſembly.* Mr. *Patrick Galloway* ſaying, that the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* ſhould anſwer for them: the Biſhop refuſed, for that he had been deceived by them, they having againſt their promiſe in the time of Parliament taken the courſe which they did. Then ſaid Mr. *Patrick, If your Majeſty will truſt me, I will aſſure for the Miniſters.* The King replying that he would truſt him; it was condeſcended that an Aſſembly ſhould be called for that end at S. *Andrews* the 25 of *November* next.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* and Mr. *David Catherwood* committed.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* the Subſcriber of the Proteſtation had been called to the Meeting, but falling ſick by the way, he excuſed himſelf by a Letter, and therein was very earneſt to have the Brethren oppoſe the Articles, which he called *tricas Anglicanas,* uſing ſome other diſdainful words. The Letter being ſhewed to the King he asked for the bearer. This was Mr. *David Catherwood,* who carrying himſelf unreverently, and breaking forth into ſpeeches not becoming a ſubject, was committed in the Town-houſe of S. *Andrews,* and afterwards baniſhed the Kingdom. *Simpſon* for his Letter was warded in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh,* where he remained unto *December* following.

The King departeth towards *London.*

The King after this taking his Journey to *London* by the Weſt parts, was all the way through *Scotland* royally entertained, and at *Dumfreis* had a farewell Sermon preached by the Biſhop of *Galloway,* which made the hearers burſt out in many tears.

An Aſſembly at S. *Andrews.*

When the diet of the Aſſembly came, the Earl of *Haddington* and Viſcount of *Stormont* were ſent thither as Commiſſioners from his Majeſty: the Archbiſhop made the Exhortation, "wherein having deduced the Story of the Church "from the time of Reformation, he ſhewed that the greateſt hinderance the "Church received proceeded from the Miniſters themſelves, who for the plea- "ſure of ill-diſpoſed people ſpared not to provoke his Majeſty to juſt anger: ex- "horting them for the glory of God, the honour of the Goſpel and their own "good, to take another courſe, and prefer the favour of their King, under "whom they enjoyed ſo many bleſſings, to the vain applauſe of factious per- "ſons.

It

It ſeemed at firſt that matters ſhould have gone well; for the firſt two days there was much calmneſs, and the reaſoning very formal and free: but then upon a motion to delay the Concluſion to another Aſſembly, that the Miniſters might have time to inform the people of the equity of the Articles, the greater part went that way, and almoſt cried for a Delay. *An.* 1617. The Aſſembly inclineth to a delay.

His Majeſtie's Commiſſioners declaring that the King would take in ill part the delay, and that nothing ſhould be done conſidering the promiſes they had made, if a General Aſſembly ſhould be granted, to receive the whole Articles, a faſhion was made to a condeſcending to private Communion, and the Miniſters ordained to give the elements in the miniſtration of the holy Supper out of their own hands to the people: which two Acts, with a Letter of excuſe for the continuance of the reſt, were ſent to his Majeſty. How the ſame was excepted may appear by the Anſwer that came a few days after, which was this. The Commiſſioners obtain a grant of private Communion.

"We have received your Letter, and thereby underſtand what your proceed-
"ings have been in that Aſſembly of S. *Andrews*; concerning which we will have
"you know, that we are come to that age as we will not be content to be fed with
"Broath, as one of your Coat was wont to ſpeak, and think this your doing a
"diſgrace no leſs then the Proteſtation it ſelf. Wherefore it is our pleaſure, and
"we command you, as you will avoid our higheſt diſpleaſure, the one of you by
"your Deputy in S. *Andrews* and by your ſelf in *Edinburgh*, and the other of you
"in *Glaſgow*, keep *Chriſtmas*-day preciſely, your ſelves Preaching, and chuſing
"your Texts according to the time. And likewiſe that ye diſcharge all modifica-
"tion of Stipends for this year to any Miniſter whatſoever, ſuch excepted
"as have teſtified their affection to our ſervice at this time, by farthering at
"their power the acceptation of the Articles propoſed: and in the premiſſes
"willing you not to fail, we bid you farewell. *Newmarket* the 6 of *December*, 1616. The King offended with the Aſſemblie's proceedings writeth to the two Archbiſhops.

In a Poſtſcript to the ſame Letter it was ſaid, *So many Biſhops as you can get warned in time to preach at their Sees on* Chriſtmas-*day, urge them to it. Thus much in haſte for this time, after two or three days ye ſhall hear further from us.* With his Majeſtie's own hand, after all, was written, *Since your* Scottiſh *Church hath ſo far contemned my Clemency, they ſhall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them.*

This Letter was directed to the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the other which followeth to S. *Andrews* him alone. Another Letter to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*.

"After we had commanded the diſpatch of our other Letter, we received an
"extract concluded (we know not how) in your Aſſembly, and ſubſcribed by
"the Clerk thereof; the one concerning Private Communion, and the other
"concerning the form to be uſed at the receiving of the holy Sacrament; both
"ſo hedged and conceived in ſo ridiculous a manner, as beſides that of the
"whole Articles proponed theſe two were the leaſt neceſſary to have been urged
"and haſtned, the ſcornful condition and form of their grant makes us juſtly
"wiſh that they had been refuſed with the reſt: for in the firſt, concerning the
"Communion allowed to ſick perſons, beſides the number required to receive
"with ſuch patients, and a neceſſity tying them upon oath to declare that they
"truly think not to recover, but to die of that diſeaſe, they are yet farther hedg-
"ed in with a neceſſity to receive the Sacrament (in caſe aforeſaid to be mini-
"ſtred unto them) in a convenient room; which what it importeth we cannot
"gueſs, ſeeing no room can be ſo convenient for a ſick man (ſworn to die) as his
"bed, and that it were injurious and inhumane from thence in any caſe to tranſ-
"port him, were the room never ſo neat and handſome to which they ſhould carry
"him.

"And as to that other Act, ordaining the Miniſter himſelf to give the Ele-
"ments in the celebration out of his own hand to every one of the Commu-
"nicants, and that he may perform this the more commodiouſly, by the advice
"of the Magiſtrates and honeſt men of his Seſſion, to prepare a Table at which
"the ſame may be conveniently miniſtred; truly in this we muſt ſay that the
"Miniſters eaſe and commodious ſitting on his tail hath been more look'd to

"then

An. 1617. "then that Kneeling which, for reverence, we directly required to be enjoyned "to the receivers of ſo divine a Sacrament: neither can we conceive what ſhould "be meant by that Table, unleſs they mean to make a round Table (as did the "Jews) to ſit and receive it. In concluſion, ſeeing either we and this Church here "muſt be held Idolatrous in this point of Kneeling, or they reputed Rebellious "knaves in refuſing the ſame, and that the two foreſaid Acts are conceived ſo "ſcornfully, and ſo far from our meaning; it is our pleaſure that the ſame be alto-"gether ſuppreſſed, and that no effect follow thereupon. So we bid you farewell. "*Newmarket* the 11 of *December* 1617.

Letters to the Council for inhibiting the payment of Stipends.

Theſe Letters were accompanied with another to the "Council, for inhibiting "the payment of Stipends to any of the Rebellious Miniſters refuſers of the ſaid "Articles either in Burgh or Landwart, till they ſhew their Conformity, and "that the ſame was teſtified by the Subſcriptions of the Primate or ordinary Bi-ſhop. Which Letters being ſhewed to the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, and others that happened to repair to that City for augmentation of Stipends, did caſt them into a great fear, ſo that repenting their wilfulneſs, as they had reaſon, they became requeſters to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* to preach as he was commanded on *Chriſtmas*-day at *Edinburgh*, truſting his Majeſty ſhould be mitigated by his obedience and interceſſion for the reſt. Neither did he fail to uſe his beſt means for diverting the King from theſe rigorous courſes, and after a little time (ſo loath was his Majeſty to exerce any rigour againſt Miniſters) obtained a Warrant for ſtaying the execution of the former Letters, till their behaviour ſhould be tried in the particular Synods, and their diſpoſition for accepting the Articles.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* put to liberty.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon*, who all this while remained priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, hearing that the King was ſo greatly diſpleaſed, did ſupplicate the Lords of his Majeſtie's Commiſſion (by whoſe command he was committed) for liberty, "promiſing not to fall again in the like Errors, and profeſſing a great "ſorrow for his medling with the Proteſtation, as likewiſe for writing that Letter "wherein he had taxed the Church of *England*. Being brought before the Com-miſſion, after he had ſet his hand to his Supplication, he was permitted to return to his Charge at *Dalkeith*. Yet ere many days paſſed, finding the countenances of the holy Brethren caſt down upon him, he diſperſed an Apologetick, (as he en-tituled it) wherein making a Gloſs upon every word of his Confeſſion he concluded, "that whatſoever weakneſs or frailty had befallen him, he hoped to be like *Peter*, "*qui ore negavit, & corde confeſſus eſt, and never to betray the Lord's cauſe with Judas.* This I have remembred by the way, to make the humors of theſe men ſeen, and the ſmall regard they take of ſaying and gainſaying, when it maketh for their purpoſe.

His inconſtancy and change.

But to proceed; the Biſhops upon advertiſement given them convened at *Edinburgh* the 29 of *January*, and conſidering the hurt that the Church might receive, if the Commiſſion granted in Parliament for proviſion of Miniſters (which was to expire at *Lammas* next) ſhould take no effect, did by a common Letter intreat his Majeſty for a Warrant to proceed in that Commiſſion, giving hopes that in their Synods they ſhould induce the Miniſters to obey.

A Warrant to proceed with the Commiſſion of Stipends.

The anſwer returned in *February* next was to this effect: "That howbeit his "Majeſty did interpret well their doings, as intended to the good of his ſervice; "yet conſidering the obſtinate reſiſtence of the Miniſters to all his juſt and Reli-"gious deſires, he could not expect any thing from them in their Meetings but "a farther expreſſion of their former misbehaviour. Nottheleſs as he had once al-"ready, upon the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* his intreaty, ſuſpended the Execution "of his laſt Directions; ſo at their requeſts he was pleaſed that the Commiſſion-"ers for Stipends ſhould meet and go on with the providing of Churches, they in "the mean time in their own perſons and in their own Cathredrals obſerving the "Feſtivities that ſhould intervene between and the Synods, and miniſtring the "holy Communion with the reverence required at the feaſt of *Eaſter* next. Thus were matters pacified for that time, and the Commiſſion for augmentation of Sti-pends by the warrant of this Letter put in practice.

Moſt

Moſt of the next Summer was ſpent in that work, but with greater detriment then benefit to the Church; for what Augmentation ſoever was granted, the ſame was recompenſed to the givers by prorogation of their former leaſes for numbers of years, and thereby the Church more damnified then bettered. *An.* 1617.

In the Synods all things were carried with reaſonable quietneſs, ſo as upon the Biſhops humble requeſts licence was granted for meeting in a General Aſſembly, and the ſame indicted at *Perth* the 25 of *Auguſt*. The Lords *Hadington*, *Carnegy* and *Scone* were Commiſſioners in this Aſſembly for the King, who upon the end of the Sermon preſented his Majeſtie's Letter conceived as followeth. A General Aſſembly indicted at *Perth*.

His Majeſtie's Letter to the Aſſembly.

"WE were once fully reſolved never in our time to have called any moe Aſ-
"ſemblies here for ordering things concerning the Policy of the Church, by
"reaſon of the diſgrace offered unto us in that late meeting of S. *Andrews*, wherein
"our juſt and godly deſires were not only neglected, but ſome of the Articles con-
"cluded in that ſcornful manner, as we wiſh they had been refuſed with the reſt:
"yet at this time we have ſuffered our ſelves to be intreated by you our Biſhops for
"a new Convocation, and have called you together who are now convened for the
"ſelf-ſame buſineſs which then was urged, hoping aſſuredly that you will have ſome
"better regard to our deſires, and not permit the unruly and ignorant multitude,
"after their wonted cuſtome, to overſway the better & more judicious ſort in evil,
"which we have gone about with much pains to have had amended in theſe Aſſem-
"blies, and for that purpoſe, according to God's ordinance and the conſtant pra-
"ctice of all well-governed Churches, we have placed you that are Biſhops and
"overſeers of the reſt in the chiefeſt rooms. You plead much, we perceive, to have
"things done by conſent of Miniſters, and tell us often, that what concerneth the
"Church in general ſhould be concluded by the advice of the whole, neither do
"we altogether diſlike your opinion, for the greater is your conſent, the better are
"we contented. But we will not have you to think, that matters proponed by us of
"the nature whereof theſe Articles are may not without ſuch a general conſent be
"enjoyned by our Authority.

"This were a miſ-knowing of your places, and withall a diſclaiming of that innate
"Power which we have by our calling from God, whereby we have place to diſpoſe
"of things external in the Church as we ſhall think them to be convenient and pro-
"fitable for advancing true Religion among our ſubjects. Wherefore let it be your
"care by all manner of wiſe and diſcreet perſwaſions to induce them to an obedi-
"ent yielding to theſe things, as in duty both to God and us they are bound; and do
"not think we will be ſatisfied with delays, mitigations and other we know not
"what ſhifts have been proponed; for we will not be content with any thing but a
"ſimple and direct acceptation of theſe Articles in the form ſent by us unto you a
"long time paſt, conſidering both the lawfulneſs and undeniable convenience of
"them for the better furtherance of piety and Religion, the eſtabliſhing whereof
"it had rather have becomed you to beg of us, then that we ſhould have needed thus
"to urge the practice of them upon you.

"Theſe matters indeed concern you of the Eccleſiaſtical charge chiefly; neither
"would we have called Noblemen, Barons and others of our good ſubjects to the
"determination of them, but that we underſtand the offence of people have been
"ſo much objected; wherein you muſt bear with us to ſay, that no Kingdom doth
"breed or hath at this time more loving, dutiful and obedient ſubjects then we
"have in that our Native Kingdom of *Scotland*; and ſo if any diſpoſition hath ap-
"peared to the contrary in any of them, we hold the ſame to have proceeded from
"among you, albeit of all ſorts of men ye are they that both of duty were bound,
"and by particular benefits obliged to have continued your ſelves, and confirmed
"others by ſound Doctrine and exemplary Life, in a reverent obedience to our
"commandments. What and how many abuſes were offered us by divers of the
"Miniſtery there before our happy coming to the Crown of *England*, we can
"hardly forget, and yet like not much to remember; neither think we that any
"Prince living ſhould have kept himſelf from falling in utter diſlike with the pro-
"feſſion

An. 1618. "fession it self, considering the many provocations that were given unto us: but "the love of God and his Truth still upheld us, and will by his grace so do unto the "end of our life. Our patience alwaies in forgetting and forgiving of many faults "of that sort, and constant maintaining of true Religion against the adversaries, "(by whose hateful practices we live in greater peril then you all or any of you) "should have produced better effect among you then continual resistence of our "best purposes: we wish that we be no more provoked, nor the Truth of God which "you teach and profess any longer slandered, by such as under the cloak of seeming "holiness walk disorderly amongst you, shaking hands as it were and joyning in "this their disobedience to Magistracy with the upholders of Popery. In sum, our "hearty desire is, that at this time you make the world see by your proceedings "what a dutiful respect you bear to us your Sovereign Prince and natural King "and Lord; that as we in love and care are never wanting to you, so ye in an hum-"ble submission to our so just demands be not found inferiour to others our sub-"jects in any of our Kingdoms. And that the care and zeal of the good of God's "Church, and of the advancing of Piety and Truth, doth chiefly incite us to the "following of these matters, God is our witness; the which that it may be before "your eyes, and that according to your callings you may strive in your particular "places, and in this general Meeting, to do those things which may best serve to "the promoving of the Gospel of Christ, even our prayers are earnest to God for "you; requiring you in this and other things to credit the bearer hereof, our ser-"vant and Chaplain, the Dean of *Winchester*, whom we have expresly sent thither, "that he may bring unto us a certain relation of the particular carriages of all mat-"ters, and of the happy event of your Meeting, which by God's blessing (who is the "God of order, peace and truth) we do assuredly expect, unto whose gracious "direction we commend you now and for ever.

Given at *Theobalds*, the
10 of *July* 1616.

The five Articles concluded.

The Letter being read once and again, as the custom is with Letters of such importance, the Archbishop of S. *Andrews* resumed shortly the Heads thereof, advising them, as he had done in his Exhortation, to consider the inconveniencies they should draw upon the Church by the refusal of the Articles. After which the Rolls being called, certain of the most wise and discreet Ministers were set apart to confer upon the Articles. How matters proceeded in the said Assembly you may learn by the Defence afterward published, in answer to a lying and seditious Pamphlet that came forth in print against the Conclusions there taken. To our story it shall suffice, that after long reasoning, first in the Conference, and then in the full Assembly, the Articles were concluded in this form.

Article for Kneeling.

1. *Seeing we are commanded by God himself, that when we come to worship him, we fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker, and considering withall that there is no part of Divine Worship more Heavenly and Spiritual then is the holy Receiving of the blessed Body and Bloud of our Lord and Saviour* Jesus *Christ, like as the most humble and reverent gesture of our body in our meditation and the lifting up of our hearts best becometh so divine and sacred an action; therefore notwithstanding that our Church hath used since the Reformation of Religion to celebrate the holy Communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the Idolatrous worship of the Sacrament by the Papists; yet seeing all memory of by past Superstitions is past, in reverence of God and in due regard of so divine a Mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an Union as we are made partakers of, the Assembly thinketh good, that the blessed Sacrament be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently upon their Knees.*

Private Communion.

2. *If any good Christian visited with long sickness and known to the Pastor by reason of his present infirmity be unable to resort to the Church for receiving the holy Communion, or being sick shall declare to the Pastor upon his conscience that he thinks his sickness to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the Minister shall not deny him*

him ſo great a comfort, lawful warning being given to him the night before, and that there be three or four of good Religion and converſation, free of all lawful impediments, preſent with the ſick perſon to communicate with him, who muſt alſo provide a convenient place in his houſe, and all things neceſſary for the reverent adminiſtration thereof, according to the order preſcrived in the Church. An. 1618.

3. Item, *The Miniſter ſhall often admoniſh the people that they defer not the Baptiſm of Infants any longer then the next Lord's day after the Child be born, unleſs upon a great and reaſonable cauſe declared to the Miniſter, and by him approved, the ſame be continued: As alſo they ſhall warn them that without great cauſe they procure not their Children to be baptized at home in their houſes; but when great need ſhall compel them to baptize in private houſes, (in which caſe the Miniſter ſhall not refuſe to do it, upon the knowledge of the great need, and being timely required thereto) then Baptiſm ſhall be adminiſtred after the ſame form as it ſhould have been in the Congregation: and the Miniſter ſhall the next Lord's day after any ſuch private Baptiſm declare in the Church that the Infant was ſo baptized, and therefore ought to be received as one of the true Flock of Chriſt's fold.* Private Baptiſm.

4. *Foraſmuch as one of the ſpecial means for ſtaying the increaſe of Popery and ſetling of true Religion in the hearts of people is, that a ſpecial care be taken of young Children their Education, and how they are Catechized, which in time of the Primitive Church moſt carefully was attended, as being moſt profitable to cauſe young Children in their tender years drink in the knowledge of God and his Religion, but is now altogether neglected, in reſpect of the great abuſe and errors which crept into the Popiſh Church by making thereof a Sacrament of Confirmation; therefore that all Superſtitions built thereupon may be reſcinded, and that the matter it ſelf, being moſt neceſſary for the Education of youth, may be reduced to the Primitive integrity, it is thought good that the Miniſter in every Pariſh ſhould Catechize all young Children of eight years of age, and ſee that they have the knowledge and be able to make rehearſal of the Lord's Prayer, Belief and Ten Commandments, with Anſwers to the Queſtions of the ſmall Catechiſm uſed in our Church; and that every Biſhop in his Viſitation ſhall cenſure the Miniſter who ſhall be found remiſs therein: and the ſaid Biſhops ſhall cauſe the ſaid Children to be preſented before them, and bleſs them with Prayer for the increaſe of their knowledge, and the continuance of God's heavenly Graces with every one of them.* Confirmation of Children.

5. *As we abhor the Superſtitious obſervation of Feſtival-days by the Papiſts, and deteſt all licencious and profane abuſes thereof by the common ſort of profeſſors; ſo we think that the ineſtimable benefits received from God by our Lord* Jeſus *Chriſt, his Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and Sending down of the Holy Ghoſt, were commendably and godly remembred at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the world, and may alſo be now: therefore the Aſſembly admitteth that every Miniſter ſhall upon theſe days have the Commemoration of the foreſaid ineſtimable benefits, and make choice of ſeveral and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereto; and rebuke all Superſtitious obſervation and licencious profanation thereof.* Obſervation of Feſtivities.

Theſe Articles concluded, order was given to intimate the ſame in all the Pariſh-Churches, and the Miniſters enjoyned to inform their people of the Lawfulneſs thereof, and exhort them to obedience. But this being neglected of the greater part, was not the leaſt cauſe of the Diſtractions that enſued, eſpecially in the Church of *Edinburgh*, where the people being ſtill foſtered in an opinion that their Miniſters would not go from their former practice, when they ſaw them give obedience, withdrew themſelves in great numbers, and ran to ſeek the Communion from other Miniſters they knew to be refractary. His Majeſty always upon advertiſement that the Articles were concluded, cauſed publiſh the ſame at the Mercat-Croſs of the principal Burghs, commanding the ſubjects to obey and conform themſelves, under the pain of his Highneſs diſpleaſure. The Articles ordained to be intimated in all Churches.

At the ſame time the King being informed that the Earl of *Argile* (who the Summer preceding had obtained licence upon a pretext of ſome infirmity to go unto the *Spadan* Wells) was revolted from the Religion, and that he entertained ſome ſecret practice with old *Mackrannald* for diſturbing the Countrey, did recall his licence, and ordained him to be cited upon threeſcore days to appear before the Council. He not appearing at the time appointed was denounced Rebel, and pro- The Earl of *Argile* falleth from his profeſſion.

An. 1618. proceſs of Forfeiture intended againſt him. Whether he was perverted by his *Engliſh* Lady who was Popiſh, or that to gain the favour of *Spain* he did change his Religion, is doubtful; but thereby he loſt his Majeſtie's favour, (who could never endure an apoſtate Papiſt) and undid his own reputation. Some ten years after he made means for his peace, and was permitted to return unto *England*.

A Comet or Blazing-ſtar. In the moneth of *November* a Comet or Blazing-ſtar of more then ordinary bigneſs ſhined many nights together. It was held to portend great Calamities, and was interpreted by divers to have foreſhewed the Troubles that ſhortly after aroſe in *Germany*. But as every one is ready to make his own conſtruction of ſuch things, ſome with us did take it to foretell the death of our noble Queen *Anne*, who deceaſed ſome moneths after, to the great regrate of all honeſt ſubjects; a courteous and humane Princeſs, and one in whom there was much goodneſs.

Queen *Anne* dieth.

An. 1619. It was in this year that the Synod in *Dordrecht* in *Holland* was gathered for repreſſing the *Arminians*, and thither did the Troublers of our Church (thinking to procure their approbation) direct a relation of the Government of the *Scottiſh* Church. But the Synod declining all queſtions of Diſcipline, held themſelves to the Points of Doctrine controverted, and having condemned the Five Articles wherein the *Arminians* diſſented from the Reformed Churches, the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly being alſo five in number, it was given out among the vulgar ſort, that they had condemned the Synod of *Perth*, and for a time was the people entertained by ſome Miniſters in thoſe conceits. The relation was confuted a little after, and the falſhood thereof diſcovered; yet they ceaſed not by their Libels and Pamphlets to injure the moſt worthy men, and among others the Biſhop of *Galloway*, whom they vexed ſo with their Papers, as he, taking the buſineſs more to heart then was needful, fell in a ſickneſs, whereof he deceaſed in the beginning of the ſame year. An excellent and ready Preacher he was, and a ſingular good man, but one that affected too much the applauſe of the popular. The good opinion of the people is to be deſired, if it may be had lawfully; but when it cannot be obtained, (as who is he that can pleaſe all men and at all times?) the teſtimony of a well-informed Conſcience ſhould ſuffice. *Mala opinio bene parta delectat*, ſaid *Seneca*, An ill opinion well purchaſed (that is, for ſuſtaining a good cauſe, or keeping a ſtraight courſe) ſhould work us joy and delight, not grieve us at all.

The Synod of *Dordrecht* ſaid to have condemned the five Articles of *Perth*.

The Biſhop of *Galloway* dieth.

The Biſhop of *Brichen* tranſlated to *Galloway*. Upon the death of Mr. *William Comper*, Mr. *Andrew Lambe* was tranſlated to *Galloway*, to whom ſucceeded in *Brichen* Mr. *David Lindeſay*, then Miniſter at *Dundee*. At *Edinburgh* between the Magiſtrates and Miniſters a great ſtrife and diſcontent was raiſed, becauſe of the People's ſtraying from their Churches, at which the Magiſtrates were thought to connive. Their uſurpation beſides in Church-affairs, eſpecially the intending of a Clerk upon the Church-Seſſion, did miniſter no ſmall cauſe of offence. The matter was brought before the King, where in behalf of the Miniſters it was ſaid, *That they were unkindly uſed for the obedience given to the Acts of* Perth *Aſſembly*; the Magiſtrates by their Commiſſioner did on the other ſide inform, *That the Miniſters were the cauſe of the people's diſobedience, ſome of them having directly preached againſt the Acts of* Perth, *and all of them affirmed that theſe Acts were concluded againſt their hearts*.

A diſtraction betwixt the Miniſters and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*.

The diſorder pacified. His Majeſty remitting the trial of theſe complaints to his Secretary and to the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, when as they had examined the ſame, it appeared that both the one and the other were in fault, and that the miſtakings among them were not the leaſt cauſe of the diſorders in that Church, whereupon they were admoniſhed to lay aſide their grudges, and to keep one courſe, for the retaining the people in the obedience of God and his Majeſty. The Magiſtrates and Council were likewiſe commanded, as the King had given direction, to provide four other Miniſters, beſides thoſe that were in preſent ſervice, and perfect the diviſion of the Town in Pariſhes, which had been often promiſed. And ſo ſhortly after this were Mr. *William Forbes* Miniſter at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Guthry* Miniſter at *Perth*, Mr. *John Maxwell* Miniſter at *Murchlack*, and Mr. *Alexander Thomſon* Miniſter at *Cambuſlang* tranſlated from their ſeveral Churches, and placed Miniſters at *Edinburgh*.

Four other Miniſters planted at *Edinburgh*.

The

The next year beginning the year 1620 the Wars of *Bohemia* growing hot, and the *Palatinate* invaded, the King took in mind the defence of his Daughter and Grand-children in their Patrimony; and becauſe a ſupply of Money was required to ſuch a buſineſs, the Council was deſired to travel with the Noblemen the Members of Seſſion, and the Town of *Edinburgh*, for a voluntary Contribution, knowing that others by their example would be drawn thereto. The Noblemen meeting to this effect the 24 of *November* expreſſed a great forwardneſs to ſatisfie his Majeſtie's deſire; yet fearing that all the Contributions when they were brought together ſhould prove unworthy, adviſed the Council rather to call a Parliament, and impoſe upon the ſubjects by way of Tax a reaſonable proportion, according to the wealth and ſubſtance that every man had. This being ſignified to the King, he refuſed to have any ſupply by Tax, for he conſidered that the collection would require a time, and a burthen ſhould that way be caſt upon the Commons and poor labourers of the ground, which would make an outcrying among the people: therefore he deſired as before, that Noblemen and thoſe others he had named in his firſt Letter ſhould be urged to ſhew their liberality. *An.* 1620. A Contribution required for defence of the *Palatinate*.

A new Meeting for this buſineſs being kept in *January* thereafter, divers overtures were made for giving his Majeſty content: The Noblemen that were preſent made offer to give a benevolent according to their abilities; and divers of their rank being minors, and others abroad in their travels, they ſaw not who would undertake for them. The Town of *Edinburgh* being preſſed with an anſwer excuſed themſelves as being one Burgh only, and lacking the concurrence of the reſt, without which any Supply they could make would be of little worth. The Advocates, Clerks and other members of the Seſſion gave in effect the like anſwer, ſo as they were forced to turn unto the firſt overture for a Parliament. And for that the difficulties of the Contribution could not ſo well be expreſſed by Letter, it was thought meet that one of the Council ſhould be ſent to inform his Majeſty of the reaſons and neceſſity they had to call a Parliament. This employment being laid upon the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, he took journey about the end of the ſame moneth, and obtained after a little inſiſting his Majeſtie's Warrant for a Parliament: thus was it indicted to keep at *Edinburgh* the firſt of *June*, and prorogued to the 23 of *July* thereafter. *An.* 1621. A Parliament deſired by the Eſtates.

In this mean time it happened that Sir *Gedeon Murray* Theſaurer-deputy, being then at Court, an information was made againſt him for abuſing his Office to the King's prejudice. The informer was *James Stewart*, ſtiled the Lord *Ochiltry*, who, out of malice carried to the Gentleman for the ſtrictneſs which he had uſed in calling him to an account for the duties of *Orkney*, made offer to juſtifie the Accuſation; and, by the aſſiſtence of ſome of better credit then himſelf, prevailed ſo far, that the matter was remitted to the trial of certain Counſellors at home. The Gentleman being of a great ſpirit, and taking impatiently that his Fidelity, whereof he had given ſo great proof, ſhould be called in queſtion upon the information of a malicious enemy, by the way as he returned from Court did contract ſuch a deep Melancholy, as neither counſel nor comfort could reclaim him; ſo far was he overgone, that no advice given by friends, nor offer of their aſſiſtence, nor the company and counſel of any whomſoever could reduce him to his wonted eſtate; and ſo after he came to *Edinburgh* within a few daies departed this life. It was not doubted, if he ſhould have patiently attended the Trial, but he had been cleared, and the Accuſation proved a mere Calumny; nor was it thought that the King did truſt the Information, but only deſired to have the honeſty of his ſervant appear: yet ſuch was his weakneſs, (courage I cannot call it) as, giving ſcope to his paſſions of Anger and grief, he ſuffered himſelf to be therewith oppreſſed. By his death the King did loſe a good ſervant as ever he had in that charge; and did ſore forthink that he ſhould have given ear to ſuch Delations. But of that peſtilent ſort ſome will never be wanting in the Courts of Princes, and happy is the King that can rid himſelf of liers in that kind. The Gentleman alwaies died happily, and had his corps interred in the Church of *Halirudhouſe*. Sir *Gideon Murray* his death.

The time of Parliament drawing near, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was employ-

An. 1621. ed as Commiſſioner for keeping the ſame. At his firſt coming having underſtood the buſineſs that ſome turbulent Miniſters were making to impede the Ratification of the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly, he cauſed diſcharge all the Miniſters out of the Town, the ordinary Preachers excepted, and two of the number that would not be made quiet he ſent priſoners to *Dumbarton*: all that time he did carry himſelf and the matters committed to his truſt with ſuch wiſdom and foreſight, as within a few daies he brought them all to the end which he wiſhed, without any open contradiction. The Subſidie deſired was granted, the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly ratified, and divers Conſtitutions for the profit and good of the Countrey, as in the Acts imprinted may be ſeen. At the cloſing of the Parliament, which was the fourth of *Auguſt*, ſuch abundance of Rain with ſuch Thundrings and Lightnings did fall, as the Noblemen and others of the Eſtates were compelled to leave their horſes, and betake them to their Coaches; which the Factious ſort did interpret to be *a viſible ſign of God's Anger for ratifying the Acts of* Perth: others in deriſion of their folly ſaid, *that it was to be taken for an Approbation from Heaven, likening the ſame to the Thundrings and Lightnings at the giving of the Law to* Moſes.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* keepeth the Parliament.

Matters concluded in Parliament.

The King receiveth great content by the things concluded.

This was the laſt Parliament of King *James* in this Kingdom, and that wherein he received greateſt content: for the *Puritan* Faction had boaſted that the Acts of *Perth* ſhould never paſs in a Law, (ſo confident they were of their favourers in the Parliament-houſe) and now that they failed in their hopes, he truſted they would become more wiſe. But the King, no leſs careful to have the Acts obeyed then he was to have them paſs in a Law, did commend the ſame by two ſeveral Letters to the Biſhops and Lords of the Council.

A Letter from his Majeſty to the Biſhops.

To the Biſhops he ſaid, *That as they had to doe with two ſorts of enemies,* Papiſts *and* Puritans, *ſo they ſhould go forward in Action both againſt the one and the other: That* Papiſtry *was a diſeaſe of the Mind, and* Puritaniſm *of the Brain; and the Antidote of both a grave, ſetled and well-ordered Church in the obedience of God and their King; whereof he willed them to be careful, and to uſe all means for reducing thoſe that either of ſimplicity or wilfulneſs did erre.*

A Letter from his Majeſty to the Council.

In his Letter directed to the Council, he put them in mind of that he had written in his *Baſilicon Doron, That he would have Reformation begin at his own elbow, which he eſteemed the Privy-Council and Seſſion with their members to be, as having their places and promotions by him. Therefore commanded them and every one of that number to conform themſelves to the obedience of the Orders of the Church now eſtabliſhed by Law, which he truſted they would readily do; otherwiſe if any Counſellor or Seſſioner ſhould refuſe and make difficulty, he did aſſure them that if within* 14 *daies before* Chriſtmas *they did not reſolve to conform themſelves, they ſhould loſe their places in his ſervice; and if any Advocate or Clerk ſhould not at that time obey, they ſhould be ſuſpended from the exerciſes of their Offices, and the Fees and caſualties thereunto belonging, unto ſuch time as they gave obedience.* In the ſame Letter he willed the Council to take order, *that none ſhould bear Office in any Burgh, nor be choſen Sheriff, Deputy or Clerk, but ſuch as did conform themſelves in all points to the ſaid Orders.* This Letter was of the date, At the honour of *Hampton*, the 29 of *September*, 1621.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* wronged by a falſe rumour.

By this may the Reader judge of that which hath been commonly affirmed, "That the Nobleman who was Commiſſioner ſhould have promiſed at the paſſing "of the Acts, that none ſhould be oppreſſed with the obedience of them, but all "left to their own pleaſures. That his Majeſty gave no ſuch Warrant it appears by the foreſaid Letters, and that the Nobleman would go an inch from that he was truſted with none that knew him will believe. The truth is, that in moſt perſuaſive words (and with that majeſty which became the place he repreſented) he did "require them all to acquieſce, and willingly obey the Concluſions taken, and not to "draw upon themſelves by their diſobedience his Majeſtie's anger; aſſuring them "in that caſe, that his Majeſty ſhould not in his daies preſs any more change or "alteration in matters of that kind without their own conſents. And this was all the Nobleman ſpake, as divers yet living may remember.

In

In the beginning of the next year the Chancellor died at his houſe of *Pinky* near to *Muſſilburgh*, in a good age, and with the regrate of many; for he exerced his place with great moderation, and to the contentment of all honeſt men: he was ever inclining to the *Roman* Faith, as being educated at *Rome* in his younger years, but very obſervant of good Order, and one that hated lying and diſſimulation, and above all things ſtudied to maintain peace and quietneſs. Sir *George Hay* Clerk of Regiſter being then at Court was preferred to the place, and by his diſmiſſion Mr. *John Hamilton* Brother to the Earl of *Hadington* made Keeper of the Regiſter. *An.* 1622. The Chancellor *Seaton* dieth.

About this time upon advertiſements ſent from *England* of the enlargement of certain Prieſts and Papiſts that were there impriſoned, a rumour was diſperſed that the King was inclining to a Toleration of Popery, and would grant Liberty of Conſcience. This rumor was increaſed by occaſion of certain Directions ſent from the King to the Biſhops of *England* for reforming certain abuſes crept into the Church, whereby the Preachers and Lecturers were commanded on Sundaies and Holy-daies in the afternoon to teach the Catechiſm only, or then ſome Text taken out of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or Lord's Prayer; and in their Preaching to abſtain from handling the deep points of Predeſtination, Reprobation, Election, the Univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtibility or Irreſiſtibility of Grace, leaving theſe Themes as fitter for the Schools then for ſimple Auditors: as likewiſe not to preſume in any Lecture or Sermon to limit and bound by way of poſitive Doctrine the Power, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or to meddle with matters of State, having reference betwixt Princes and people, otherwiſe then they were inſtructed and preſidented in the Homily of Obedience, and others of that ſort ſet forth by publick authority. Theſe Directions were interpreted to be a diſcharge of Preaching, at leaſt a confining of Preachers to certain Points of Doctrine, which they called a *limiting of the Spirit of God*; and, as people will ever be judging and cenſuring publick actions, every one made the conſtruction whereunto their humours did lead them. Rumors diſperſed of Tolerations intended.

The better and wiſer ſort, who conſidered the preſent eſtate of things, gave a far other judgment thereof: for as then the King was treating with the *French* King for Peace to the Proteſtants in *France*, and with the King of *Spain* for withdrawing his forces from the *Palatinate*, at which time it was no way fitting that he ſhould be executing the rigour of his Laws againſt Papiſts at home, while he did labour for Peace to them of the Religion abroad; the moſt likely way to obtain what he did ſeek of theſe Princes being a Moderation of the Severity of Laws againſt Prieſts and Papiſts, at leaſt for a time. And as to the Directions given to the Preachers, the ſame they judged both neceſſary and profitable, conſidering the indiſcretion of divers of that ſort, who to make oſtentation of their learning, or to gain the applauſe of the popular, would be medling with Controverſies they ſcarce underſtood, and with matters exceeding the capacities of people. The judgement of the wiſer ſort.

The King offending with theſe rumors, which he heard were diſperſed in both Kingdoms, took occaſion in a Parliament aſſembled about that time in *England* to ſpeak to them, and ſay, *I underſtand that I am blamed for not executing the Laws made againſt Papiſts; but ye ſhould know that a King and his Laws are not unfitly compared to a Rider and his Horſe, the Spur is ſometime to be uſed, but not alwaies, the Bridle is ſometimes to be held in, at other times to be let looſe, as the Rider finds cauſe: juſt ſo a King is not at all times to put in execution the rigour of his Laws, but he muſt for a time and upon juſt grounds diſpenſe with the ſame, as I proteſt to have done in the preſent caſe, and to have connived only for a time upon juſt cauſe, howbeit not known to all. If any man for the favour ſhewed to a Prieſt or Papiſt will judge me to be inclining that way, he wrongs me exceedingly. My words and writings and actions have ſufficiently demonſtrated what my reſolution is in all matters of Religion,* His Majeſtie's Speech in a Parliament held at that time in *England*.

Some mo words to this purpoſe he uttered in that Meeting: but in a Letter directed to the Council of *Scotland* he was ſomewhat more rough, finding fault with thoſe that preſumed to cenſure his proceedings, and commanding them to take an exact trial of ſuch as had broken out into any ſuch inſolencies either in word or deed, and to puniſh them ſeverely according to the Laws. This was not well publiſh- *An.* 1623. His Majeſtie's Directions to the Council of *Scotland*.

An. 1623. ed, when the news of the Prince's journey to *Spain* made all good men amazed: for hearing that he was gone accompanied only with the Duke of *Buckingham* and another ſervant, the fear of inconveniences that might befall his Perſon did mightily trouble them. But it pleaſed God both in his going and returning ſafely to conduct and protect him. The occaſion and ſucceſs of that journey I ſhall ſhortly relate.

The Prince's journey to *Spain*, and the occaſion thereof.

A Match had been treating of a long time betwixt the Prince and a Daughter of *Spain*, which received many hinderances both at home and in that Court; but it being thought that the delaies made in theſe parts would be eaſily removed by the preſence of the Prince himſelf, whereof great hopes were given by *Gundomar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the King gave way to the Journey, as hoping by this mean to have the *Palatinate* freed from the vexations of War, and a general Peace eſtabliſhed throughout Chriſtendom. Thus the Prince accompanied in manner aforeſaid departed ſecretly from Court, and landing at *Calais* went through *France* undiſcovered, and after a few daies came ſafely to the Court of *Spain*.

The Prince's entertainment in *Spain*.

At his coming he was kindly received and welcomed with divers Courtly Complements, but found a greater ſtrangeneſs then he expected; for although he was ſtill kept in hope of the Match, yet he was not permitted to viſit the Lady, but upon condition to ſpeak in ſuch and ſuch terms, and no otherwiſe. Afterward they began to move him touching his Religion, deſiring he ſhould confer with ſome Divines, for that he could not have the *Infanta* to Wife, unleſs he was converted and became a *Roman* Catholick. The Prince replying, *That he would not change his Religion for ſuch a worldly reſpect, nor would he enter in conference with any Divines to that purpoſe, for if they did not prevail with him, it would breed a greater diſcontent*; it was then told him, *that he muſt attend till a Diſpenſation was procured from* Rome, *and that in the mean time he ſhould be entertained as a Prince, but not as a Sutor.*

The Letter of Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth to the Prince.

This Diſpenſation being returned, which had in it a Condition, that the King of *Spain* ſhould take Oath to obtain the King of *Britain*'s conſent unto certain Demands concerning Religion, there was a Letter therewith ſent from Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth to the Prince, wherein after many fair and plauſible words he ſaid That *as Pope* Gregory *was the firſt that induced the people of* England *to ſubmit themſelves to the See Apoſtolick, ſo he bearing the ſame name, and being his equal in the height of Dignity, though inferiour to him in Vertue and holineſs, deſired nothing more then to follow his pattern, and promove the health and happineſs of that Kingdom; the rather, becauſe his Peregrination at that time had given ſuch hopes of an happy ſucceſs: for ſince he was arrived in* Spain *and at the Court of the* Catholick King, *with a deſire to joyn in Marriage with the Houſe of* Auſtria, *(which intention he greatly commended) he could not believe that he did really deſire the Match and in heart abhorre the Catholick Religion, and ſeek to ruine the holy See of* Rome. Then falling to a prayer, he *beſought God the Father of lights to advance him (the moſt fair Flower of the Chriſtian world, and the only hope of Great* Britain) *to that noble inheritance which his illuſtrious Progenitors had gained by the defence of the Apoſtolick Authority, and the ſuppreſſion of the monſters of all Hereſies.* Towards the end of the Letter, willing him *to call to mind the ancient times, and make his Prayers to his Anceſtors, that they would vouchſafe to teach him the way by which they went to Heaven*; he ask'd *how he could with patience hear the Hereticks call them damned, whom the Catholick Faith doth teſtifie to reign in Heaven, and to dwell exalted above all the Princes of the earth.* In end returning to his Supplications, he ſaid, *that the Catholick Church* Roman *ſtretching forth her arms to embrace him with all affection as her moſt deſired Son, he could not perform any thing of greater comfort to the Nations of Chriſtendome then to bring again the profeſſion of that moſt noble Iſland to the Prince of the Apoſtles, whereof he could not deſpair, his hopes being ſet on God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings*, &c.

This Letter given at *Rome* in the Palace of S. *Peter* the 20 of *April* 1623, and in the third year of his Apoſtolate, was delivered to the Prince about the midſt of *May*, which he received courteouſly, thanking the Pope for his good affection. Thereafter underſtanding that the Diſpenſation was granted, he preſſed the performance of the Marriage, but was anſwered, *That the Conditions muſt firſt be fulfilled,*

The ſucceſs of the Match intended with *Spain*.

and

and the Articles concerning the Infanta *her liberty of Profeſſion when ſhe came into* England, *and the Education of her Children, if God ſhould grant her any by him, drawn up in form.* An. 1623. Theſe Articles being adviſed by a Commiſſion of Divines were ſent into *England*, and ſhortly after returned, ſigned with his Majeſtie's hand, and approved by the Council. And now it was thought there ſhould be no more delaies uſed, but other excuſes were forged; as, *That it was not fitting the* Infanta *ſhould go to* England *before the buſineſs of the Parliament was ſetled, and that theſe Articles muſt be ſent to* Rome, *and allowed by the Pope.* The Prince perceiving that there was nothing really intended on the King of *Spain* his part, and that the Treaty was only entertained till the King of *Spain* had reduced *Germany* in his power, reſolved to be gone, and declaring the neceſſity he had to return, did leave a Proxie in the hands of the Earl of *Briſtoll* (the Ambaſſador legier) for eſpouſing the *Infanta*, how ſoon the Articles returned from *Rome*. So the King of *Spain* having conveyed the Prince a little way towards the Sea, they parted in moſt loving terms, and in hope the Match ſhould take effect. But the Prince being after that informed of a concluſion laid, "That if the Match ſhould be farther preſſed, the *Infanta* to eſchew the "ſame ſhould preſently enter into the houſe of *los Diſcalceatos*, a Monaſtery of bare-footed Nuns) after he was parted, ſent and commanded *Briſtoll* not to make uſe of the Proxie till he ſhould advertiſe.

The Prince returneth to *England*.

The Prince, having for his convoy home eleven of the Kings ſhips and ſome Merchants, arrived at *Portſmouth* the 5 of *October* with his whole retinue, and went the next day to *Royſton* where the King lay. The joy was exceeding great of all ſorts of people, and publick thanks given to God throughout all the Churches of both the Kingdoms for his ſafe return. Soon after, when the King perceived by the report, that neither was the Match truly meant, nor the *Palatinate* like to be reſtored, he directed the Earl of *Briſtoll* to inſiſt for the Reſtitution, and, if he was put off with delaies, to take his leave and come home; which alſo he did. Thus was the Marriage which had been long treated of quite diſſolved, the King ſaying, *That he would never marry his Son with a Portion of his only Siſters tears.*

An. 1624. A Trouble in *Edinburgh* raiſed againſt the Miniſters.

The year following the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* were greatly vexed by a ſort of mutinous people, who ſeparating themſelves from the publick Aſſemblies kept private Conventicles, and went ſo far as to oppoſe publickly the order eſtabliſhed for receiving the holy Communion. The leader of thoſe was *William Rigge*, elected one of the Bailiffs for that year. This man puffed up with a conceit of his own abilities did dream of no leſs then the overturning of the Church Orders, and reforming of the Miniſtery in ſuch things as he held to be amiſſe: hereupon, in a meeting ordinarily kept before the celebration of the holy Sacrament, he did publickly challenge Doctor *William Forbes*, who was afterwards preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Edinburgh*, for divers points of Doctrine delivered by him in his Sermons; and when as he refuſed to be judged by him and the Laicks that aſſiſted, the ſaid Bailiff did openly threaten them all, that unleſs they returned to the old form of miniſtring the holy Communion, the whole people ſhould forſake them. Herein he was aſſiſted by *John Hamilton* an Apothecary; *John Dickſon*, *William Thomſon*, *John Meene*, and ſome other baſe companions; who being called before the Council were charged to leave the Town, and the Bailiff *William Rigge* deprived of his Bailiwick, and declared incapable of any publick Office in time coming.

This trouble gave occaſion of ſetling the ſtate of that Church in a better caſe then in former times; "the Miniſters being ordained to reſide in their own Pa-"riſhes, and have allowed to them a ſufficient maintenance; the popular Election "of Miniſters, when as places by any occaſion fell void, diſcharged, and the Pre-"ſentation appointed to be made by the Provoſt, Bayliffs, and Council; the Seſſi-"ons to be choſed yearly by the Magiſtrates and Miniſters for the particular Pa-"riſhes, who ſhould convene every year ſome ten daies after the Election of the "Magiſtrates for that buſineſs; the Meeting before the Communion, wherein the "Miniſters were accuſtomed to be cenſured by the people, ſimply prohibited: with divers other particulars ſerving to the orderly miniſtration of all things in the Church.

An. 1624. The death of *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lennox*.

The 16 of *February Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lennox* deceased, to the great regrate of all that knew him; a Nobleman of excellent parts, whose very aspect and countenance did promise much good. He was thrice married, first to a Sister of the Earl of *Gowry*, by whom he had no Children; his second Wife was a Sister of the Lord *Loudon*, by whom he had a Daughter and Son that died both young. In his third and last Marriage with the Countess of *Hartford* he found more content then in both the other, but lived with her only some few years, being taken away in the 48 year of his age. His Brother a noble Gentleman succeeded, but did not survive him long, for he died the next year, leaving a hopeful succession of Children behind him.

An. 1625 The death of *James* Marquess of *Hamilton*.

The next year, in the moneth of *March*, *James* Marquess of *Hamilton* deceased also; a Nobleman of rare gifts, and fitted for the greatest affairs, which he shewed at his Deputation to the Parliament 1621, and at other divers occasions. His death was the more grievously taken, that it was thought it was procured by poison, whereof the monstrous swellings in his face and body afore his death gave great appearance. His Corps brought to *Scotland* by sea was interred at *Hamilton* with his predecessors.

The King much affected with these deaths, contracts a Fever and dieth.

These two Deaths affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him that the Marquess was dead, he said, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long*: which saying proved too true, for shortly after he fell into the Fever that the Physicians call *Hemitritæam*, a dangerous Fever to those that are grown in years, and thereof died at *Theobalds* the 27 of *March*, being Sunday, about twelve of the clock in the forenoon. The Thursday preceding his death he desired the blessed Sacrament to be ministred unto him, which he received with great devotion, professing to the Prince his Son and those that stood by, that *he had received a singular comfort thereby*, wishing all men to do the like when they were visited in that sort. From that time to the hour of his death he was still almost praying, and some one sentence or other of Piety ever in his mouth. As he drew near to his end, the Prayer usually said at the hour of death being ended, having repeated once or twice these words, *Veni, Domine Jesu*, he gave up the ghost without any pangs, as are commonly seen in persons that are dying. He was the *Salomon* of this Age, admired for his wise Government, and for his knowledge of all manner of Learning. For his Wisdom, Moderation, love of Justice, for his Patience and Piety, (which shined above all his other Vertues, and is witnessed in the Learned Works he left to posterity) his Name shall never be forgotten, but remain in honour so long as the world indureth. We that have had the honour and happiness many times to hear him discourse of the most weighty matters, as well of Policy as Divinity, now that he is gone, must comfort our selves with the remembrance of these Excellencies, and reckon it not the least part of our happiness to have lived in his days.

Many doleful Epitaphs in all Languages were composed to express the sorrow conceived by his Death. This following penned by a learned Divine in our vulgar Language did affect me so, as I thought good to subjoyn it.

All

An Epitaph upon King *JAMES* his death, written by the Reverend Divine, Dr. *Morley* C. C. C. Oxon.

ALL who have eyes awake and weep,
For he whoſe Waking wrought our Sleep
Is fallen aſleep himſelf, and never
Shall wake again till wak'd for ever:
Death's iron hand hath clos'd thoſe Eyes
Which were at once three Kingdoms Spies,
Both to foreſee, and to prevent
Dangers as ſoon as they were meant.
That *Head*, whoſe working Brain alone
Wrought all mens quiet but its own,
Now lies at reſt. O let him have
The Peace he lent us, in his Grave.
If that no *Naboth* all his Reign
Was for his fruitful Vineyard ſlain;
If no *Uriah* loſt his life
Becauſe he had too fair a Wife;
Then let no *Shimei*'s Curſes wound
His Honour, or profane his Ground.
Let no black-mouth'd, no rank-breath'd Cur,
Peaceful JAMES his Aſhes ſtir.
Princes are Gods; ô do not then
Rake in their Graves to prove them Men.
For two and twenty years long care;
For providing ſuch an Heir,
Who to the Peace we had before
May add twice two and twenty more;
For his days travels and nights watches;
For his craz'd ſleep, ſtoln by ſnatches;
For Two fair Kingdoms joyn'd in One;
For all he did, or meant t' have done;
Doe this for him, write on his Duſt,
JAMES the Peacefull and the Juſt.

The End.

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